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exigencies of the case induced him to prefix a few paragraphs of a local and controversial nature, having no immediate bearing on the question under discussion. These have been omitted, as not falling within the plan and direct object of the *Biblical Repository*. The work was first published in July, 1830. EDITOR.

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE READINGS IN 1 TIM. III. 16.

SECTION I.

Introductory Remarks.

THE passage, to the examination of which the following pages are devoted, has ever been regarded as one of the most interesting and beautiful to be met with in the New Testament. While the truths which it predicates are confessedly of the highest importance, and justly entitle it to a prominent place in the minds of all who receive the Christian revelation, the language in which they are announced is so measured and terse, that the place has been considered by some as exhibiting a stanza of one of the primitive hymns. Divided into lines, according to the several propositions of which it consists, it appears thus :

Θεὸς

ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί,
ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι
ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις,
ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν,
ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ,
ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ.

God

Was manifested in the flesh,
Justified in the spirit,
Seen by the angels,
Proclaimed among the heathen,
Believed on in the world,
Received up into glory.

Considering the circumstances, that Timothy was resident at Ephesus at the time the epistle was addressed to him ; that this

city was celebrated for the number of its pillars and inscriptions; and that the apostle had just represented the Christian church as the column and basis of the truth, nothing can be more natural than the supposition, that he continues the figure in the 16th verse, and represents the sum and substance of the gospel as an inscription engraven on that pillar for the purpose of luminous exhibition to the world. Not only was it common in ancient times to transmit histories and laws in this way to posterity, but the principles of science and precepts of primary utility in the government of human life were thus inscribed on columns, that they might be read by those who passed by, and be preserved for the benefit of future ages.

Precisely such a purpose has the apostolic inscription served for the long period of seventeen centuries. It has held forth to the view of all, the grand fundamental principles of the Christian belief—the humiliation, triumph, and exaltation of the Messiah, and the early and speedy extension of his kingdom in the world. Like other monuments of antiquity, however, it has not altogether escaped the mutilating hand of time, and the initial word has not a little exercised the ingenuity and skill of such as have addicted themselves to the study of sacred criticism. While the great body of critics and general readers have followed the reading of the *Textus Receptus*, according to which the pre-existence and divinity of the Son of God are distinctly taught, there have been, and still are, those who have called in question the genuineness of that reading, and either follow the Latin Vulgate, which refers all the predicates to the antecedent word *sacramentum* or “mystery,” or render the passage, “He who was manifested in the flesh was justified,” etc. This last is the interpretation usually adopted by the Socinians, and is the rendering of their “Improved Version,” principally edited by the late Mr Belsham.

The fact that a discrepancy of reading exists in some of the documents in which the passage is contained, has long been acknowledged. One of the first who called the attention of the public to it was Erasmus, who, though compelled by a just principle of criticism to insert *Θεός* in his editions of the Greek N. T. and frame his Latin translation accordingly, nevertheless gives us clearly to understand in his notes, that he regarded it as suspected, and as foisted into the text in opposition to the Arians. On the same side followed Crellius, Grotius, Clarke, and others, whose hostility to this reading was distinctly avowed,

without any thing like an effectual attempt to make good their point. Dr Clarke, in his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, after adverting to the controversy, adds: "But it is in reality of no great importance; for the sense is evident, that That Person was manifest in the flesh, whom St. John, in the beginning of his gospel, styles *Θεός*."

When we take into consideration the intimacy which subsisted between the last mentioned writer and Sir Isaac Newton, it will be easy to account for the circumstance that this, among other points of theological research, attracted the notice and occupied the attention of our great philosopher. Having, as he imagined, discovered the real source of the interpolation in 1 John 5: 7, and pursued his inquiries to some considerable length, and finding that the views which he had adopted were borne out by very strong evidence, derived from Greek MSS. the ancient versions, Fathers, etc. he proceeded to institute a similar investigation of the passage now under consideration; the result of which was a conviction that it also had been tampered with, and that the true reading is that preserved in the Latin Vulgate. His remarks on both passages compose one continued discourse; but, though drawn up in the epistolary form, they do not appear to have been addressed to any particular person. A copy having been sent to Locke, was forwarded by him to M. Le Clerc, by whom it was deposited in the library of the Remonstrants in Amsterdam, where it is still preserved. From this copy an edition was published in London, 1754, 12mo, under the title of "Two Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to M. Le Clerc, upon the Reading of the Greek Text 1 John 5: 7, and 1 Tim. 3: 16." That they were not addressed to Le Clerc is obvious from his own statement, contained in his epistle prefixed to Küster's edition of Mill's Greek Testament, in which he positively avows that he was ignorant of the author.* In the title-page, the tract is stated to have

* "Est penes me elegans Dissertatio Anglica, quae a quo scripta nescio, sed est a Joanne Lockio, viro clarissimo, olim ad me transmissa, in qua defenditur lectio vulgatae *quod*." Why Le Clerc was kept in ignorance, the reader will learn from the following circumstances.

In Lord King's Life, are three letters from Sir Isaac Newton to Locke, in which reference is made to his papers, containing the dissertations on 1 John 5: 7, and 1 Tim. 3: 16; and some further light is thrown on the subject by a few extracts from Le Clerc, fur-

been taken from authentic "MSS." but in the advertisement it is acknowledged that there was only one, which it appears,

nished by Dr. Rees, whose remarks Lord King has inserted, pp. 227—233. From the whole it appears, that Sir Isaac was desirous of having the work first published in French, and, if it met with the approbation of biblical critics abroad, that it should afterwards appear in England. The papers were communicated to Locke in the strictest confidence. The author, it is said, with his characteristic timidity, shrunk from the responsibility of sending them forth to the public with the sanction of his name; and as Locke was at the time meditating a voyage to Holland, his purpose was that he should take the papers with him, and through the medium of some literary acquaintance procure the translation and publication of them.

Mr Locke, having postponed or abandoned his design of revisiting Holland, forwarded the papers to his friend Le Clerc, with instructions to have them translated and published. Sir Isaac Newton was not apprised of this circumstance, but knowing that Mr Locke had not quitted England, concluded that they were still in his possession. In the second letter, written fifteen months after the first, he expresses his regret at learning that this was not the case, and entreats Mr Locke to countermand the translation, *it being his design to suppress the work*. "Let me entreat you," he writes, "to stop their translation and impression so soon as you can, for I design to suppress them." In the third letter, written three months later, he says, he was "*glad the edition was stopped*."

This change on the part of the illustrious author, Dr Rees ascribes to his wish not to "expose himself to the scoffs or the censures of *the theological bigots of the age*, who were either *incompetent* or *indisposed* to appreciate the value of his labours." From the concluding observation of the same writer, it appears Sir Isaac would have had little chance of meeting with a better reception had he lived and published his work at a more recent period; it being very charitably hinted that no person holding the theological creed of Bishop Horsely, would be candid or honest enough to tell the world what is the real state of the copies found in the collection of the Newton MSS. at Lord Portsmouth's, at Hurstborne. Referring to these copies, he says, "but whether in a perfect state, or not, cannot be ascertained until that collection shall have been examined by *some competent person, less influenced by theological and ecclesiastical biasses* than the learned and Right Reverend editor of Sir Isaac Newton's works."

That several manuscript copies of the Dissertation are in existence, there can be little doubt. Mr Berriman took a copy of that part relating to 1 Tim. 3: 16, which is still preserved in Sion Col-

was not only defective at the beginning and end, but otherwise erroneous in many places. An entire MS. having been found in the author's hand-writing, in the possession of the Rev. Dr Ekins, Dean of Carlisle, it was inserted, with a few accompanying notes, by Bishop Horsley, in the fifth volume of Sir Isaac Newton's works, published by that prelate in 1785. From this edition a reprint, just issued by the Socinians, is taken.

In contemplation of the extreme accuracy of those habits of investigation which Sir Isaac Newton must necessarily have cultivated when engaged in mathematical studies, and the unwearied patience which he must have exercised in his successful endeavours to account for some of the more perplexing phenomena of the universe, the mind is filled with surprise at the discovery of the very unphilosophical mode of procedure displayed in his treatment of the subject before us. So marked indeed is the difference between this effort and those which he put forth in his scientific discoveries, that we are almost tempted to give a reluctant acquiescence to the assertion of Chevalier Ramsay, that he was *bon géométricien, mais nullement métaphysicien*. Instead of collecting acknowledged and well-authenticated facts, and laying them as the basis of his reasoning, according to the approved principles of the inductive philosophy, he first of all brings a sweeping charge of corruption against the Greek text; and when pressed by the testimony of the earlier Fathers, he proceeds in like manner to charge their text with corruption. He then produces a witness whose testimony he is obliged to help out with hypothesis and conjecture, and calls in another between whose testimony and that of the preceding there is a manifest discrepancy; after which he endeavours to get rid of a counter-testimony by the unauthorized assertion that it is ironical, abusive, and fabricated with a view to deceive.

The strong hold in which he takes his position, is the account of the banishment of Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, at the beginning of the sixth century, as given in the Breviary of Liberatus, archdeacon of Carthage, in the former half of the same century. In the nineteenth chapter, Liberatus writes as follows: *Hoc tempore Macedonius Constantinopolitanus*

lege Library, accompanied with several interesting notices, among which I have had the satisfaction of finding a distinct recognition of the glaring inconsistency existing between the two parts of the work, to which reference will be made in the succeeding pages.

Episcopus ab Imperatore Anastasio dicitur expulsus, tanquam Evangelia falsaret, et maxime illud Apostoli dictum, quia apparuit in carne, justificatum in spiritu. Hunc enim mutasse, ubi habet qui hoc est monosyllabum Graecum, litera mutata in vertisse et fecisse . . . id est, ut esset Deus, apparuit per carnem. Tanquam Nestorianus ergo culpatus expellitur per Severum Monachum.

On this statement we offer the following remarks.

1. That Liberatus did not write from his own personal knowledge, but merely collected his materials from Greek records and traditionary reports.

2. It does not appear that the account of this alleged corruption was founded on any thing beyond bare report—Macedonius *dicitur* expulsus tanquam falsaret Evangelia, et maxime, etc.—“Macedonius *is said* to have been banished as a falsary of the gospels, and especially of that passage of the apostle,” etc.

3. The state in which the text of Liberatus has come down to us, renders it next to impossible to exactly ascertain what sense it was intended to convey. The first editions of his Breviary were printed without the Greek, either because it was not inserted in the MS. or because the printers wanted type in which to express it. In the edition published by Surius, in his Collection of the Councils, 1567, and the subsequent editions, the lacunae are supplied thus: *ubi habet ὅς, hoc est qui, monosyllabum Graecum litera mutata o in ω vertisse et fecisse ὡς, id est, ut esset, Deus apparuit per carnem.* According to this, the change is not from ὅς to Θεός, but from ὅς to ὡς, and consequently no suspicion whatever is thereby thrown on the common reading. All that the alteration will amount to is, the qualification of Θεός, as was frequently done in the Nestorian controversy, by placing before it the adverb ὡς, thus brought out of ὅς, which, according to Liberatus, must also have been in the text.

Another edition, however, of the story is thus given by Hincmarus, Archbishop of Rheims, in his Opusculum, lv. cap. xvii. “Quidam ipsas Scripturas verbis illicitis imposturaverunt; sicut Macedonius Constantinopolitanus episcopus, qui ab Anastasio Imperatore, ideo a civitate expulsus legitur, quoniam falsavit evangelia; et illum apostoli locum, *quod apparuit in carne, justificatum est in spiritu*, per cognationem Graecarum literarum O et Θ hoc modo mutando falsavit. Ubi enim habuit qui, hoc est

OC, monosyllabum Graecum, litera mutata *O* in *Θ*, mutavit, et fecit *ΘC*, id est, ut esset, *Deus* apparuit per carnem; quapropter tanquam Nestorianus fuit expulsus." Here it is roundly and positively asserted, that the change was from *OC* to *ΘC*, the abbreviated form of *ΘEOC*, which statement, if it rested on better authority, might deserve attention; but Hincmarus flourished upwards of three hundred years after the time at which the corruption is said to have been effected, and does not appear to have had access to any other source of information than Liberatus, out of whose Breviary, indeed, Sir Isaac Newton acknowledges the relation to have been taken.

4. The assertion, that, on account of the interpolation thus introduced, Macedonius was banished *as a Nestorian*, throws discredit on the whole narrative. If he had changed *ΘC* into *OC*, there might have been some slight ground for branding him with the design of favouring that heresy; but, if he really found *OC* in the text, and altered it to *ΘC*, he could not have more directly opposed the tenet of the Nestorians, that it was not *God* but *Christ* who became incarnate, suffered, died, rose, and ascended into heaven. This inference is so obvious, that, in order to evade its force, Sir Isaac is obliged to put an unnatural construction on the words, and affirm, that the enemies of Macedonius "*accounted* it Nestorianism, though it was not really so."* Sensible of the insecurity of his ground, he proceeds to write, that "whilst he is said to be banished as a Nestorian for this, without explaining what is here meant by a Nestorian, it looks like a trickish way of speaking, used by his friends to ridicule the proceedings against him as inconsistent; perhaps to invert the crime of falsation; as if a Nestorian would rather change *ΘC* into *O*."† To such shifts is this author reduced by the pressing difficulty which he found thrown in his way, by the simple language of the history on which his hypothesis is built!

5. Supposing it to be a fact that Macedonius actually did change *OC* into *ΘC* in some copy that came into his hands, it by no means follows that he "was the man that first began to alter the sacred text."‡ He might only make the alteration in order to render the copy conformable to the reading of the Greek Vulgate, which exhibited *Θεός*; in which case he did no more than others, in like circumstances, have done in cor-

* Page 85.

† Ibid.

‡ Page 80.

recting or amending the text according to acknowledged critical principles. If Macedonius is to be reprobated as a corrupter of Scripture, because he endeavoured to maintain the purity of the divine text, in what light are we to consider Griesbach, Knapp, and others in our own day, who scruple not to introduce numerous alterations, and that not merely into a few, but into thousands of copies?

6. That Θεός was in the text long before the time of Macedonius, is certain from the citations and reasonings of many of the ancient Greek Fathers, whose testimonies will be adduced in the sequel. It is maintained, indeed, by our author, that "all the churches for the first four or five hundred years read: Great is the mystery of godliness, *which* was manifested in the flesh," and the same thing has been repeatedly advanced since his day; but Dr Burton has shown, that *no Latin Father* of the three first centuries quotes the text *at all*; and that *in no single instance* do the comments of the ancient Greek Fathers lead to the conclusion that they read ὁς or ὅ, and not Θεός.*

When Sir Isaac affirms, p. 65, that the early "writers, as often as they have any occasion to cite the reading then in use, discover that it was ὅ," it must be noticed, that those whom he proceeds to mention were *Latin Fathers*; and all that can legitimately be deduced from their testimony is, that the text of their Latin version read *quod*. Not one of them quotes the Greek, and tells us that it reads ὅ, or ever reasons from it on the ground of that being the reading. Nor should this excite the least surprise. The Greek language was only very partially known in the Western Church. About the end of the fourth century, Anastasius, bishop of Rome, did not know that such a man as Origen had ever lived; and, about thirty years later, when Coelestinus, bishop of the same see, received a Greek epistle from the Patriarch of Constantinople, he was obliged to apply to Cassian for a translation of it. Under such circumstances, it would be unreasonable to expect quotations from the original text.

Nor is any weight to be attached to the passages adduced from Nestorius and Cassian; it being a fact that, in the original Homily of Nestorius, published with the works of

* "Testimony of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ," p. 144, a work replete with information on the subject.

Marius Mercator in 1673, the reading is not ὁ ἐφανερώθη, but simply ἐφανερώθη, without either noun or pronoun immediately connected with it. The words are: Τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μαρίας, φησὶ, γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματός ἐστιν ἁγίου, κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τὸ πλασθὲν ἀνέπλασεν. Ἐφανερώθη γὰρ, φησὶν, ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι. It is true, the antecedent here is neuter, but this is solely owing to its being such in Matthew 1: 20, whence the quotation is made. Sir Isaac was, therefore, completely mistaken, when he supposed that because Arnobius Junior, who cites Nestorius, has "*hoc quod manifestatum*" in his Latin, Nestorius must have used the words ὁ ἐφανερώθη. In the work of Cyril against Nestorius, printed at Rome 1607, the passage is also quoted exactly as it is here exhibited. Lib. IV. cap. iii.

The passage from Cassian's work, *de Incarnatione Domini*, is equally insufficient to prove that he read ὁ in his Greek copy; for his work was not written in Greek, as Sir Isaac conjectures, but, as ecclesiastical historians allow, and the style clearly shows, in *Latin*. Had Cassian quoted the original, or in the most distant manner hinted, that he had the original before him when making the quotation, there might have been some ground for the inference attempted to be drawn from the passage; but it is servilely made from the Latin Vulgate, and can only prove what was the reading of that version. The whole 5th chapter, however, of the fifth book of Cassian proves, that, though he made use of this reading, he was not unacquainted with that of Θεός. After quoting it according to the Vulgate, he asks: "Quod ergo magnum illud est sacramentum, quod manifestatum est in carne? DEUS scilicet natus e carne, DEUS visus in corpore. Qui utique sicut palam est *manifestatus in carne* ita palam est *assumptus in gloria*."*

Considerable stress is laid on the manner in which the text is referred to by Cyril; but, as it will be presently shown, Θεός is repeatedly used by that Father; and the dispute between him and Nestorius not being whether Christ was God, for this Nestorius never denied, but merely referring to the nature and mode of the incarnation, it cannot be matter of surprise, that, in explaining his views, Cyril should sometimes advert to the passage without quoting it literally, and occasionally throw in the gloss: τουτέστι Χριστόν, just as Chrysostom uses τουτέσ-

* Simler's Edition, Tiguri, 1571. fol. p. 33. b.

τιν ὁ Ἀημιουγγός. Having done this, he was obliged to employ the pronoun ὅς, and read ὅς ἐφανερώθη, though he never meant to say, that this was actually the reading of the original.

Before proceeding to a critical investigation of the various readings of this important text, in the course of which every thing adduced by Sir Isaac in reference to the MSS. and versions will meet with due attention, it may be proper to make one or two observations on the twenty-fourth paragraph of his work, in which he sums up his remarks.

"The difference," he says, "between the Greek and the ancient versions puts it past dispute, that either the Greeks have corrupted their manuscripts, or the Latins, Syrians, and Ethiopians, their versions." If by *corruption* it be meant, that one or other of the three different readings cannot be the true one, nothing is more certain; but the language is stronger than the circumstances of the case will justify. The discrepancy in question may, like many others, both in the original and the versions, have been the mere effect of inadvertence. It was therefore altogether unwarrantable to use the word in the sense of wilful falsification, which Sir Isaac does throughout his book, without so much as a single palliation suggested by the spirit of charity.

That "it is more reasonable to lay the fault upon the Greeks than upon the other three," he determines by the following considerations.

1. "It was easier for one nation to do it than for three to conspire." Here it is assumed that the whole Greek nation did at least receive the interpolation by joint and unanimous concert. Can any thing be less probable? Whatever might be the influence of the ruling or orthodox party, is it to be supposed that there were none whose hostility to the views of that party would keep them ever on the alert, and who would be forward to detect and expose any such corruption introduced to support the catholic faith?

2. "It was easier to change a letter or two in the Greek, than six words in the Latin." This is undoubtedly true; but it is not to the point. On the supposition that the alteration took place in the Latin, it did not consist in the change of six words, but only of six terminations; and if it be admitted that the Latin translator mistook one or two Greek letters, or the rendering of the Syriac version in reference to Θεός, and adopted the neuter pronoun *quod* instead of it, this will account

for the whole extent of the discrepancy, as all the terminations would be neuter of course.

3. "In the Greek the sense is obscure; in the versions, clear." For this very reason, if any authority is due to the canon of Griesbach, we ought to adhere to the Greek, and reject the rendering of the versions. "*Difficilior et obscurior lectio anteponenda est ei, in qua omnia tam plana sunt et extricata, ut librarius quisque facile intelligere ea potuerit.*"* This canon, which has approved itself to the best critics, is founded on the obvious principle, that no transcriber would designedly change a clear reading into one that was obscure.

4. "It was agreeable to the interests of the Greeks to make the change, but against the interest of the other nations to do it; and men are never false to their interest." What *national* interest could there possibly be in one of the readings more than in the others? Were the Greeks alone orthodox, and the Latins, Syrians, Ethiopians, etc. heterodox? Would it not have been as much for the interest of the Latin church to change *quod* into *Deus*, as for that of the Greeks to change *ὅς* into *Θεός*? Yet they were not, and have never been guilty of such temerity, how much soever such an alteration might have gone to support the orthodox doctrine; just as, on the other hand, the Greeks, how agreeable soever it might have been to their interest, never ventured to insert the testimony of the heavenly witnesses into their copies of the Greek text.

5. "The Greek reading was unknown in the times of the Arian controversy; but that of the versions was then in use amongst both Greeks and Latins." The former position is a mere assertion without any proof. It may have been known, and yet not used by the orthodox, just as there are other passages, both of the Old and New Testament, exhibiting no variety of reading, which are now considered clearly to teach the doctrine of our Lord's divinity, but to which they have not made any allusion. Strictly speaking, however, the passage did not belong to the controversy, inasmuch as the dispute was not, whether Christ was called *Θεός* in the Scriptures, but whether he was *ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ*? The former the Arians admitted; the latter they denied.

With respect to the reading of the versions, it must have been known to those by whom these versions were read; but this circumstance does not in the least affect the question, so

* Prolegomena, p. lix.

far as the Greeks are concerned. They had nothing to do with the versions ; and it cannot be proved that ever they received and argued from $\acute{o}\varsigma$ or \acute{o} , which the reading of the versions has been supposed to support.

6. "Some Greek manuscripts render the Greek reading dubious ; but those of the versions hitherto collated agree. There are no signs of corruption in the versions hitherto discovered ; but in the Greek we have showed you particularly when, on what occasion, and by whom the text was corrupted." It has not yet been admitted among the canons of criticism, that one or two various readings are sufficient to render suspected or dubious any word or passage of an ancient author. They ought to excite attention, and lead to investigation ; their evidence should be weighed, and all the circumstances of the particular text impartially considered ; but it is very possible that the received reading may remain unshaken, notwithstanding the combination and agreement of all the witnesses that may thus be brought to appear against it. Nor can any thing be more uncritical than to affirm, that, because all the manuscripts of some of the versions bear them out in supporting some common reading, which may have the sanction of one or two Greek manuscripts, it is therefore necessarily and incontrovertibly true. What diversity of reading, for instance, is there in the MSS. of the Syriac, Arabic, Vulgate, and Armenian versions, all of which support $\pi\acute{o}\tilde{\upsilon}$, which is found also in the uncial manuscripts A, B, C, F, G, and in several of the cursive, Gal. 4: 15? Yet biblical critics do not feel themselves warranted to reject the received reading $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, and supply its place with $\pi\acute{o}\tilde{\upsilon}$.

To the specific charge of corruption it is not necessary to recur, after what has already been adduced on that subject.

In concluding this section, we cannot refrain from observing how singularly inconsistent the two parts of Sir Isaac Newton's treatise are with each other. In reference to 1 John 5: 7, Greek evidence occupies the most prominent place ; in regard to 1 Tim. 3: 16, it almost goes for nothing. In the former case the whole range of manuscript authority is canvassed, and principally because the passage is "against the authority of all the Greek manuscripts," it is rejected ; in the latter, all that is said is, that "there are some ancient Greek manuscripts which read \acute{o} , and others $\acute{o}\varsigma$," without any reference to the number or character of such as read $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$. In the former, the

old Latin version is run down, as having been "so generally corrected that it is nowhere to be found sincere;" in the latter, "Jerome's manuscripts gave him no occasion to correct the old vulgar Latin in this place." The Slavonic and Arabic concur in the omission of the heavenly witnesses, and are therefore particularly specified; but though they both support the reading *Θεός*, little notice is taken of them under that head. In short, most of the arguments which are employed to prove a corruption in the one passage, will, if applied to the other, go far towards maintaining its integrity.

SECTION II.

External Evidence.

THE subject under investigation, like others of a similar nature, must be decided on grounds purely critical. Appropriate evidence respecting the various readings ought to be the object of diligent and impartial research; and having obtained this evidence, the only course that remains to be pursued is, to weigh its different bearings, and acquiesce in the reading which is best supported, irrespective of the place it may hitherto have occupied, either in, or extraneous to the printed text, and without regard to the extent to which it may affect or modify the peculiar opinions we have been accustomed to entertain. The arguments by which the goodness of a reading is to be determined, are either *external* or *internal*. The former embrace whatever can be collected from our stock of critical materials under the head of *Manuscripts*, *Versions*, and *Fathers*; the latter, certain circumstances connected with the passage in which the reading is found, such as the genius and scope of the writer, the subject and strain of his discourse, and the grammatical forms in which it is expressed. The one class is purely historical; the other, grammatical and exegetical.

Disregarding the opinions of Semler and Bentley, the former of whom proposed to omit the text altogether, and the latter, in equal violation of one of the fundamental principles of sacred criticism, to change *Θεός ἐφανερώθη* into *Χριστός ἐθανατώθη*, we shall confine our investigation to the three actual varieties of reading to which importance is attached in the controversy. These varieties may be thus exhibited:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \theta EOC \\ 'OC \\ 'O \end{array} \right\} \text{ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί.}$

$\left. \begin{array}{l} GOD \\ WHO \\ WHICH \end{array} \right\} \text{was manifested in the flesh.}$

We have here assigned the first place to $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, because it is the reading of the *Textus Receptus*, and of every critical edition of the Greek N. T. that of Griesbach and one or two of minor note excepted; the second to $\acute{o}\varsigma$, because it has been received into the text by that critic; and the last to \acute{o} , as that which possesses fewest claims to our attention. For the sake of convenience, however, it will be proper, in conducting our inquiry, to reverse this order, and begin with the last of these readings.

A. The Reading 'O, WHICH.

I. MANUSCRIPT AUTHORITY. The only MS. that has been adduced in support of this reading is the *Codex Claromontanus*, formerly in the possession of Beza, but now preserved in the library of the King of France, where it bears the number 107;—formerly it was noted 2245. It is marked D in the critical editions, but is carefully to be distinguished from the *Codex Bezae*, or *Cantabrigiensis*, which is also marked D, but only contains the Gospels and Acts. Its age cannot be exactly ascertained, but it is supposed to have been written, not earlier than the *sixth*, and not later than the *eighth* century. At present this Codex certainly reads $\overline{\theta C}$, the abbreviated form of θEOC . This Wetstein acknowledges, but maintains that it reads 'O *a prima manu*, and wonders that Beza should not have observed it. Woide, however, an able judge of such matters, who afterwards most carefully examined the MS. declares that it is not the whole, but only part of $\overline{\theta C}$, that is from a later hand. Most of the circle in the Theta, and the stroke of abbreviation above the word, have been freshened with black ink; but the horizontal stroke within the theta has not been re-written, but remains, with the rest of the letter, pale and unaltered. There is, therefore, palaeographical ground for concluding that the original reading of this MS. was $\overline{\theta C}$ and not O. To evade the force of Woide's remarks, Griesbach is obliged to have recourse to a most complicated system of correction, according

to which not fewer than *five* different hands have touched and improved upon the MS. yet he cannot but admit that his corrector C, to whom he attributes the alteration in this place, and whom he will not allow to have lived earlier than the tenth century, most certainly read not *ō* but *Θεός* in the MS. according to which he made the correction.* What strengthens the conclusion that such was the genuine reading of the Codex D, is the circumstance that Beza collated it for his celebrated edition of the Greek N. T. and in his note on the passage he expressly states: "*Vetus interpres pro Θεός legit ō, ut qui converterit, quod manifestatum est in carne, quod et ipsum tamen ad Christum commodissime aptari potest.—Verum repugnant PERPETUO consensu OMNES Graeci codices.*" Such an assertion he never could have made, if the text before him had exhibited *ō*, or if he had found that reading in any of the MSS. to which, either directly or indirectly, he had access.

In the opinion expressed by Woide, both Michaelis and Matthaei concur. The former, after giving the communication of that writer, declares, "Under these circumstances it is impossible, for me at least, to doubt that *Θεός*, 1 Tim. 3: 16, which is of such great importance in divinity, and which Wetstein has disputed, is the true and genuine reading. Mr. Woide has appended to his letter, which I have seen, a fac-simile of *ΘC* in the Codex Claromontanus, which I cannot present to my readers without a copper-plate, but which excites my great astonishment, that Wetstein could write *ō* *a prima manu*, since the ancient faded Sigma is exhibited to the eye."†

Granting, however, that this Codex did originally read *ō*, may it not be justly questioned, whether its character as a *Graeco-latinus* should not make us hesitate in receiving any peculiar readings which it may have in common with the Latin version? Though Wetstein may have gone too far in asserting, "*frequentissime* textum Graecum ad *Latinam*, seu *Italiam*, *versionem corruptit*," etc. as Semler has clearly proved,‡ still there are many instances of agreement in readings characteristically occidental, of which this may be one. That it was written in the West of Europe is evident, not only from the circumstance that the Greek letters betray a Latin Librarian, but also from the posi-

* Symbolae Criticae, Vol. II. p. 76.

† Orient. und Exeget. Biblioth. Theil vii. p. 141.

‡ Hermeneutische Vorbereitung, Stück iv. pp. 8—61.

tion of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is placed after the other books, agreeably to the custom of the Roman church, by which that Epistle was, for a considerable time, rejected. The opinion of Professor Schmidt, of Giessen, deserves attention : “ 1 Tim. 3: 16, ὁ ἐφανερώθη is entirely occidental. The passage is not found at all in the more early writers of the Western church ; but it frequently occurs after the third century, and all the Latin Fathers, as well as the manuscripts of the Latin version, have this reading, which is still preserved in the Vulgate. It cannot, therefore, be doubted that it was peculiar to the old Latin version, and is indebted to it for its authority ; for it must ever remain uncertain whether it originated in Greek MSS. at all, or whether the author of this version had merely some copy before him in which the last letter of the word *OC* was faded.”*

II. VERSIONS. Of these, the *Itala*, *Vulgate*, *Peshito Syriac*, *Ethiopic*, *Armenian*, *Coptic*, *Sahidic*, and the *Arabic of Erpenius*, have been adduced in support of this reading. Let us examine them in order.

1. In the *Itala* and *Vulgate* the passage is rendered : “ Et manifeste magnum est pietatis sacramentum, QUOD manifestatum est in carne, justificatum,” etc. At what time the old Latin version, supposed to be that which Augustin calls *Itala*, was made, cannot be determined ; but it is generally thought it was in some part of the second century. While there were many Latin translations in use, this was preferred, as uniting with perspicuity of meaning a more close adherence to the words of the original. Whether the revision undertaken by Jerome, the fruits of which we have in part in the *Modern Vulgate*, was confined to the Gospels, or extended to the whole New Testament, has been disputed ; but till it can be satisfactorily proved that 1 Tim. 3: 16, was included in his revision, it would be unfair to conclude that the Greek MSS. which he used, read ὁ and not ὅς or Θεός. And even supposing it to be a fact, that the passage was subject to his revision, is there not reason to believe, that though he found ὅς or Θεός in his Greek MSS. yet he did not venture to change the Latin reading, it being one of the principles on which he proceeded, not to adopt what was too much at variance with the Latin text ? † On the limitations

* Kritische Geschichte, II. Abtheil. p. 107.

† “ Codicum Graecorum emendata collatione, sed veterum, nec qui multum a lectionis latinae consuetudine discrepant.” Ep. ad Damas.

under which he laboured, Leander Van Ess makes the following remark in his *Pragmatico-critical History of the Vulgate*—a work of singular utility in the study of this ancient version. “His liberty, and the knowledge which he possessed of the principles of criticism, were so restrained by the chains put upon him by the spirit of the age in which he lived, that he was only able to revise and correct the New Testament, how ready soever he would have been to perform the task in a better, more critical, more faithful, and more perfect manner, for which he was sufficiently qualified, and possessed all the necessary critical materials.” p. 103.

As bearing still more directly on the subject in hand, the queries and observations of the celebrated Porson are deserving of serious attention. “Does the Vulgate always closely follow the Greek, particularly in scrupulously guarding against interpolations?—But, allowing that this verse* had been extant in the Vulgate even from the end of the second century, and without any of these suspicious appearances, is the merit of this version so high as to ratify and render genuine every word and sentence in which its MSS. conspire? Was it in no place corrupted in the days of Tertullian and Cyprian? If we are certain of any reading having constantly kept its place in the Latin copies, we are certain that they never read otherwise than *quod* in 1 Tim. 3: 16, instead of *deus*. You, Sir, will probably defend the latter reading; nor shall I dispute it. But if we take the liberty of rejecting the authority of the Vulgate, when it is so consistent with itself, and so well supported as it is upon 1 Tim. 3: 16, why may we not with equal right reject it, when it is the principal, if not the sole support of a contested verse? Was the addition of the clause in 1 Pet. 3: 22,† made by the first framers of the version from the warrant of Greek MSS.? Yet that has the consent of the present Latin copies. Whoever undertakes the defence of such passages, may pretend that his aim is to establish the genuine text, but in fact he is exerting all his force to weaken and undermine its authority.‡

* 1 John 5: 7; but Porson's reasoning equally applies to the reading *quod*, 1 Tim. 3: 16.

† — *deglutiens mortem, ut vite aeternae haeredes efficeremur*.

‡ Bengel says of the Latin version: “a genuina lectione Graeca *saepe* discrepat Latina lectio.”—*Introd. ad Crisin N. T. Observ. viii.*

"Thus I should argue, if all the MSS. consented in the received reading. I should think it an hazardous step to prefer any version to the unanimous consent of all the Greek MSS. now known to exist. Still less should I venture to rely upon such a version, which by having been more frequently copied, has also been more frequently interpolated than any other. The subsidiary streams which the river has received in its course, have neither made the water more clear, nor more wholesome."*

How easily the Latin reading *quod* might have found its way into the Itala or Vulgate by a mistaken construction of the Syriac, will be shewn under the following number.

2. The old or Peshito Syriac ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ and the Ethiopic ዘእስተርእየ፡ሰዎን፡ሰብሏ፡ are susceptible of two different interpretations, in consequence of the prefixes *Dolath*, and *H Ze*, being used in these languages both for the relative pronoun, and as a conjunction. The Syriac may accordingly be rendered, "*That* He was manifested in the flesh;" and that it was so understood by the translator of Erpenius's Arabic is certain from the mode of construction which he employs. The circumstance that the Syriac translator should take the liberty of substituting the conjunctive *Dolath* for the substantive ܐܠܗܐ *Aloho* (Θεός), ought not to excite the least surprise, since we find he has taken precisely the same liberty, 2 Cor. 6: 16, where, instead of the Greek, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, ὅτι ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς, "as God hath said, I will dwell in them," etc. he has the words, ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ, "according as He hath said, that I will dwell in them," etc. As in this case the Divine name had just occurred in the preceding context, in the phrase ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ "the temple of God;" so, in regard to the passage in Timothy, it had occurred in a similar combination in the verse immediately preceding; ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ, "the church of the living God." Keeping this word prominently in view, he might not deem it necessary to repeat it, but considered it to be sufficiently understood as the nominative to the verb, though the parenthesis, expressive of the pillar and ground of the truth, and the great mystery of godliness, intervened between them. Matt.

* Letters to Travis, pp. 137, 143, 144.

22: 32, and Gal. 1: 15, furnish additional instances of the omission of *Θεός* in this ancient version.

In the Ethiopic, the greatest liberty is taken with the Divine names; sometimes they are interchanged one for another, and sometimes omitted altogether. See Bode's *Pseudocritica Millio-Bengeliana*.

With respect to the reading of the Syriac, it may only further be observed, that the *?* Dolath appears to have been the original rendering. In addition to those collated for the printed editions, I have recently had an opportunity, through the favour of the Rev. Mr Forshall, keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, of consulting some ancient Nestorian MSS. one of which is of the sixth century, but none of them exhibits ܕܠܐܠܗܐ *Aloho*.

On the supposition that the Latin translator had the use of the Syriac when executing his version, (and this may perhaps be the best hypothesis on which to account for the relationship so frequently observable between these two most ancient versions,) nothing could be more easy than to mistake the *?* Dolath, which is less frequently employed as a conjunction, for the relative pronoun, for which it is commonly used; and, connecting it with the word *sacramentum*, which he had just written, to render it *QUOD* in the neuter.

3. The *Coptic* and *Sahidic* are equivocal in their testimony. They certainly employ the relative; but though it is of the same gender with the word by which *μυστηριον* is rendered, yet that word being masculine, the relative may be referred to *Θεός* in the preceding context, as well as to it.

4. The *Armenian* may express *ὁ*, but it equally expresses *ὅς*, the relative *որ* being used for all the three genders. Dr Laurence maintains,* that this version reads neither *ὅς* nor *ὁ*, but *Θεός*; and refers for proof to the *Editio Princeps* of Us-can, printed at Amsterdam in 1666, and a duodecimo edition, printed at the same place in 1698. Us-can's edition I have not seen; but on consulting a copy of the edition of 1698, in my possession, I find the word ԱՃ , but it does not occur as the separate or distinct name of God, but only as part of the compound ԱՃ ԿԱՆԶՈՒԹԷ signifying "piety." It is the same

* Remarks on Griesbach's Classification of MSS. p. 80.

as if I were to write *g̃dliness* as a contracted form of “godliness” in English. The critical edition of the Armenian Scriptures, printed at Venice in 1805, exhibits the same reading.

5. The *Arabic* of Erpenius is *وحققا ان سر هذا العدل عظيم ذاك انه تجلي بالجسد* “and truly this secret of righteousness is great, namely, that he was revealed in the body,” etc. That the pronominal affix ذ agrees in gender with سر, the word employed to express *μυστήριον*, is granted; but the construction clearly proves, that it does not refer to that word, but to *Θεός* understood. For, if the translator had intended to say that the *mystery* was manifested, he would not have used the conjunction *ان*, signifying “that,” but the relative pronoun *الذي*, which, just as the translator of the Propaganda version has done. *وحقيقا سر تغوي عظيم ذاك الذي ظهر بالجسد* “and certainly the mystery of piety is great, which appeared in the body,” etc. which translation is a servile imitation of the Vulgate. Nearly the same form is found in the Arabic paraphrase of a Syro-Arabic MS. described by Adler: *سر سيدنا العظيم جدا الذي ظهر بالجسد*, “the exceeding great mystery of our Lord, which appeared in the body,” etc.

From this examination it appears, that none of the ancient versions are clearly and decidedly in favour of *ō*, except the Latin, which, as we have seen, may after all have originated, not in any diversity of reading in Greek MSS. but in the construction which the translator put upon the rendering of the old Syriac version. As to the versions of Luther and Zurich, mentioned by Wetstein, they are not to be taken into the account; both as they are modern, and because they were made principally with the help of the Latin Vulgate. It was, however, only in his first editions that Luther followed *quod*; in that of 1546, in which he continued to omit 1 John 5: 7, he admitted *Θεός*, and thereby gave it as his decided testimony, that this is the true reading.

III. FATHERS. As might be expected from the extensive authority and influence of the Latin version, all the *Latin* Fathers have *quod*; only Jerome, on Isa. 53: 11, and Theodore

of Mopsuest, in his work on the Incarnation, have "QUI manifestatus est;" and Epiphanius the Deacon has, "DEUS manifestatus est in carne." 'O does not clearly occur in any of the *Greek* Fathers, except in a passage in Chrysostom's works; but the homily on the Incarnation, in which it is found,* was not written by that Father, but by some anonymous hand, as the Benedictine editors have satisfactorily shewn.

IV. PRINTED EDITIONS. The only editions of the Greek text in which *ō* has been adopted, are Harwood's and Boissonade's. The former was printed in London, 1776, but as its text was principally constructed according to the Cambridge and Clermont MSS. its authority in the present instance, is resolved simply into that supposed to be furnished by the latter of these documents. The edition of Boissonade, which appeared in Paris in 1824, seems to have been greatly accommodated to the Latin Vulgate.

It is but justice to Wetstein to add, that he received this reading into the space beneath his text, and thereby intimated that, in his opinion, it was genuine.

β. *The Reading 'OC, WHO.*

I. MANUSCRIPTS. In justification of his admitting this reading into the text, Griesbach produces as authorities the manuscripts, A, C, F, G, 17, and 73; on which we offer the following remarks.

1. Whatever A, or the celebrated Alexandrian Codex, may have read at first hand, it is now so completely worn at this passage by repeated examination, that it is no longer possible, by any further inspection, to determine to which side its authority leans. The only question, therefore, is, What evidence have we, of an earlier date, to prove the original reading? That there is such evidence, and that this evidence satisfactorily ascertains the reading to have been *Θεός* and not *ὁς*, will be shown in the following pages, when we come to discuss the claims of the former of these two lections.

It is, however, of importance to state, that though Griesbach contends in his note, that *ὁς* is the genuine reading of this Co-

* Edit. Benedict. Tom. VIII. p. 214.

dex, there is a passage in his *Symbolae*, in which he admits that the Alexandrian MS. is to be regarded as neutral.*

[2.] The Codex C, or *Ephremi* (Regius, 1905), according to Griesbach, reads 'OC; but, according to Woide and Velthusen, the reading is \overline{OC} with a horizontal line above the letters, marking an abbreviation. It is true the Q wants the internal transverse stroke, by which Theta is usually distinguished from Omicron; but the same occurs in other parts of this Codex; and even in the very next word, *ΕΦΑΝΕΡΩΗ*, Woide was not able, with the assistance of a magnifying glass, to discover the smallest trace of such a stroke.† If the supernal line had, as some critics have supposed, been added by a later hand, for the purpose of converting $\overline{\omicron}\varsigma$ into $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, ('OC into $\overline{\Theta C}$) it is perfectly unaccountable how the internal stroke came to be omitted; since, how easily soever it might be left out by a mere copyist, it never could escape a person who should alter the word with the express design of making it read $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$.

Wetstein speaks doubtfully and indeterminately in reference to the reading of this MS. though he gives it as his opinion that it was originally $\overline{\omicron}\varsigma$. He says: " $\overline{\omicron}\varsigma$ habet Codex C, UT PUTO; nam lineola illa tenuis, quae ex O facit Θ non apparet, altera autem lineola, quae alias literis $\overline{\Theta C}$, quibus $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ per compendium scribi consuevit, aequali distantia, imminet, crassiori atque imperitiori ductu ita exarata est $\overline{\Theta C}$ ut aliam manum prodere VIDEATUR." On this Woide remarks: "What Wetstein says relative to the stroke of abbreviation above $\overline{\Theta C}$, I do not understand. He observes, 'altera autem lineola,' etc. He should rather have said, 'The stroke of abbreviation above \overline{OC} is perfectly free and untouched, and is still so plain and evident, that every one must discover, with the naked eye, that it must al-

* "Certe opponi nobis nullomodo potest hic codex, sed, nisi a nostris partibus stare judicetur, saltem *neutrarum* partium esse censendus est." *Symbolae Criticae*, Vol. I. p. xxix.

† Such instances of the entire absence of the transverse line are not uncommon in the uncial MSS. Among others in the *Codex Sangermanensis*, Less found the words *ΕΙCΕΛΘΗ*, Rom. 11: 23, and *ΕΠΙΟΥΜΗΤΑC*, 1 Cor. 10: 6, without the least trace of a stroke; and he concludes, that it must either have entirely faded, or been omitted at first through the forgetfulness of the transcriber. Similar instances are furnished by Woide, and others who have described these MSS.

ways have been there. I can no more perceive any *crassiozem et rudiozem ductum* than in many other strokes connected with the letters of the MS. of which some appear more clear than others, having been less effaced. I have accurately examined this passage, both with the naked eye and with the help of glasses, and cannot possibly assent to what Wetstein says respecting the supposed inelegance of the stroke."*

It is worthy of notice that, besides the supernal line, there is an indication below the word, which determines it to be intended for $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$. This consists of two marks, supposed to be musical notes, according to which the word to which they are attached must have been a dissyllable and not a monosyllable. Griesbach, indeed, contends that they are from the hand of a corrector; but he has no other proof to allege than the absence of such marks from Greek MSS. written previous to the ninth or tenth century. Here they certainly are found in a MS. greatly anterior in date; and till such time as it can be satisfactorily shown, when and by whom they were first introduced, his reasoning is aside from the point.

Strenuously as Griesbach endeavours to support $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ as the original reading of this MS. he is, when pressed, obliged to reduce it to a probability. In fact, he is palpably inconsistent with himself in his different statements on the subject. In his *Symbolae Criticae*, Vol. I. p. xxix. he writes: "*Propter varia indicia in codice ipso obvia PROBABILIVS ei tribui $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ quam $\Theta\epsilon\varsigma$.*" But at p. xxv. he confidently asserts: "*Non PROBABILE tantum sed CERTUM omnino esse statuo, librum nostrum scripsisse $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.*"

3. F is an uncial MS. of the ninth or tenth century, and is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Like that just referred to, it exhibits the usual abbreviated form \overline{OC} only the transverse stroke in the Θ has been entirely obliterated, if ever it existed. If the line above the word be genuine, i. e. a *prima manu*, it never could have been intended for $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. On this subject, Matthaei, an approved judge, makes the following positive declaration. "*Quid sibi vult ista linea in relativo $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$? Hoc enim omnes sciunt, relativum $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ in nullo codice scribi \overline{OC} .*"

* *Orient. und Exeget. Biblioth.* VII. Theil, p. 139. Less, after examining the word, declares:—"I have taken every possible pains to see what Wetstein saw, but could discover nothing of it."—*Matthaei N. T.* Vol. VII. p. 91.

Solum Θεός, propter omissas literas, habet istam lineam $\overline{\Theta C}$. Similiter scribitur \overline{IC} , \overline{XC} , et alia.”*

The Latin version, accompanying the Greek text, and which is written in Anglo-Saxon cursive characters, reads *quod*.

4. G, the Boernerian Codex, preserved in the Royal Library at Dresden, and of which an edition was published by Matthaei, reads \overline{OC} ; and the Latin text, which is written above the Greek *quod*. Some have supposed this MS. to be a transcript of the former; but, how great soever the affinity between them may be, they each exhibit certain peculiarities, which show that this is not the case.† It is of the ninth or tenth century.

5. The cursive MSS. 17 and 73, are from the eleventh or twelfth century, and both decidedly read \overline{os} .

From this statement, it will be seen, that Griesbach is borne out by only *three* positive testimonies, none of which is entitled to higher consideration than those in which a different reading is exhibited. Even on the ground of his favourite family relationship, the authority is dubious.‡

II. VERSIONS. Not one of the ancient versions can be regarded as decisive in favour of this reading. With the exception of the Latin, the Philoxenian Syriac, the Arabic of Erpenius, and that of the Polyglott, the Slavonic and the Georgian, they *may*, but *do not necessarily* express it. Those just specified are pointedly *against* it.

III. FATHERS. The reading QUI occurs, as we have already seen, once or twice in the Latin Fathers; but never in any Greek Father does \overline{os} occur as a *direct and positive quotation* of the identical word in the apostolic text. In the instances adduced by Griesbach, it must be at once perceived, that λόγος or Χριστός is the nominative expressly mentioned, and that it was not the design of the Fathers *formally* and *literally* to quote, but only to refer to the passage by way of explanation,

* N. T. Vol. VII. p. 91.

† Hug's Introduction, Vol. I. p. 287. A fac-simile of the text, 1 Tim. 3: 16, in this Codex, is given by Matthaei, N. T. Vol. I. at the end of the Preface.

‡ See Dr. Laurence, pp. 24—77, and Eclectic Review, N. S. Vol. IV. pp. 183, 184.

or to confirm, by one or other of its predicates, the matter in hand. See on this subject, Matthæi N. T. Vol. VIII. pp. xli—liii. where the alleged passages in Cyril, etc. are luminously and satisfactorily treated.

IV. PRINTED EDITIONS. Besides the edition of Griesbach, I have found *ὁς* only in that accompanied with a Latin version and notes by Schott, and which is in fact only a recognition of Griesbach's text.

γ. *The Reading ΘEOC, GOD.*

With the exception of three manuscripts (G, 17, 73), the reading *ΘC* or *Θεός* is, or has been, that of all known copies of the Pauline Epistles in which the passage is found.

To the very ancient Codex Vaticanus no appeal can be made, as it does not contain this Epistle. It is the same with the uncial manuscript E, formerly belonging to the Abbey of St. Germain in Paris, but now in the dépôt of MSS. attached to the public Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, where I had an opportunity of examining it in 1823. In this Codex, the Greek text of 1 Tim. is wanting from the beginning to chap. vi. 15, which is the more to be regretted, as it might have thrown some light on the Codex Claromontanus, of which it is little more than a transcript. The Latin text, adopted from the Vulgate, is supplied in the Epistle, and in the passage under consideration, reads *quod*.* The entire passage is also wanting in the important Codex H, written in the sixth or seventh century.

The following is a catalogue of the MSS. in which *Θεός*, either in its full or abbreviated form, has been found; containing a specification of the countries in which they exist, the libraries in which they are deposited, and their probable age.

* If this be the Codex to which Father Simon refers in his note on this passage, he has placed the matter in a false light when he affirms, that in the *Greek* and Latin we read as in the Vulgate. This mistake was pointed out by Wetstein, but he takes no notice of another inaccuracy in the note, that the same reading (*ὁ quod*) is found in a MS. in England. Such a MS. has otherwise never been heard of.

The dates of some, and the places where others at present exist, it has been impossible to ascertain.

I. In ENGLAND.

	Century.
1. A, or the Codex Alexandrinus; British Museum	IV. or V.
2. F, Trinity College, Cambridge	IX. or X.
3. Barocc. 3. Bodl. Lib.	XII. XIII.
4. Harlei. 5537 Brit. Mus.	XI.
5. ——— 5588 ———	XIII.
6. ——— 5613 ———	XV.
7. ——— 5620 ———	XV.
8. ——— 5778 ———	
9. Erasm. 5552 ———	
10. Hunt. Bodl. 131 ———	XI.
11. Leicest.	XIV.
12. Laud. 2. Bodl.	XIII.
13. Lincoln 2. Line. Col. Oxford	<i>very old.</i>
14. Magdal. 1. Mag. Col.	XI.
15. Monfort. Trin. Col. Dub.	XV.
16. New Col. Oxford	XIII.
17. Canonici. Bodl. xi. 142	XI.
18. Roe 2. Bodl. Roe 16.	XI. or XII.
19. Vespas. B. xviii. Cotton Lib.	XI.
20. Westmon. 935. now Brit. Mus. I. B. I.	XIV.
21. Wake 1. Christ Church Oxford	XI.
22. ——— 2. ———	IX. or X.
23. ——— 3. ———	XII.
24. ——— 4. ———	XI.
25. ——— 5. ———	XI.
26. Pub. Lib. Cambr. 495	XII.
27. Christ Col. ——— 2	XI. or XII.
28. Emm. Col. ——— 3	XII.
29. } Pub. L. ——— 496. double MS.	XI. and XIV.
30. }	
31. Clagett. Marlbor.	XI.
32. Meade 3 (Askew) Brit. Mus. 5117	IX.
33. Faber or Wolff	XV.
34. Steph. <i>γ</i> . Pub. Lib. Cam. K. k. 6, 4.	
35. }	
36. }	
37. }	
38. }	
	Archiepiscopal Lib. Lambeth XI. and XII.

II. IN FRANCE.

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|---|-------|---------------|
| 1. C, or the Cod. Ephremi, Regius | 1905. | VI. or VII. |
| 2. D, Claromont. | 107. | VII. or VIII. |

		Century.
3.	Regius	1885. XI.
4.	. . . . .	1886. XI.
5.	. . . . .	2242.
6.	. . . . .	2245, 2. X. or XI.
7.	. . . . .	2246. XI.
8.	. . . . .	2247. XII.
9.	. . . . .	2248. XIII.
10.	. . . . .	2248, 2.
11.	. . . . .	2864. XIII.
12.	. . . . .	2869. X.
13.	. . . . .	2870. XI.
14.	. . . . .	2871. XIII.
15.	. . . . .	3425. XI.
16.	. . . . .	3427.
17.	Colbert	871. XIV.
18.	. . . . .	3002. IX.
19.	. . . . .	3790.
20.	. . . . .	4785. XIII.
21.	. . . . .	5259. XI.
22.	. . . . .	6123. XIV.
23.	. . . . .	6584.
24.	Coisl.	18. XI.
25.	. . . . .	26. X.
26.	. . . . .	27. X.
27.	. . . . .	28. XI.
28.	. . . . .	30. XI.
29.	. . . . .	95. XIII.
30.	. . . . .	196. XII.
31.	. . . . .	199. XI.
32.	. . . . .	200. XIII.
33.	. . . . .	202, 2. XI.
34.	. . . . .	204. XI.
35.	. . . . .	205. XI.
36.	. . . . .	217. XIII.
37.	. . . . .	224. X.

III. IN ITALY.

1.	Cod. Vatican.	360. XIII.
2.	. . . . .	363. XI.
3.	. . . . .	366. XIV.
4.	. . . . .	367. XI.
5.	. . . . .	761.
6.	. . . . .	765.
7.	. . . . .	766.
8.	. . . . .	1136. XI.

		Century.
9.	Cod. Vatican.	1160. XIII.
10.	. . . . .	1208. XIII.
11.	. . . . .	1210. XI.
12.	. . . . .	1430. XI.
13.	. . . . .	1650.* XI.
14.	. . . . .	1761. XI.
15.	Palat.	38. IX.
16.	. . . . .	171. XI.
17.	Urbín.	3. X. or XI.
18.	. . . . .	50.
19.	Reg. Alex.	179 now 29. X.
20.	Barberin.	19. XIV.
21.	. . . . .	229.
22.	St. Basil.	22.
23.	. . . . .	41.
24.	. . . . .	101.
25.	. . . . .	119.
26.	. . . . .	152.
27.	. . . . .	163.
28.	St. August.	2.
29.	Regius, Naples	XI.
30.	Laurent. Floren.	IV. 1. X.
31.	. . . . .	5. XIII.
32.	. . . . .	20. XI.
33.	. . . . .	29. X.
34.	. . . . .	31. XI.
35.	. . . . .	32. XI.
36.	. . . . .	X. 4.
37.	. . . . .	6.
38.	. . . . .	7.
39.	. . . . .	19.
40.	St. Mary	4.
41.	St. Mark	701.
42.	. . . . .	705.
43.	. . . . .	707.
44.	Bonon.	640.
45.	St. Mark, Venice	5. XV.
46.	. . . . .	6. XV.
47.	. . . . .	10. XV.
48.	. . . . .	11. XIII.
49.	. . . . .	33. XI.
50.	. . . . .	34. XI.

* This Cod. has the singular reading *ὁφθῆ ἀνθρώποις*, which is also found in Steph. δ. and Clem. in *ΘΕC*um. See *Wagstaff's* Collation in Sion College Library.

	Century.
51.	35. XI.
52.	

IV. IN AUSTRIA.

1. Lambec. Vien.	28. X.
2.	1. XII. or XIII.
3.	34. XI. or XII.
4.	35.
5.	36.
6.	37.
7. Forloss.	15.
8.	19.
9. Kolar.	10.

V. IN OTHER PARTS OF GERMANY.

1. Pub. Lib. Hamb. Uffenbach 2.	
2. Nuremberg. Ebner.	XIV.
3. Augsburg. August.	
4. Guelpher c.	XI. or XIII.

VI. SWITZERLAND.

1. Basil. Reuchlin. B. vi. 27	X.
2. ——— ix.	IX.
3. ——— x. 20	XIV. or XV.
4. Basil. B. vi. 17	
5. Genev. 1.	XIII.
6. Zurich.	

VII. HOLLAND.

1. Petav. 1 Leyd.	77 XII. or XIII.
2. ——— 2	
3. Collated by Dr. Walker	
4. ——— Brussels.	

VIII. DENMARK.

1. Havn.	XIII.
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IX. RUSSIA.

Century.			Century.		
1.	Matthaei A α 3	XI.	8.	Matthaei K	XI.
2.	———— B	X.	9.	———— L	XII.
3.	———— C	XV.	10.	———— M	XI.
4.	———— D	XI.	11.	———— N	
5.	———— E	XII.	12.	———— 9.	
6.	———— F	XIII.	13.	———— α.	
7.	———— G	IX.	14.	———— ψ.	

X. UNKNOWN WHERE AT PRESENT PRESERVED.

Century.

1. Stephani . . . α	4. Amandi	
2. Thuan.	5. Cassan. .	12* XI.
3. Seidel	6. ——— .	20* XII.

Thus there are in England . . .	38
In France . . .	37
In Italy . . .	52
In Austria . . .	9
In Germany . . .	4
In Switzerland . . .	6
In Holland . . .	4
In Denmark . . .	1
In Russia . . .	14

In places at present unknown . . . 6

making a total of 171 MSS. of the Pauline Epistles which exhibit *Θεός*, and which, except *three* others that read *ὁς*, are all of which the collation has yet been published. It would have given me peculiar pleasure to lay before my readers the result of Professor Scholz's researches in reference to this important text, as it cannot be doubted that, of the *six hundred* MSS. unknown to Griesbach, which he has consulted,† a very considerable number contain the passage. However, I feel confident, from the progress already made in the collation of Greek manuscripts, that when the second volume of the Professor's Greek Testament shall appear, no small augmentation will be made to the above catalogue. Some of those in the British Museum not having been entirely collated for Griesbach's edition, I have carefully examined the following: Askew. 5117; Harlei. 5537, 5588, 5613, 5620, 5778; Bib. Reg. I. B. I. In No. 5778, which is a beautifully written Codex, the reading *Θεός* has but just escaped the flames, which have consumed part of the word *μυστήριον* immediately preceding. All of them exhibit the word in its abbreviated form, but so distinctly as to be liable to no suspicion.

With respect to the *Alexandrian Codex*, it has been proved, as far as the nature of the case will allow, that *ΘC* was its origi-

* These two MSS. were collated by Mr Berriman in the library of Mr Cassano, chaplain to the Russian ambassador. MS. note by Mr B. in a copy of his Dissertation in Sion College Library, p. 165.

† Horne's Introduction, Sixth Edit. Vol. II. p. 114.

nal reading. This proof is furnished by the unimpeachable testimony of Junius, Huish, Mill, Wotton, Croyk, Berriman, Ridley, Gibson, Hewitt, and Pilkington, who carefully and minutely inspected the passage before it became illegible, and found the genuine transverse line in the *Theta*. To these names may be added those of Walton, Fell, Bentley, and Grabe, all of whom had access to the MS. at an earlier period, and who concur in its exhibiting $\overline{\theta C}$ and not \overline{OC} . The report of Owen and Nichols, as given in Bowyer's Conjectures, is of too recent date to be of any weight. When Dr Mill first collated it, he was inclined to believe \overline{OC} the true reading; but after examining it more closely, he discovered evident traces of the ancient horizontal line within the letter. The evidence thus elicited was attempted to be set aside by Wetstein, who, on first examining the MS. was able to discover no stroke, and conjectured that what Mill had taken for it was merely the line of an Epsilon in the word *EYCEBEIAN* on the opposite side of the leaf, which made its appearance through the vellum; but on inspecting the θ more minutely afterwards, he found that the fine stroke which was originally in the body of the letter, was discoverable at each end of the fuller stroke with which some corrector had retouched it. That the straight line of the Epsilon falls in with the exact position of the central stroke in $\overline{\theta C}$ has been disproved by Woide, the learned editor of the Codex, who determined the line to be not precisely at the back, but somewhat below the *Theta*. Such as are desirous of further information on the subject, may consult Berriman's Dissertation on 1 Tim. 3: 16. pp. 153—159. Hales on the Trinity, Vol. II. pp. 70—73. Nolan on the Greek Vulgate, p. 285. Eclect. Rev. N. S. Vol. III. pp. 180, 181.

After making the exceptions to which we have already referred, Griesbach himself fully admits, that all the other manuscripts of which we have any knowledge read $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$. "Caeteri, quos novimus OMNES—exhibent $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$." His objection, that most of them are modern, is of little moment. The greater number are of a date equal to those which read $\acute{o}\varsigma$; while nearly *forty* of them are 800 years old; *eleven* are 900; *six* are 1000; *one*, if not another, is at least upwards of 1200; and the Alexandrian Codex is supposed to be nearly 1500 years of age.

II. VERSIONS. The reading $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ is supported by the *Philozenian Syriac*, the *Arabic* of the Polyglott, the *Slavonic*, and the *Georgian* versions.

1. The *Philoxenian Syriac*, made by Polycarp, at the instance of Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis in Syria, between the years 488 and 518, and afterwards revised by Thomas of Heraclea in 616, is of great value in sacred criticism, both on account of the servility with which every word and phrase of the Greek text has been imitated, etymological niceties not excepted; and because the MSS. which formed its basis, and which must have been older than any now in existence, are supposed to have contained the text of Origen.* The MSS. with which it was afterwards collated are expressly stated by Thomas himself to be "very excellent and correct copies." They were found in the Antonian Monastery at Alexandria.†

In this version the passage is thus rendered : Ἀληθινὸς Δεῖος
 ἡμεῶν καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ Δεῖος καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ Δεῖος ἡμεῶν
 “and confessedly great is the mystery of the good fear of God
 who was manifested in the flesh,” etc. That Θεός existed
 in the MSS. from which the version was made, is placed be-
 yond all doubt by the fact, that in all the other passages of
 the New Testament in which the word εὐσεβεία occurs, the
 words Δεῖος καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ “good fear,” alone are used, without the
 addition of τοῦ Θεοῦ God. These instances are *thirteen* in num-
 ber ; the uniformity in the rendering of which, makes the devia-
 tion in the present case the more remarkable. What adds to
 the certainty of our conviction that Θεός was in those MSS. is
 the striking coincidence, that it is found in chap 2: 10, the only
 other passage which contains the rendering Δεῖος καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ
 τοῦ Θεοῦ “the good fear of God ;” though there it only forms
 part of the word Θεοσεβεία, which the phrase in question is de-
 signed to express.

Another circumstance must not be left unnoticed. In every other instance in which, in the Philoxenian version, a noun is put in construction with ܐܠܗܝܡ *God*, the latter has ܕ *Dolath*, the regular sign of the Genitive, prefixed to it ; as ܕܥܝܪܝܢ ܐܠܗܝܡ

* Hug's Introduction, Vol. I. p. 374, and Eichhorn's Repertorium, VII. Theil, S. 74.

† Hug, p. 373.

ܐܠܗܐ, "O man of God;" ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ "the kingdom of God;" but, in the phrase before us, the ܐ *Dolath* is omitted, and the words are given precisely as the Peshito Syriac translates *γοβὸς Θεοῦ*. The remark of Michaelis,* that "a single Olaph added at the end of ܐܠܗܐ would make a considerable alteration," is so far just, as it would, by putting that word in the emphatic state, disengage it from ܐܠܗܐ, which would then begin the following sentence; whereas the translator meant them to be connected. And, having purposely introduced the word for *Θεός* at the end of the former clause, he could not conveniently repeat it, as that would have been to represent the Greek as reading *Θεοῦ Θεός ἐξανερῶθῃ*. He therefore preferred the other alternative.

The Latin translation of Professor White, the Editor of this version, is calculated to lead the reader to suppose that the Syriac favours the lection *ὃ ἐξανερῶθῃ*, which it by no means does. He gives it, "mysterium *pietatis*, quod," etc. whereas it should have been, "mysterium *timoris Dei*, qui."

In the margin of the Philoxenian is the various reading ܐܠܗܐ; but this is only intended more definitely to mark ܐܠܗܐ *God* as the immediate antecedent to the verb, and is the fuller and more usual form of the relative. Thus, chap. 2: 3, 4, ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ *God who willeth* that "all," etc. 6: 13, ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ "God who quickeneth all." Acts 4: 24, ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ "Thou art *God who didst* make," etc. If, therefore, we admit the reading into the text, the form will be parallel with that of the passages just quoted: ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ *God who was manifested*, etc. Had Professor White attended to the frequent occurrence of this form, and given a verbal translation in which the word *Dei* was used, he never could have said, as he does in his note: "Cum vero nomen masc. generis in sententia non praecedat, vocabulo *qui* in textu non sum usus."

* Introduction, Vol. II. p. 72.

2. The *Arabic* of the Polyglott has the following paraphrastic version: هذه المناقب ذكر بها لجسامه سر “remember this principle, the great mystery of the true religion: God appeared in the flesh.” That this version was made immediately from the Greek, and that it was executed in Africa, has been proved by Michaelis and Hug; but at what time it was made, has not been ascertained, though it must have been between the seventh and eleventh centuries. With the above text, that published under the superintendence of Solomon Negri, London 1727, agrees, except in the first clause of the verse, where the version is rendered more literal.

3. The *Slavonic* version exhibits “God was manifested in the flesh.” This version, which is very literal, was made from Greek MSS. in the ninth century, but these MSS. may reasonably be regarded as expressing the text of an earlier period. The position which Porson assumes in regard to it will not be disputed. “I am content to produce the authority of this version for no more than a tolerable proof what was the usual reading in the *sixth*, or (if, when you find it turned against you, you should be zealous to depress its value) in the seventh and eighth centuries.”* The reading, which we have just given, is not only found in all the printed editions of the Slavonic N. T. but also in all the MSS. some of which are of the eleventh century; and all of which, as well as the *Editio Princeps*, and the text of the second edition of the Slavonic Bible, omit 1 John 5: 7.

4. The *Georgian*, which was made about the year 600, from Greek MSS. also reads “God manifest in the flesh.” It is true this version underwent a revision about the middle of the last century; but it does not appear that any different reading was found either in this passage, or with respect to the omission of 1 John 5: 7, in which it agreed with other ancient versions.

III. FATHERS. Though we meet with no formal quotation of the passage before the middle of the third century, yet in one or two places of the earliest of the Fathers, certain modes of expression occur which seem to presuppose, and to have been produced by, the common reading.

* Letters to Travis, p. 201.

1. *Ignatius*, bishop of Antioch, A. D. 107, writes, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, chap. 7. *Εἷς ἱατρός ἐστιν σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεός.* "There is one Physician, both corporeal and spiritual, begotten and unbegotten, God *born in the flesh.*" In chap. 19, his language, though still not identical, is perfectly coincident: *Πῶς οὖν ἐφανερώθη τοῖς αἰῶσιν—παλαιὰ βασιλεία διεφθείρετο, Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερομένου.* "How then was he manifested to the world—the old kingdom was destroyed when God *was manifested as man.*"

2. *Hippolytus*, A. D. 220, in his Homily against Noëtus, chap. 17. *Οὗτος προσελθὼν εἰς κόσμον Θεὸς ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη.* "He coming into the world, was God *manifested in the body.*"

3. *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, A. D. 260, is the first who expressly cites the words in his Epistle against Paul of Samosata. *Εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῇ πατρὶ συναϊδὶος Λόγος· ἐν αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον, ἀόρατος Θεός, καὶ ὁρατός γενόμενος· Θεὸς γὰρ ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί.* "Christ is one, who is in the Father, the co-eternal Word. There is one person of him who is the invisible God, and who became visible; for God *was manifested in the flesh.*"

4. *Athanasius*, A. D. 326. Not to insist on the words *Φοβεῖσθαι τὴν περὶ τοῦ τηλικούτου μυστηρίου ζήτησιν, ὁμολογεῖν δὲ ὅτι πεφανερώται Θεὸς ἐν σαρκὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν παράδοσιν*: "That they be afraid to search into so great a mystery, but that they confess that God *was manifested in the flesh*, according to the apostolic tradition;" as the Book on the Incarnation of the Word, in which they occur, is not clearly proved to be the work of this Father, though there can be little doubt it was written in or near his time; we are furnished with a quotation of the passage, in his fourth Epistle to Serapion, introduced in such a manner as clearly to show that Θεός, and neither ὅς nor ὁ, was the reading of his text. *"Ἐχουσι γὰρ Ἀπόστολον συγγνώμον αὐτοῖς νέμοντα, καὶ οἶονεὶ χεῖρα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἐκτείνοντα, ὅτι καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί.* "For they have the Apostle offering them an apology, when, stretching out, as it were the hand to them, he says, And confessedly great is the mystery of Godliness: God *was manifested in the flesh.*"

5. *Gregory Nyssene*, A. D. 370, frequently quotes and refers to the words in connexions which admit of no other reading but Θεός. Thus, in his second Oration. *Πεισθέντες ὅτι ἄλη-*

θῶς Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἀληθινὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστηριον εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. “Being persuaded that in truth God was manifested in the flesh. This same is the only true mystery of Godliness,” etc. Again, Oration IV. Πάντες οὖν τὸν λόγον κηρύσσοντες ἐν τούτῳ τὸ θαῦμα τοῦ μυστηρίου καταμηνύουσιν· ὅτι Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ὅτι ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο. “All who preach the word, pronounce the wonder of the mystery to be in this: That God was manifested in the flesh, that the Word was made flesh,” etc. And in his tenth Oration, when proving the divinity of our Lord from Rom. 9: 5, Tit. 2: 13, and 1 Tim. 3: 16, he states in reference to the last passage: Τιμοθέῳ δὲ διαρρήδην βοᾷ ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. “And to Timothy, he explicitly and loudly declares, that God was manifest in the flesh.”

6. Chrysostom, A. D. 398, quotes and expounds the passage in his Commentary thus: Καὶ ὁμολογουμένως, φησὶ, μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστηριον. Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι· τούτέστιν ἡ οἰκονομία ἡ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. Μὴ μοι εἴπῃς τοὺς κώδωνας μηδὲ τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, μηδὲ τὸν ἀρχιερέα. στυλὸς ἐστὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡ ἐκκλησία. Ἐννόησον τὸ μυστήριον, καὶ φοῖξαι ἔχεις. Καὶ μυστήριον ἐστὶ, καὶ μέγα, καὶ εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, καὶ ὁμολογουμένως, οὐ ζητουμένως, ἀναμειβόμενον γὰρ ἐστίν. Ἐπειδὴ περὶ ἱερέων διαταττόμενος, εἰς ἕτεραν ἀνάγει τὸ πρᾶγμα, λέγων· Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, τούτέστιν ὁ Δημιουργός. “And confessedly great, he says, is the mystery of godliness: God was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit. This is the economy under which we live. Tell me not of the bells, nor of the holy of holies, nor of the high priest. The church is the pillar of the world. Consider the mystery and tremble. For it is a *mystery*, and *great*, and a *mystery of godliness*, and *confessedly* and *indisputably* such; for it is of *no doubtful meaning*. After having given charge concerning ministers, he brings forward a different subject, saying: God was manifested in the flesh, i. e. the CREATOR.” And commenting further on it, he adds: Διὰ τοῦτο φησὶν ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ, καὶ γὰρ ὄντως μέγα. Ἀνθρώπος γὰρ ἐγένετο ὁ Θεός, καὶ Θεὸς ὁ ἄνθρωπος. “On this account, he says, it is confessedly great. For it is in reality great: God became man, and man, God.”

In his Homily on John 1: 18, when treating of the invisibility of God, he argues as follows: Εἰ δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ φησὶ, Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, μὴ θαυμάσης· ὅτι ἡ φανέρωσις διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς, οὐ μὴν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν γέγονεν. Ἐπεὶ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀορατός

οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἄνω δυνάμεσιν δείκνυσιν ὁ Παῦλος. Εἰπὼν γὰρ ὅτι ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐπήγαγε, ὅτι ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τότε ὤφθη, ὅτε σάρκα περιεβάλετο. “But if he elsewhere says: *God was manifested in the flesh*, wonder not; because this manifestation through the flesh did not take place according to the *essence*, as indeed Paul himself afterwards shows that he is not invisible to men only, but also to the powers above. For having said that he was manifested in the flesh, he adds, that he was seen of the angels; so that he also appeared to the angels when he invested himself with flesh.”

Adverting, in his Homily for Philogonius, to the condescension of the Saviour in becoming man, he says: *Τὸ δὲ Θεὸν ὄντα, ἄνθρωπον θελῆσαι γενέσθαι, καὶ ἀνασχέσθαι καταβῆναι τοσοῦτον, ὅσον οὐδὲ διάνοια δέξεσθαι δύναται. Τοῦτο δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ φορικωδέστατον, καὶ ἐκπλήξεως γέμον.* Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος θαυμάζων, λέγει· καὶ ὁμολ. μ. ε. τ. τ. ε. μυστήριον. Ποῖον μέγα; Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. “And that *He who was God*, should choose to become man, and vouchsafe to condescend to such a degree as no mind can conceive—this is the most confounding and astonishing. Which Paul, admiring, says, And confessedly great is the mystery of godliness: *God was manifested in the flesh.*”

7. Cyril of Alexandria, A. D. 412, in his first Oration on the orthodox faith, reasons as follows: *Καὶ ὁμολογουμένως, κ. τ. λ. Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. Τίς ὁ ἐν σαρκί φανερωθείς; ἢ δῆλον, ὅτι πάντη τε καὶ πάντως ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγος. Οὕτω γὰρ ἔσται μέγα τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον.* “And confessedly, etc. *God was manifested in the flesh.* Who was it that was manifested in the flesh? Is it not obvious, that it was *He* who is absolutely and entirely the Word of God the Father? For thus the mystery of godliness will be great.” And immediately after: *Οὐτι που φαμέν, ὅτι καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ Θεὸς ἐν σαρκί, καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς γεγονώς.* “We do not say that he was simply a man as we are, but *Θεός*, God in the flesh, and born like unto us.”

8. Theodoret, A. D. 423, comments on the passage thus: *Μυστήριον δὲ αὐτὸ καλεῖ, ὡς ἄνωθεν μὲν προορισθέν. (Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί.) Θεὸς γὰρ ὦν, καὶ Θεοῦ υἱός, καὶ ἀόρατος ἔχων τὴν φύσιν, δῆλος ἅπασιν ἐνανθρωπήσας ἐγένετο. Σαφῶς δὲ ἡμᾶς τὰς δύο φύσεις ἐδίδαξεν, ἐν σαρκί γὰρ τὴν θείαν ἐφη φανερωθῆναι φύσιν.* “He calls the same a mystery, as that which had been predetermined from the beginning, and was af-

terwards manifested. *God was manifested in the flesh.* For being God, and the Son of God, and possessing an invisible nature, when he became incarnate, he was manifest to all. Thus he hath clearly taught us the two natures; for he affirms that the *divine nature* was manifested in the flesh."

9. *Euthalius*, A. D. 458, who undertook a new division of the Greek text into chapters, and wrote out a copy of Paul's Epistles with his own hand, reads in like manner, *Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί*, "God manifest in the flesh;" and entitles the chapter or division in which the words occur, *περὶ θείας σαρκώσεως*, "of the *divine* Incarnation."

To the testimonies of these Fathers might be added those of Damascene, Photius, Oecumenius, Theophylact, and others who flourished in succeeding ages of the church; but these are sufficient to show what was the reading of the passages in the MSS. in use among the Greeks, and to demonstrate how utterly without foundation are the assertions made by Sir Isaac Newton, that the churches during the *first five centuries* were absolute strangers to this reading, and that Macedonius, in the beginning of the *sixth* century, first introduced it into the text.

Attempts have been made to throw discredit on the texts of Chrysostom and Cyril; but nothing in the shape of proof that the passages have been falsified has yet been produced; and it is only necessary carefully to examine the connexions in which the text is introduced, and the specific point and bearing of the arguments, in order to perceive that, to free the writers from the charge of incongruous and inconclusive reasoning, the reading must be *Θεός*, and not *ὅς* or *ὅ*. What Bishop Horsley asserts, in reference to one of the passages in Chrysostom, may be applied to most of the other testimonies: "Substitute *ὅ* for *Θεός* in the text of Chrysostom, and the exposition *τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὁ δημιουργός* will be *rank nonsense*.*

We shall conclude this section, with the testimony of a Latin Father, Epiphanius the Deacon, A. D. 787, who, in his Panegyric on the Second Council of Nice, quotes the passage conformably to the reading of the Greek Vulgate: "*Audi igitur Paulum magna voce clamantem, et veritatem istam corroborantem: Deus manifestatus est in carne, justificatus est in spiritu—O magni doctoris affatum! Deus, inquit, manifestatus est in carne.*"

* Newton's Historical Account, p. 67.

IV. PRINTED EDITIONS.—Before proceeding to notice the critical editions of the Greek N. T. which exhibit the reading Θεός, it may not be out of place to call the attention of the reader to the annotation of *Laurentius Valla*, who, in the judgment of Dr Meyer,* deserves an honourable rank among biblical critics, on account of the distinguished manner in which he rose above the age in which he lived (A. D. 1440), in his abandonment of its crude and undigested opinions, and the foundation which he laid for a grammatical and rational interpretation of the Bible. Formed in the school of the Greek and Latin classics, he was well practised in the mode of treating critical subjects; and possessing a profound knowledge of the original language of the New Testament, and the history of the text, he was admirably qualified to detect and expose the errors of the Latin Vulgate, which he did in the most frank and open manner. This author, whom Erasmus designates ὁ κριτικώτατος, writes as follows:—"Quod neutraliter legitur, masculine legendum est, addendumque Deus; sic enim est Graece: Et plane, sive haud dubie, sive quod Graeco magis respondet, et sine controversia, id est confesse, ὁμολογουμένως, magnum est pietatis sacramentum, id est, mysterium. Deus manifestatus est in carne, justificatus est in spiritu, apparuit angelis, praedicatus est in gentibus, creditus est in mundo, assumptus est in gloria. Nam quomodo, ut argumento agam, potest mysterium assumi in gloria? Christus in gloria assumptus est: μίγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον. Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, κ. τ. λ."

1. The first printed edition in which the reading appears is the Spanish, or *Complutensian Polyglott*, where we find it thus confronted with the *quod* of the Vulgate:—

Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί,
quod manifestatum est in carne;

a discrepancy, which, while it is of importance to our present inquiry, goes to corroborate the opinion of Griesbach, Goetze, Michaelis, Marsh, and other learned critics, that the editors did not alter the text to render it conformable to the Latin version. The question respecting the Greek MSS. which they used, has not yet been satisfactorily settled. According to their own statement, they were *vetustissima simul et emendatissima*, which declaration, though requiring, perhaps, some abatement, is entitled

* History of the Interpretation of Scripture, Vol. I. p. 155.

to more attention than some seem disposed to pay to it. The story about the destruction of these MSS. by a rocket-maker is now completely exploded, and we may still hope that they will one day be brought to light.

2. The Editio Princeps of *Erasmus* (1516) reads—

Θεός ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί;

Deus manifestatus in carne.

Here the *quod* of the Vulgate is changed into *Deus*, and the neuter participle converted into the masculine to agree with it. It has been attempted to depreciate the critical labours of *Erasmus*, on the ground of the paucity of MSS. which he used in preparing the copy; but it has been proved, that though, in editing the Acts and Epistles, he laid the Basel Codex of the ninth century as the basis of his text, he did not confine himself to its readings, but adopted what otherwise appeared to be supported by the best authorities. He had access to the Vatican library, was acquainted with the merits of the oriental and western readings, and had diligently perused the Fathers, in order to ascertain in what way they had quoted the passages to which they refer. Since his Greek text latinizes much more than that of Complutensian, and he has been supposed, in several instances, to favour the Vulgate, and especially since he does not scruple to give it as his opinion, that *Θεός* had been foisted into the text in the time of the Arian controversy, we may be certain, that had he found any discrepancy of reading either in the MSS. of the N. T. or the Fathers, he would have availed himself of it, at least in his annotations. But on the subject of any such discrepancy he is altogether silent.

3. The same reading is exhibited in the Greek text of the *Aldine* Edition, 1518, which, though a reprint of that of *Erasmus*, yet was altered in many places, as might be expected; for *Asculanus*, the father-in-law of *Aldus*, expressly states in the preface, that, with a view to it, he had collated many very ancient MSS.

4. The texts of *Stephens* and *Beza*, which formed the basis of the innumerable editions of the *Textus Receptus*, also read *Θεός*. The latter editor, as we have already seen, declares, with the *Codex Claromontanus* before him, that this was the constant reading of all the Greek MSS.

5. The critical editions of the Greek text published by *Walton*, *Mill*, and *Wetstein*, have the same reading; and, with the

exception of that of Wetstein, may fairly be appealed to in its support, since it is a well-known fact, that though these profoundly learned editors adopted the Stephanic or Elzevir text, they declared themselves convinced of its genuineness on manuscript and other perfectly independent evidence.

6. The text of *Bengel*, according to the rule which he had laid down, not to insert any various reading which had not been found in one or other of the printed editions, necessarily exhibits the common reading *Θεός*; but in his note he furnishes the reader with his reasons for considering it to be genuine.

7. *Θεός* is retained in the edition of Dr *Wells* (1709—1719), who emended the Greek text according to the materials furnished by Mill, and thus produced a text, differing only in some trivial points from more modern and corrected editions.

8. *Macey*, who omits 1 John 5: 7 in his edition 1729, retains *Θεός*, and translates the verse, “The mystery of piety is the pillar and basis of truth, and certainly most extraordinary: God has appeared in the flesh,” etc. After adverting in his note to the Clermont, Boernerian, and Colbertine manuscripts, he adds, —“But all the other MSS. have *Θεός*, even the Alexandrian MS. probably the most ancient of all.”

9. The critical editions of *Matthaei*, Riga 1782—1788, in 12 vols. 8vo. and Wittenberg 1803—1807, in 3 vols. 8vo. also read *Θεός*, which the editor defends, in the most able manner, in his note on the passage, as well as incidentally on other passages, and in his prefaces. Of *Matthaei*, the late Dr Middleton observes, that he was the most accurate Greek scholar that ever edited the Greek Testament; and biblical critics in general now highly appreciate the merits of his labours.

10. It is supported by the text and other important authorities in *Alter's* Greek N. T.

11. *Knapp*, than whom there never lived a more sharp-sighted, independent, and conscientious critic; and *Tittmann*, another editor of very considerable authority, exhibit *Θεός* in their recent editions.

12. In the edition of *Vater*, printed at Halle in 1824, and which is the most recent edition of the whole N. T. published in Germany, *Θεός* is expressed thus, [*Θε*] *ος*, to intimate, that, whatever opinion the editor might entertain on the subject of the reading, he did not consider *ός* to be entitled to that exclusive possession of a place in the text, which Griesbach had assigned it in his second edition.

The results of our investigation in regard to the *external* evidence are the following.

In point of manuscript authority, \acute{o} , which Sir Isaac Newton maintains "all the churches, for the first four or five hundred years, and the authors of all the ancient versions, Jerome, as well as the rest, read," and which also Wetstein advocates, is absolutely *without one positive and indisputable testimony*; $\acute{o}\varsigma$, adopted by Griesbach, is clearly supported by the suffrage of only *three* manuscripts; whereas $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, the reading of the *Textus Receptus*, has been found in *upwards* of ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY, which, as before noticed, are all the other manuscripts of the Pauline Epistles, the collation of which has yet been published.

As it regards the Versions, the preponderance of their evidence would certainly be in favour of \acute{o} or $\acute{o}\varsigma$, could it possibly be proved, that they were all made independently of each other from the Greek text, and that the Syriac uses the relative pronoun and not a conjunction; but the want of satisfactory proof in reference to some of them, throws a proportionate degree of weight into the scale of those which positively support $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$.

The Fathers are completely divided; the Greeks, conformably to their original Greek text, exhibiting $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$; and the Latins, with a few exceptions, exhibiting *quod*, the reading of their Latin Vulgate.

With the amount of this evidence fairly before us, the question now is, whether *three* Greek MSS. not superior in point of age or character to many of the rest, the Latin Fathers, in their quotations of the Vulgate, and six ancient versions, whose testimony is equivocal, ought for a moment to outweigh upwards of *one hundred and seventy* Greek MSS. all the Greek Fathers, and four ancient versions, made directly from the Greek text, at various times, and altogether independently of each other? On every principle of criticism usually applied to decide the amount and authority of external evidence in reference to ancient writings, must not $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ be regarded as the original and genuine reading, and \acute{o} and $\acute{o}\varsigma$ rejected as unsupported in their claims to a place in the sacred text? Are there not testimonies of higher antiquity in favour of $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, than any that can be produced against it? Is it not borne out by all the diversity of evidence to which an appeal is made in such cases? Though it would be improper to determine questions of this nature purely by the number of the witnesses, without regard to their histo-

ry and other criteria ; yet is no importance whatever to be attached to the circumstance of *number* ? Has the classification of Griesbach, by which he labours to muster the *few* against the *many*, and thereby depreciate the Byzantine text, met with general approbation ? And especially as it regards the reading of 1 Tim. 3: 16, is he not considered by most critics to have completely failed ?

Assuming it to be proved that Θεός was originally in the text, nothing is more easy than to account for the reading ὁς. In the transcription of ΘC from one of the uncial MSS. it only required the letters OC to be written without the strokes, which might be omitted through negligence, in order to produce the whole of the difference. Or, the strokes might have been partially or entirely faded in some ancient exemplar, so as to make the copyist take the word for ὁς. It is certainly much more natural to account in this way for the various reading, than to have recourse to the extreme hypothesis of violence and corruption. "That reading," says Velthusen, "the later origin of which cannot be accounted for without supposing a wilful corruption, is (generally speaking) the true one ; and that which we can account for, from accidental causes, is (generally speaking) the false one."*

SECTION III.

Internal Evidence.

The other branch of evidence by which to determine the genuineness of a reading is the *internal*, or that which is furnished by the phraseology and other circumstances of the text itself.

With respect to ὁ and ὅς, neither of them accords with the laws of grammatical construction. The former, being neuter, will agree, indeed, with μυστήριον, which is a neuter noun, and thus the same sense may be supposed to be brought out of the passage as that which is furnished by the Vulgate. But to warrant such an interpretation, the genius of the Greek language requires the construction to be τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἐνσεβείας τοῦ φανερωθέν. Besides being clogged with the same difficulty, ὅς, as a relative, does not agree in gender with μυστήριον. Sometimes, indeed, the relative occurs in the masculine, though

* Remarks on the True Reading of 1 Tim. 3: 16, p. 72.

the preceding noun with which it is immediately connected be neuter ; but, in such cases, the noun is used in a personal sense, as Gal. 3: 16, τῷ σπέρματι σου, ὃς ἐστι Χριστός, “thy seed *who* is Christ ;” Col. 2: 19, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξ οὗ, “the head from *whom* ;” which is more than can be proved of the word μυστήριον, either in this or any other passage of the New Testament. Col. 1: 27 forms no exception ; for there ὁ πλοῦτος, and not μυστηρίου, is the nominative to ὃς. Christ is ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης, “the glorious fulness of the mystery ;” not “the mystery” itself.

Equally opposed to grammar is the rendering of ὃς, *HE WHO*, which was adopted by Benson, and is followed by Belsham in the “Improved Version,” and in his Translation and Exposition of the Epistles of Paul. This has been clearly shewn by an able writer in the British Critic, who can be no other than the Rev. Mr Nolan, author of “The Integrity of the Greek Vulgate.” In 1 Tim. 3: 16, he says, “the phrase ὃς ἐφανερώθη is little reconcilable either with sense or grammar. In order to make it Greek in the sense of the Improved Version, it should be ὁ φανερωθείς ; but this reading is rejected by the universal consent of manuscripts and translations. The subjunctive article ὃς is indeed used indefinitely ; but it is then put for ὃς ἄν, ὃς εἰάν, ὅστις ἄν, πᾶς ὅστις, Mark 4: 25. 9: 40, 41. Matt. 10: 27. 14: 32, 33 ; and, as in this state it is synonymous with *whosoever*, we have only to put this term into the letter of the text to discover, that it reduces the reading of the corrected text to palpable nonsense. In Rom. 8: 32, ὃς, as the subjunctive article, is tied by the particle γε to its antecedent Θεός, as is directly apparent on viewing the text independent of its artificial division into verses, εἰ ὁ Θεὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τίς καθ’ ἡμῶν ; ὃς γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο. Had not this connexion existed, the apostle would have used the *participle* with *an article*, agreeably to the genius of the Greek and his usual practice, Gal. 2: 8, ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας ; ib. 3: 5, ὁ οὖν ἐπιχορηγῶν ; 2 Cor. 9: 10, ὁ δὲ ἐπιχορηγῶν.* With this, Bloomfield, in his Recensio Synoptica, agrees : “As to the reading ὃς ἐφανερώθη, we may safely maintain, that it is *not Greek*, at least in the sense which the espousers of that reading lay down, namely, *He who* was manifested, etc.” And the late Dr John Jones, in a paper, inserted in the Monthly Repository, Vol. IX. pp. 120—123, while

* British Critic, N. S. Vol. I. pp. 405, 406, and Integ. of Greek Vulgate, p. 566.

he unequivocally shews to what school of theology he belonged, scruples not to express himself thus on the subject :—"Now for Θεός, the Vulgate reading, Griesbach has introduced ὅς, and endeavours to support the change by one of the most elaborate notes in his volumes. Yet I will engage to shew that he has proved nothing but his own incompetence as a critic, and his want of fidelity as a collater of the ancient copies.

"First, the new reading is erroneous, because it is neither good sense nor good Greek. The antecedent, indeed, in Greek and in Latin, is often understood. In such instances, the antecedent is so defined by the verb connected with it, as to become, without ambiguity, the subject of another verb. But then it should be remembered it means a whole class, and never an individual. "Ὅς ἐὰν λύσῃ μίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων—ἐλαχίστος κληθήσεται, Matt. 5: 19. Here ὅς is for ἄνθρωπος ὅς; the antecedent ἄνθρωπος, being a general term, is limited by the clause ὅς ἐὰν λύσῃ; and, under this limitation, it is subject to κληθήσεται. 'The man *that shall break* one of the least commandments shall be called least.' In English, as well as in the original, the words in italics form the restricting clause, and the antecedent *man* with that restriction, is the nominative case to *shall be called*. If we try the new-fangled reading by this criterion, we shall find, that though grammatical in form, it is yet absurd in meaning. 'He who hath appeared in the flesh is justified in the spirit, is seen by angels, etc. *But every man appears in the flesh; every man, therefore, is justified in the spirit, and seen by angels,*' etc.

"Secondly, the reformed reading perverts the language of the apostle. He says that 'God appeared in the flesh.' This is the great mystery which he had just mentioned; but if Θεός be taken away, or changed into ὅς, the mystery vanishes."

From these remarks it must be obvious that ὅς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί cannot be the subject, and all the subsequent propositions predicates; and that it must be itself a predicate in common with the rest. This being the case, and there not being any concord between ὅς and μυστήριον, it has been suggested, that, if ὅς be at all admissible, it can have no other antecedent than Θεοῦ ζῶντος at the end of the fifteenth verse. Placing the intermediate words within a parenthesis, the passage would then read thus : 'Ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ ζῶντος (σύλος καὶ ἐδραίωμα τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον) ὅς ἐφανερώθη, κ. τ. λ. "The church of the living God, (the pillar and basis of the truth, and incontrovertibly great is

the mystery of godliness,) *who* was manifested," etc. This construction of the passage, however, which was proposed by Berriman,* and has since been adopted by Cramer and others, though strictly grammatical, is, as Berriman himself acknowledges, harsh and strained, and not at all in the usual parenthetical style with which the writings of Paul are so highly charged.†

That the subject of the several propositions contained in the verse is a person and not a thing, will appear on our attending to the meaning and force of the principal terms in which they are expressed.

1. *Φανερόω* is frequently used, indeed, of things, and expresses the disclosure or manifestation of what was previously concealed. It is even employed in connexion with *μυστήριον*, Col. 1: 26; but it is also frequently used of persons, and especially of our Saviour, Mark 16: 12, 14. John 1: 31. 7: 4. 21: 1, 14. Col. 3: 4. 1 Pet. 1: 20. 1 John 1: 2. 2: 28. 3: 2, 5, 8. In some of these passages it is applied to his appearance at certain times during his public ministry, or after his resurrection, and also to his revelation from heaven at the second advent. But in 1 Pet. 1: 20. 1 John 1: 2. 3: 5, 8, it is particularly employed in reference to his coming into the world for the purpose of effecting human redemption. Even as taken thus separately by itself, *φανερóω*, in the passive voice, signifies to come into view, or be disclosed, by being born into the world.

It is peculiarly deserving of notice, that the entire phrase *φανερóσθαι ἐν σαρκί*, "*to be manifested in the flesh*," is never used of any other than Jesus Christ, and occurs, indeed, nowhere in Scripture, except in this place. It is, however, perfectly parallel to the phrases *ἐν σαρκί ἔρχεσθαι*, 1 John 4: 2, 3. 2 John 7; *ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς πέμπεσθαι*, Rom. 8: 3; *μετέχειν σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος*, Heb. 2: 14; which are, in like manner, exclusively appropriated to the appearance of the Son of God in a human body, or his assumption of the human nature. Of John the Baptist, and other prophets, it might be said that they "*came*" or "*were sent*," in reference to their mission; and the same might be said of Christ, in the same point of view, John 1: 7. Matt. 11: 18, 19. 21: 32; but it could not with any propriety be affirmed of them, that they "*came in the flesh*," to in-

* Crit. Dissert. p. 339.

† For a further examination of the internal evidence respecting these readings, see the next article. Ed.

dedicate their entrance into the world with a view to the accomplishment of their mission, since they could not have come in any other way.* Many of the Socinians, feeling the pressure of the difficulty presented by the idiom in its obvious and exclusive reference to the appearance of our Lord in human nature, and its implication of his pre-existence and the possibility of his being manifested in a different manner, endeavour to elude it by rendering the words *ἐν σαρκί* in an instrumental sense, and interpreting the whole phrase of the revelation which God hath made known through the medium of weak and mortal men, i. e. the apostles. But to this it is sufficient to reply, that such an interpretation is perfectly repugnant to the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament; there not being a single passage in which the phrase is used in this sense.

According to the received reading of the passage, which we have shewn to be that established by a vast preponderance of external evidence, the doctrine which it teaches is almost verbally the same that is taught by John, in the first chapter of his Gospel, and in the beginning of his first Epistle :

Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί.

Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος,—καὶ ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο.

Τὴν Ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον, ἥτις ἦν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἐφανερώθη ἡμῖν.

“God was manifested in the flesh.”

“The Word was God;—and the Word assumed humanity.”

“That *Eternal Life*, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us.”

1 Tim. 3: 16. John 1: 1, 14. 1 John 1: 1—3.

2. The person and claims of the Redeemer not having been recognized by the Jews during the period of his corporeal so-

* “Is the phrase ‘to come in the flesh’ no more than equivalent to the word ‘to come?’ Are the words ‘in the flesh’ mere expletives? If they are not expletives, what is their import, but to limit the sense of the word *to come* to some particular *manner* of coming? This limitation either presumes a possibility of other ways of coming, or it is nugatory. But was it possible for a mere man to come otherwise than in the flesh? Nothing can be more decisive for my purpose than this comparison which you have suggested, between the word ‘to come,’ which is general, and the phrase ‘to come in the flesh,’ which is specific.” *Bp. Horsley’s Letters in Reply to Priestley*, p. 112.

jour (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, Heb. 5: 7) ; but, on the contrary, vilified and misrepresented, Isaiah 3: 3, 4 ; it was necessary, that the dignity of the one, and the validity of the other, should be vindicated—which the apostle declares to have been done when ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι. The word δικαιόω not only signifies to acquit or absolve from punishment, but also to do justice to one's character, by acknowledging and declaring him to be free from all imputation of blame. Thus wisdom is said to be justified, Matt. 11: 19, and God himself, Rom. 3: 4. Michaelis proposes, that it should be rendered "suffered capital punishment;" and by introducing a different punctuation, attempts to shew, that the passage may be translated thus: "God was manifested; suffered death in the flesh; appeared in the spirit to the angels," etc. But to this mode of interpretation, it may justly be objected, that no such idea as that of punishment is found to attach to δικαιόω in N. T. Greek; and that the connecting of ἐδικαιώθη with ἐν σαρκί, which precedes, and not with ἐν πνεύματι, which follows it, destroys the harmonious structure of the verse; all the other verbs being placed before and not after the substantives to which they belong.—The phrase ἐν πνεύματι occurring, as it does here, in contrast with ἐν σαρκί, necessarily means its opposite, according to the established antithetical relation of σάρξ and πνεῦμα, Rom. 1: 4. 1 Pet. 3: 18; and partially Heb. 9: 14; so that, if the one signify the state or condition of humanity in which he appeared during the period of his (κένωσις) humiliation, the other must signify that state in which he existed after his resurrection, and in which he now exists, with special reference to the glorious manifestations of his *spiritual*, superhuman and divine nature, with which his glorified body is for ever and indissolubly united. This vindication (δικαίωσις) was effected by his victory over death and the curse, to which the Jews had condemned him; his exaltation to the right hand of the Father; and the effusion of the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit. Had he not been what he professed he was, such stupendous effects would not have followed; his predictions would have remained unfulfilled, and his cause and character would have been overwhelmed with utter confusion.

3. We remark, that ὥφθη cannot be referred to μυστήριον; nor can ἀγγέλοις be interpreted of the apostles. This will appear, when it is taken into consideration, that φανερόω and γνωρίζω are the verbs elsewhere used by the apostle, when speaking of the revelation of a mystery; and that ὄπτομαι is never

employed, except to denote either external physical vision, or that by which one spiritual being apprehends or discovers another. It is never applied to any thing that is not the subject of conscious existence. With respect to the term *ἄγγελος*, we observe, that though, like the Hebrew *מַלְאָךְ*, it signifies a human messenger, as well as one of that superior and spiritual race of beings who are employed by Jehovah in administering the affairs of his empire, there does not appear sufficient ground for departing, in our interpretation of it in this place, from the current usage of the New Testament, according to which the distinctive terms *ἄγγελοι* and *ἀπόστολοι* are used with marked discrimination of the celestial messengers who are appointed to minister to the heirs of salvation, and the primary and inspired agents who were selected by our Saviour to lay the foundation of his spiritual temple.

Though despised and rejected by men, who saw no beauty in him, the Lord Jesus was the object of adoring contemplation to the hosts of heaven. During his ministry upon earth, they

“Oft gaz’d, and wonder’d, where at length
This scene of love would end.”

And when he was “received up into glory,” it was amid their attendant bands, who had received the charge to render to him divine honours. Ps. 68: 17. 97: 6. Heb. 1: 6.

4. The phrases *ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν*, and *ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ*, evidently refer to the apostolic announcements of the gospel, according to the ample latitude of the commission, and the amazing success with which they were accompanied. The sum and substance of their preaching was “Christ crucified,” and the divine command which they universally enforced was, that men “should believe in his name.”

5. It must be very obvious, that whatever may plausibly be advanced in favour of the hypothesis, that *μυστήριον* is the nominative to the verbs *ἐφανερῶθη*, *ἐδικαιώθη*, *ᾤφθη*, *ἐκηρύχθη*, and *ἐπιστεύθη*, nothing can possibly be more harsh than to carry it forward, and make it the nominative to *ἀναλήφθη ἐν δόξῃ*; and then explain this, with Benson, “Met with a glorious reception.” The reception given to the gospel, or, rather, to Christ as the subject of the gospel-testimony, had already been expressed by the verb *ἐπιστεύθη*; and the glorious extent of that reception by the phrase *ἐν κόσμῳ*. Besides, *ἀναλαμβάνομαι* is never employed to express the reception given to a doctrine or

testimony, but signifies to be raised on high, received up or back, and is the very word which is used in reference to the ascension of our blessed Lord to heaven, Mark 16: 19. Acts 1: 2, 11, 22. *Ἀναλήφθη ἐν δόξῃ* in our text, is equivalent to *ἀναληφθεὶς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*, Acts 1: 11; and the substantive *ἀνάληψις*, formed from the same verb, is, in like manner, used to denote the reception of Jesus, after the completion of his work upon earth, into the glory (*δόξα*) which he had with the Father before the world began. Luke 9: 51. John 17: 5.

The principal objection that has been advanced against *Θεός*, as the genuine reading of the passage, is founded on the supposed incongruity of combining this word with the concluding proposition, and asserting, that "God was received up into glory;" but the difficulty vanishes the moment it is considered, that after the declaration *Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί* has been admitted, the mind necessarily associates the idea of the *σάρξ* or human nature with that of the divine, and easily discriminates between what may be predicated of the one, what of the other, and what jointly of both.

We have now brought our critical examination of this important passage to a close. The charge of corruption, alleged by Sir Isaac Newton, we have shewn to be unfounded. The reading, which he contends to have been that originally in the text, and used by the church during the first five centuries, we have seen rejected by Griesbach, and all critics of any note. That adopted by the celebrated German editor, and the "Improved Version" of it, have been proved to be as destitute of solid and sufficient authority, as they are contrary to the idiom of the Greek language, and at variance with some of the first principles of biblical philology and exegesis. And the reading of the received text has been established by a mass of cumulative evidence, derived from the sources to which an appeal is ordinarily made on questions of this nature. While, therefore, the opposers of our Lord's divinity attempt to give eclat to their opinions, by mixing up with the publication of them the name of a great philosopher, it cannot but prove satisfactory to those who have cordially embraced that doctrine, to find that the passage which has been the subject of investigation, so far from suffering any detriment from the most rigid critical scrutiny to which it may be brought, only gains in point of stability and authority, and continues to demand an unhesitating reception of the great mystery which it proclaims: **GOD WAS MANIFESTED IN THE FLESH.**

APPENDIX.

List of Works in which the Subject of the preceding Investigation is discussed, and to which the Reader is referred for further information.

Erasmus.—Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine.

Baronii Annales Ecclesiast.—Ann. 510. ix.

Calovii Biblia Illustrata.

In his note on the passage, the author, at great length, with prodigious learning, and many forcible arguments, refutes the statements of Enjedin, Socinus, Smalcus, and Grotius. The very unceremonious manner in which he treats the last-mentioned writer, has drawn down upon him unmeasured abuse from Socinians, and others who are only half-hearted in their adherence to the peculiar doctrines of the Scripture; but his work is a storehouse of sound Lutheran divinity. It contains the whole of Grotius's Annotations, with able exegetical and polemical commentaries.

Estii Comment. in Epp. Apostol.

This author is of opinion, that the *quod* of the Vulgate was designed to be understood, not as the neuter relative, but as a determinative conjunction, and that DEUS is to be supplied from the preceding context.

Pearson on the Creed, Art. II. Note 9.

Contains some excellent remarks on the Annotations of Grotius, and the alleged corruption by Macedonius.

Poli Synopsis in loc.

Millii Novum Testamentum Graecum.

An important and interesting note; relating chiefly to the various readings, the story of Liberatus, and the Alexandrian Codex.

Bengelii Novum Testamentum Graecum.

At the close of a lengthened critical note on the passage, Bengel asks: "Quid nisi Θεός superest?"

Stillingfleet's Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity.

London 1697. 8vo. pp. 156—164.

Wotton's Clemens Romanus, p. 27.

Wetstenii Novum Testamentum Graecum.

Contains a very long and elaborate note, which deserves to be consulted by all who wish to ascertain the bearing of the ancient ecclesiastical testimonies on the subject. This bearing, most of the quotations adduced by Wetstein, show to be decidedly in favour of *Θεός*; and the rest only require to be studied in their connexion, in order to its being perceived, that, if they do not confirm, they in no wise oppose this reading.

Arnoldi Religio Sociniana, containing a Refutation of the Raccovian Catechism. Amstel. 1654. 4to. pp. 284—286.

Wolfii Curae Philologicae et Criticae. Tom. IV. pp. 451—456.

Ridgley's Body of Divinity, Vol. IV. p. 263. London 1819. 8vo.

Heumann's Erklärung des N. Testaments.

——— Poecile, T. III. p. 448.

Edwards's Exercitations, p. 348. London 1702.

Baumgarten's Vindiciae vocis *Θεός*, 1 Tim. 3: 16.

Woog's Programma.

Pfaffius in Primitiis Tubingensibus.

Bentley's Remarks on Free Thinking, Part I. xxxiii.

Berriman's Critical Dissertation upon 1 Tim. 3: 16. London 1741. 8vo.

This valuable work consists of an introduction on the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; on the various readings, and the importance of the passage in question.—Chap. I. Rules to distinguish in various Readings which is genuine.—Chap. II. The Greek MSS. of St. Paul's Epistles described, and their Readings of 1 Tim. 3: 16 considered.—Chap. III. The Writings of the Greek and Latin Fathers examined.—Chap. IV. An Account of the Ancient Versions, and their readings of this text.—Chap. V. The several Readings compared with each other, and with the Context; and the Conclusion of the whole.

Whitby on the passage.

J. D. Michaelis in his Introd. to the N. T. 2d Edit. Vol. II. p. 71. Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte IV. Theil, pp. 106, 107. Orient. und Exeget. Bibliothek, VI. Theil, pp. 81—87. VII. pp. 137—141.

Velthusen's Remarks on the true Reading of the passage
1 Tim. 3: 16. London 1773. 8vo.

This work, which is now very scarce, contains three parts.—I. Observations on the seven-times seventy Weeks of Daniel.—II. On the Canon of the Old Testament.—III. Remarks, etc. as above. In these remarks the following critical rules are laid down and illustrated with special reference to the passage in dispute.—1. Of two or three different readings, that reading is historically true, or critically certain, in which most of the chief characters of a true reading coincide.—2. That reading, in general, is the true one, which agrees with most of the manuscripts in the Original Language.—3. That reading, the later origin of which cannot be accounted for without supposing a wilful corruption, is (generally speaking) the true one; and that which we can account for from accidental causes, is (generally speaking) the false one.—4. Of two readings, (unless there be some material reason against the rule,) that reading is preferable which seems to convey a harsher sense. This maxim is almost infallible.—5. The most probable of two or three readings is that by which a writer, who is known to have had clear and precise ideas, shall express himself in the clearest and precisest manner.—6. The same obtains with regard to that reading, which, according to the tenor or the whole system of the book, it was most natural and reasonable to expect, should occur in that particular place.—The tract contains an interesting account of the Askew MS. written in the year 834, which exhibits the reading *Θεός*.

Benson on the passage.

Woide's Preface to his edition of the Codex Alexandrinus,
§ 87, and in Cramer's *Beyträge*, T. III. p. 147.

G. F. Weber's *Vindiciae vocis Θεός* 1 Tim. 3: 16. Argent.
1777.

Cramer, *Nebenarbeiten*. Stück I. 1782.

Griesbach's Greek N. T.

————— *Symbolae Criticae*, Vol. I. VIII—LIV. Vol. II.
pp. 56—59. 64—76.

In his note on the passage, this celebrated critic gives a summary of the authorities which had induced him to prefer *ός* to either of the two other readings; but he is, as usual, defective in exhibiting those which go to support the received reading. The passages in his *Symbolae* are chiefly occupied with the subject of the uncial MSS. an abortive attempt to prove that the Fathers have been corrupted; and a defence of his positions against Weber and others, by whom they had been disputed.

M. Weber's *Crisis loci Paullini* 1 Tim. 3: 16. Lips. 1784.

This author conjectures that *ὄτι* was the original reading, and considers *Θεός* to be understood.

Paulus Memorabilien, Stück I. pp. 97—194.

This dissertation is designed to show, that the object of the apostle was to correct false notions which had become prevalent in his day, relative to the human body, in consequence of which the primitive Christians were tempted absolutely to abandon all care of it, or concern about its interests. It contains remarks on the variety of reading, and the meaning of the several propositions in the text.

Hill's *Lectures in Divinity*, Vol. II. pp. 189—193. 2d Ed.

Laurence's *Remarks upon the Systematic Classification of Manuscripts adopted by Griesbach in his Edition of the New Testament*. Oxford 1814. pp. 72—84.

The learned author (now Archbishop of Cashel) reviews with great ability the arguments of Griesbach, which he shows to be defective, wire-drawn, and inadmissible; even on the supposition, that his classification of MSS. were just. His conclusion is: "Should we not rather say, that because the Byzantine text, with an infinity of manuscripts and Fathers, reads *Θεός*, and because eight (viz. 6, 10, 23, 31, 37, 39, 46, 47) out of eleven Alexandrian MSS. coincide with it, while only one certainly opposes it, the other two being doubtful, therefore the preponderance of classes is against the Western; and that *Θεός*, not *ὄ* or *ὅς*, seems to be the genuine reading?"

Eclectic Review, N. S. Vol. IV. pp. 178—187.

Contains a masterly review of the above work, by a writer who discovers himself to be thoroughly versed in the principles of biblical criticism. In his judgment, the external evidence does actually preponderate in favour of *Θεός*.—In Vol. V. of the Old Series of the same work, the Reviewer, following Griesbach too implicitly, declares himself in favour of *ὄς*, but rejects as false Greek, the construction put upon it in the "Improved Version."

Wardlaw's *Discourses on the principal Points of the Socinian Controversy*. Third Edition. London 1819. pp. 414—419.

Though the passage is not introduced into these discourses, which exhibit a series of the most luminous and conclusive arguments on the great subjects in dispute, because the excellent author was desirous of having it to say, that he had built no part of his argument on any passage which eminent critics had pronounced of doubtful

authority, yet in Note D, he very clearly gives his readers to understand, that, in his opinion, *Θεός* is the true lection.

Nolan's Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate, etc. London, 1815.

In various parts of this very elaborate and learned work, the passage is brought forward for the purpose of exemplifying, in its various readings, the untenableness of Griesbach's hypothesis, and the application of those new principles of classification, which the author had adopted with respect to the Greek MSS.

Hales' Faith in the Holy Trinity, the Doctrine of the Gospel, and Sabellian Unitarianism shewn to be "The God-deny-ing Apostasy." Vol. II. pp. 67—104. 2d Edit. London 1818.

In his nineteenth Letter, the author enters very fully into an examination both of the external and internal evidence, and shows, in opposition to Griesbach and Carpenter, that *Θεός* is the genuine reading.

Tracts on the Divinity of Christ. By the Bishop of St. David's. London 1820.

Pp. 197—222 contain a postscript on the Anti-Socinianism of Newton and Locke, in which the reader will find some interesting matter relative to the principles and connexions of these two distinguished men, and also some remarks on 1 Tim. 3: 16.

Holden's Scripture Testimonies to the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, collected and illustrated. London 1820. pp. 181—188.

Among other decided statements made in this valuable work is the following: "The reading *ός*, if it be the true one, will not essentially benefit the Unitarian cause; but the received text has been ably defended by several eminent writers; and after an attentive examination of the evidence on both sides, I am convinced that *Θεός* is the true reading."

Burton's Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ. Oxford 1826. pp. 141—145.

J. P. Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, Vol. II. Part II. pp. 701—703. or 2d Edit. Vol. III. pp. 352—357.

The Author cannot conclude this list without once more particularly recommending the two editions of Matthaei's Greek N. T. in both of which the biblical scholar will find much to enable him to make up his mind on the subject.

ART II. REMARKS ON THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE RESPECTING THE VARIOUS READINGS IN 1 TIM. III. 16.

By M. Stuart, Prof. of Sacred Literature in the Theol. Sem. at Andover.

(SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE PRECEDING ARTICLE.)

It is not my intention here to re-examine the whole subject that has been discussed with so much ability and impartiality, as it seems to me, in the preceding pages. I tender the author of them my sincere thanks for his learned labours; and I have only to add, that long ago, from Griesbach's own shewing, I was satisfactorily persuaded that the conclusion to which he had come in respect to *ὅς* instead of *Θεός*, was not warranted by the rules of criticism by which he himself is guided on most other occasions. So far as manuscripts are concerned, I am fully persuaded, that the weight of authority is altogether preponderant against the reading *ὅς* or *ὅ*. In regard to the ancient versions and the fathers of the church, the discrepancy of testimony is such, that no one can appeal to them with confidence as settling the controversy in respect to the reading under consideration.

Most of the discrepancy among them seems to be connected with, or dependent upon, the old Latin version or *Itala*, which was made at an early period of the Christian era, and which runs thus: *Quod manifestum est in carne*, etc. The Latin fathers generally adopt this; the Greek fathers follow the reading of the *Textus Receptus*, viz. *Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη κ. τ. λ.* But the whole subject of *external* evidence has been so fully discussed in the preceding pages, that I deem it quite superfluous to add any thing more in this place.

In regard to the *internal* evidence, produced in Sect. III. there are many very striking remarks, and such as are worthy of particular attention and consideration. I have read them, once and again, with great interest; and after pondering over them, and examining with a good degree of minuteness several of the positions advanced, I have attained to some views respecting them, which I deem it not improper here to communicate.

With regard to the reading *ὅ*, it may be said, that it is now generally abandoned by critics, so far as I am acquainted with

their opinions. But there are some internal reasons for giving it up, which are not touched upon in the preceding pages, and which, if found elsewhere, have not come under my notice.

It is an important, and perhaps a conclusive objection to the reading in question, which is made on p. 44, above, viz. that "the genius of the Greek language would require the construction to be, τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον ΤΟ φανερωθέν." Still, as the writers of the New Testament have not always followed the classic rules of Greek construction, it seems desirable that a consideration of this nature should be strengthened by other arguments than an appeal to the usual method of constructing a sentence in Greek. For in the case before us one might say, that τὸ φανερωθέν would be absolutely necessary, only in case that τὸ μυστήριον were the proper subject and the real nominative to ἐδικαιώθη, while τὸ φανερωθέν ἐν σαρκί was merely an adjunct and qualifying circumstance thrown in as agreeing with it, put of course in apposition with μυστήριον, or made co-ordinate with it in respect to construction.

But the Itala and Vulgate dispose of the text in a somewhat different way. These versions run thus: "Et manifeste magnum est pietatis sacramentum, quod manifestum est in carne, justificatum," etc. "O then, or quod, is by them made the immediate nominative or subject of ἐφανερώθη, and is implied before ἐδικαιώθη, ὧφθη, κ. τ. λ. Now if it were the writer's intention to say: "Great confessedly is the mystery of godliness, which was revealed in the flesh, [which] was justified by the Spirit, etc." then he might have constructed his sentence as the Itala and Vulgate understood him to have done, viz. by writing ὃ as a relative pronoun referring to μυστήριον, and standing as the *expressed* nominative of ἐφανερώθη, and as the implied nominative of all the succeeding verbs. I cannot see any thing strange or unaccountable in such a grammatical construction; for surely it will not be contended, that the nominative must necessarily be written out, in every instance where it is really supposed to exist, and is actually demanded by the nature of the sentiment.

My objection therefore to ὃ, (independently of the decisive evidence against it from manuscripts,) lies rather in the nature of the antecedent here, to which it must necessarily refer. It would seem, that the Itala and Vulgate translators understood τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον as meaning *Christ* himself; for what else but the Saviour himself was manifested in the flesh,

was seen by angels, and was received up into glory? We come then to the very natural inquiry, whether the word *μυστήριον*, to which the pronoun *ὃ* (quod) beyond all doubt relates, is ever employed by the sacred writers to designate the person of Jesus. And this inquiry it is not difficult to answer. In order, however, to do this in a satisfactory way, we must particularly investigate the New Testament meaning and use of the word now in question.

The word itself seems to be derived from the Greek *μύστις*, which means *one consecrated*, viz. to Ceres, i. e. one initiated into her rites or mysteries, which were to be kept a profound secret. Hence *μυστήριον* signifies, in general, *something secret, undisclosed, not understood, difficult to be understood, enigmatical*, etc. Some indeed have derived the word from the Hebrew *מִסְתָּרִים*, which would give it the same signification as the derivation from *μύστις*; but this is not so probable an etymology. Be this however as it may, *μυστήριον* means, in the New Testament, (1) *A secret or hidden thing*; e. g. 2 Thess. 2: 7, *τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας*, *hidden iniquity*, literally the hidden thing of iniquity. (2) As nearly allied to this, or almost the same, *a thing in itself occult or obscure*; e. g. 1 Cor. 15: 51. 13: 2. (3) *An enigmatical or unintelligible thing*; e. g. 1 Cor. 14: 2. Luke 8: 10, *τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ*, things respecting the kingdom of God which were enigmatical or unintelligible to the people at large; compare Mark 4: 11. Matt. 13: 11. So also in Eph. 5: 32. Rev. 1: 20. 17: 5. In this last case, *μυστήριον* is an emblem written on the forehead of the *πόρνη μεγάλη*, together with other emblems, and is significant of what she is concerned with or practises, but is not the name of her *person*. Rev. 17: 7. (4) *The secret decree of God*; e. g. Rev. 10: 7. Particularly is it employed by Paul, to designate *the decree of God*, viz. to admit the Gentiles to equal privileges with the Jews, under the gospel dispensation; a thing which had been as it were kept a secret from them, in past ages, (for they understood not the predictions of the Old Testament concerning this,) and was now fully disclosed under the reign of the Messiah; e. g. Eph. 3: 3, compare vs. 6—9, where the explanation above suggested is plainly given. In a like sense does it appear to be employed, in Rom. 11: 25. 16: 25. Eph. 1: 9. 6: 19. Col. 1: 26, 27. 2: 2. 4: 3. 1 Cor. 2: 7. (5) In 1 Cor. 4: 1, *μυστηρίων* seems to be used in the sense of 'whatever belonged to the Christian religion

which was *recondite* or *hidden* from the world.' In 1 Tim. 3: 9, the word is used in a like sense, with a particular reference to Christian doctrine.

These are all the examples in the New Testament except the one in question in 1 Tim. 3: 16. What then is the meaning of τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον here?

I answer, that to construe it as the authors of the Itala and Vulgate have done, viz. as designating the *mysterious person* of the Saviour, is against all analogy. It is an entire departure from the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament. We have, indeed, in Rev. 17: 7, the phrase τὸ μυστήριον τῆς γυναικός, but in this case μυστήριον serves merely in the place of an adjective, so that *mysterious woman* is the sense of the phrase, or else γυναικός is genitive of the object, so that *the mystery respecting the woman* is the sense of the phrase. In Eph. 1: 9, τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ means, *his secret will* or *the mystery in respect to his will*; in Eph. 3: 4, τῷ μυστηρίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ means, *the mystery respecting Christ*, and so in Col. 4: 3; in Eph. 6: 19, τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου means, *the mystery respecting the gospel* or *contained in the gospel*; in Col. 2: 2, τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ θεοῦ means, *the mystery of which God is the author* (Gen. auctoris), and so in Rev. 10: 7; and in Rev. 1: 20, τὸ μυστήριον τῶν ἐπὶ ἀστέρων means, *the mystery respecting the seven stars*. Some of these examples resemble that in 1 Tim. 3: 16; but there remain two more which are of exactly the same kind of construction. In 1 Tim. 3: 9, we have τὸ μυστήριον τῆς πίστεως, *the mystery which respects the faith* or *the mysterious Christian doctrine*, mysterious (the apostle means to say) to the ignorant and the unsanctified. In 2 Thess. 2: 7, we have seemingly an exact antithesis of the expression in 1 Tim. 3: 16, viz. τὸ μυστήριον . . . τῆς ἀνομίας, *secret wickedness, concealed impiety*. In reality, however, this is not so; for plainly the meaning of τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον does not mean *secret* or *concealed godliness*, but *the mystery which respects godliness*, i. e. the doctrines of godliness or the Christian religion.

Now to say that the mystery of these doctrines, or of this religion, is *great*, is saying what the apostle has expressly said respecting a part of these doctrines in Eph. 5: 32; and what he has often intimated elsewhere, respecting them in general, e. g. Eph. 3: 3—9. Col. 1: 26, 27. 2: 2, 3. All is plain and intelligible; and especially is it plain, when we take into view the

sequel in v. 16, where the reason or ground why the mystery is called great, is assigned. But on the supposition that τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον means *Christ*, then the sense of μέγα must be entirely different. The assertion of the writer will be merely, that 'the mysterious author of our salvation is *great*,' i. e. is exalted, highly honoured or to be honoured, is highly regarded or to be regarded, is magnified, elevated, etc. All this is true, and a truth which the apostle often urges; but not one at all apposite to the context here. It is the *mystery* which is *great*, i. e. difficult to be adequately comprehended or explained; exactly as in Eph. 5: 32, where Paul, after asserting that Christians are 'members of the body and flesh and bones of Christ,' and comparing the union of the church with him to the union of man and wife, says, τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν, i. e. it is very difficult fully to comprehend and rightly to explain this, so as to give no occasion of offence, or of being misunderstood. In the like sense, plainly, should we understand the μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον of our text.

We come then, in this way, unavoidably to the conclusion, that if the authors of the Itala and of the Vulgate supposed that τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον designated the person of Christ, they made a supposition against the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament, and against the manifest meaning of the passage. A supposition which is truly opposed in both of these ways, can never be lawfully admitted.

If it be said here, that they may have understood τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον to mean *mysterious doctrine*, then did the construction which they put upon it amount to something like an absurdity; for what is a *doctrine* which is *manifested in the flesh*, and *received up into glory*? Take which alternative you please, the interpretation of the Vulgate and Itala is out of the reach of all sober defence.

Thus much for the main point of *internal* evidence in respect to the reading ὃ instead of Θεός. Other considerations of a subordinate nature might be added, but I deem them unnecessary. Let us pass on to some considerations in respect to the reading ὅς.

The first question naturally put by the reader in Greek is, What is the antecedent to this *relative* or demonstrative pronoun? Μυστήριον is the next antecedent in respect to position; στύλος is the nearest in respect to gender. But as στύλος beyond all reasonable doubt, is in apposition with ἐκκλησία Θεου;

or else (as Knapp construes it) is a predicate of τὸ τῆς εὐαγγελίας μυστήριον signifying *evangelical doctrine*, so ὅς cannot relate to σῦλος; for neither the church, nor evangelical doctrine, was manifested in the flesh, or received up into glory. The nearest masculine antecedent, then, is θεοῦ ζῶντος. But, as Dr Henderson justly observes (p. 47), this is ‘harsh and strained.’ I cannot help considering it, although adopted by some respectable critics, as altogether improbable.

We must come back then to μυστήριον as the antecedent to ὅς, if indeed it has any antecedent expressed in the text. Dr Henderson objects against this, as others have done, that ὅς does not agree in gender with μυστήριον. He allows that in some cases the masculine relative occurs, where the antecedent is a noun of the *neuter* gender; but he remarks, that “in such cases the noun is used in a *personal* sense.”

That some cases of this nature are such as he here describes, is clear; e. g. Gal. 3: 16. Col. 2: 19, which he has quoted; also Eph. 1: 14, πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, ὅς ἐστι ἀρχαίων; Rom. 9: 23, 24, σκεύη ἐλέους, ἃ προητοίμασεν, οὓς καὶ ἐκάλεσεν κ. τ. λ.; Gal. 4: 19, τέκνιά μου, οὓς πάλιν ὠδίνω; 1 Cor. 4: 17, τέκνον μου ἀγαπητὸν . . . ὅς κ. τ. λ. and so in other cases. All cases of this nature are a simple *constructio ad sensum*, where the pronoun agrees with the nature of the real object of thought which is the antecedent, and not with the grammatical form of the word by which it is expressed.

But there are other cases which Dr Henderson has not noticed, and which relate to *things* as well as persons. Such an one exists in the very verse that precedes the one on which he is making his remarks, viz. οἶκῳ θεοῦ . . . ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐκκλησία, where οἶκῳ means the church as an institution, and not simply the persons belonging to it. So in Phil. 1: 28, μὴ πυρόμενον ἐν μηδενὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντικειμένων ἥτις ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐνδείξεις, where we might naturally expect the neuter pronoun; Eph. 3: 13, αἰτοῦμαι μὴ ἐγκακῆν ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσί μου ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἥτις ἐστὶ δόξα ὑμῶν, like the preceding case; Eph. 6: 17, μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅ ἐστι ῥῆμα θεοῦ.

In cases of this nature, where *things* and not *persons* are the subject of assertion, the anomaly of the relative pronoun as to gender seems to consist in the gender being regulated by the *consequent* rather than the antecedent of the pronoun. Were there no examples of anomaly except such as are here presented, one might advance this as a principle of construction in such

cases. But we shall see in the sequel, that there are cases of the same nature, where no *consequent* substantive is expressed, or where one differing in gender from the pronoun is expressed; which goes to shew that the principle just named is not one which controls constructions of this nature.

I leave out of view here those anomalies of gender, in which John uses the neuter for the masculine; e. g. John 6: 37. 17: 2. 1 John 1: 1, 3. Rev. 3: 2. I pass by those cases, also, where the neuter pronoun is employed in reference to a masculine name which is referred to merely for the sake of interpretation; e. g. Matt. 1: 23. 27: 33. Mark 7: 34. 15: 22. John 1: 39, 42, 43. Heb. 7: 3. I also omit cases where a reference is made to a preceding word or to a phrase or expression, merely for the sake of explanation, although some of these cases might fairly be reckoned under the head of anomalies; e. g. Mark 12: 42, *λεπτά δύο, ὃ ἐστὶ κοδράντης*; and so in Mark 15: 16, 34, 42. There are other cases also, where the pronoun refers to the whole sentiment of the preceding clause, and is neuter; e. g. Col. 1: 29. 1 John 2: 8. But these last instances are hardly to be ranked among anomalies.

Nor are cases of such a nature as those described above, limited to the New Testament. We may open such a writer as even Xenophon, and find the same phenomena. E. g. *Cyrop. VIII. 2. 11, ἀσφάλειαν καὶ εὐκλειαν, ἃ οὔτε κατασῆπται. Σο γυναιῖκα καλλίστην οὐ τί ἄνδρὶ ἥδιον; also φιλοτιμώτατοι καὶ φιλοφρονέστατοι εἰσιν, ἅπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα παροξύνει· and ἐδόκει οἶκος εἶναι, ὅπερ κτῆσις.* See Sturzii Lex. Xenophontum sub voc. *ὅς*, Vol. III. p. 334.

In looking back for a moment on these cases of anomaly, we perceive, at once, that the anomaly itself does not depend on, or is not regulated by the *consequent* of the pronoun, with which it is in point of sense connected; for in Matt. 27: 33. Mark 15: 22. 12: 42. John 1: 39, 42, 43. Heb. 7: 3, the pronoun agrees in gender neither with the antecedent nor consequent; and of course the consequent can have no control over it. And in the three first instances produced from Xenophon above, there is no consequent noun at all expressed; yet the same anomaly exists; while in the last case, the antecedent is masculine, the pronoun neuter, and the consequent feminine, which of course sets aside any necessary control of the consequent over the pronoun, in case such pronoun departs from the gender of its antecedent.

It is clear, then, that the anomaly in question is one which rests entirely on the choice of the writer, and not on any regular and necessary principle of constructing language ; for it is clear, that writers in Greek, even the most classical and elegant, such as Xenophon, held themselves exempt from any necessity of following the usual rule of syntax in regard to the gender of the relative. It is not strange, then, that we find the same neglect of this rule, in the writers of the New Testament.

From all this it would seem to follow, that the *gender* of ὅς would be no sure criterion to determine the antecedent. Indeed, experience warns the cautious critic against resting much on arguments of this nature. If in fact the apostle meant to designate Christ himself by the phrase τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, (as the authors of the Itala and Vulgate evidently seem to have supposed,) then there would be no difficulty in using either ὅς or ὅ ; for the latter would be *constructio ad formam*, and the former *constructio ad sensum*. The writers of the New Testament have occasionally followed both of these principles, in their construction of sentences.

But when we refer back to the considerations already suggested, and which serve (as I trust) to shew that τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον cannot mean Christ himself, then it becomes plain, that the relative ὅς cannot refer to μυστήριον ; for then the writer must be supposed to assert, that Christian doctrine was *manifested in the flesh, and taken up to glory*.

The important question now occurs : Can ὅς, introduced in the manner in which it here is, without any preceding antecedent, and referring to Christ, be so used consistently with the idiom and laws of the Greek language ? This is a question not yet sufficiently investigated, as it seems to me, and one of serious import indeed, as it respects the interesting controversy with regard to the verse under consideration.

To do any thing like justice to the subject now suggested, it is necessary to take a survey, if possible an adequate one, of the manner in which the Greeks employed the pronoun under examination. As such a survey has not as yet fallen under my notice, I have undertaken to contribute something towards it in the sequel of these remarks.

The *relative* pronoun ὅς, ἥ, ὅ, was originally (like the article ὁ, ἡ, τό,) a demonstrative pronoun, of the same meaning with οὗτος or ἐκεῖνος, *this, that*. Traces of this meaning are quite frequent in the New Testament and in the classical writers. In

its *demonstrative* sense, it accords entirely with the praepositive article \acute{o} , η , $\tau\acute{o}$, when $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ are connected with it; for in the same manner $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ are connected with $\acute{o}\varsigma$, in order to make *distinctive* pronouns. In Greek $\acute{o}\iota \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ — $\acute{o}\iota \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ (the article) means *some—others*; *these—those*; $\acute{o} \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ — $\acute{o} \delta\acute{\epsilon}$, *one—another*; *this—that*, etc. In precisely the same manner are $\acute{o}\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, $\acute{o}\varsigma \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ employed; e. g. Matt. 21: 35, “And the husbandmen, taking those servants, $\acute{o}\nu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota\gamma\alpha\nu$, $\acute{o}\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\nu$, *one they beat, and another they slew.*” So Matt. 25: 15. Luke 23: 33. Rom. 9: 21. 14: 5. 1 Cor. 11: 21. 2 Cor. 2: 16, et al. saepe. This usage is not frequent among the Attic writers; but is very common among the later Greek authors, (as Plutarch and others,) and also in the writings of the New Testament.

That there is no mistake in supposing $\acute{o}\varsigma$ in such cases to be a distinctive and demonstrative pronoun, is made clear not only by the sense required in the respective places in which it is employed, but also by the correlative which $\acute{o}\varsigma$, in some cases of this nature, admits; e. g. in 1 Cor. 12: 8 we have $\acute{\omega} \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ — $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega \delta\acute{\epsilon}$, *to one—to another*; Matt. 13: 4, 5, $\acute{\alpha} \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ — $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha \delta\acute{\epsilon}$, *some—others* (compare Mark 4: 4, 5); Luke 8: 5, 6, $\acute{o} \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ — $\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$, *some—others*. The amount of these last examples is, that $\acute{o}\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ can have not only itself as a correlative, when employed as a distinctive or demonstrative pronoun, but may take $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ or $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ in exactly the same sense.

My object is merely to touch on this distinctive use of $\acute{o}\varsigma$, when employed in this way; a thing which most of the Greek lexicons have in a great measure neglected. As it can have no bearing on $\acute{o}\varsigma$ as employed in 1 Tim. 3: 16, it would be inapposite to pursue the illustration of it any farther.

In treating of $\acute{o}\varsigma$ as a *relative* pronoun, I shall be as brief as possible on that part of usage which is well known and perfectly obvious to every reader of Greek.

The plain common method of employing $\acute{o}\varsigma$ is, as a relative pronoun when its antecedent is *expressed*. In this case the usual construction is, to make $\acute{o}\varsigma$ follow the *gender* of its antecedent; while its *case* is determined by the verb with which it is immediately connected.

There are two cases of usage, where the noun or name of the thing to which $\acute{o}\varsigma$ relates is *expressed*, differing the one from the other only as it respects the *position* of the noun. (a) Cases in which the noun to which $\acute{o}\varsigma$ relates *precedes* it; e. g. Matt. 2: 9,

ὁ ἀσκήτορ, ὃν εἶδον; Matt. 3: 17, υἱὸς . . . ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα; the gender of the pronoun (not its case) according regularly, and therefore almost always according, with that of the antecedent. Examples of this kind occur so frequently every where, that there is no need of any references to them. (b) Cases in which the *relative is placed first*, and the noun to which it relates follows; e. g. Matt. 7: 2, ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίματι; Matt. 24: 44, ἡ ὥρα οὐ δοκεῖτε (for ὥρα, ἡ δοκεῖτε); and so in innumerable instances, which are too plain to need any illustration. This latter arrangement, it is generally thought, is designed to give emphasis to the relative pronoun.

It is proper to say here, that the *case* of the relative ὃς is not unfrequently made to conform to that of the noun to which it relates, by what grammarians call *attraction*; and this, whether the verb, with which the relative pronoun is connected, would naturally govern such a case or not. On the other hand, the noun itself, in some cases, conforms to the case of the relative pronoun; e. g. Mark 12: 10, λίθον, ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν . . . οὗτος κ. τ. λ. where λίθον is put for λίθος. So Luke 20: 17. 1 Cor. 10: 16, et al. saepe. Both of these usages are classical also; as may be seen in Buttman's Greek Grammar, § 130. For a full display of the cases in the New Testament, see Bretschn. Lex. under ὃς.

We come now to what more immediately concerns us. If the reading in 1 Tim. 3: 16, be ὃς, then no antecedent is here expressed; at least no probable one. As to θεοῦ ζῶντος in v. 15, it is too remote, considering the nature of the intermediate construction. As to μυστήριον, we have seen above that this cannot be understood to mean Christ, and therefore ὃς here cannot relate to it. Only two questions then remain; (1) Will Greek usage permit ὃς to be employed, when no noun or subject to which it relates is expressed in the context? (2) In case this is conformable to usage, can ὃς be considered as conveying a limited and definite sense, i. e. as relating to a particular or single individual; or must it be employed in the indefinite sense of *quicumque, aliquis, whoever, every one who, any one who*, etc.? When these questions are rightly settled, we shall be near to the results of our inquiry.

I. As to the first question, there are cases almost innumerable, in which the *subject* to which ὃς relates is not *expressed*.

In order fully to understand the nature of most of these cases, I remark that ὃς very often has for its subject the definitive or

demonstrative pronouns οὗτος, αὐτός, or ἐκεῖνος, in all genders and numbers, so as to correspond with the relative. E. g. Matt. 5: 19 (latter part of the verse), ὅς—οὗτος. In translating we may reverse the order of the Greek, and then the true construction of the sentence will be plain: "The *same* shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven, *who* shall do and teach, etc." So Luke 9: 26. John 1: 33. 3: 26. 5: 38. Matt. 26: 48. Mark 14: 44, and often elsewhere. So in the neuter gender, Mark 13: 11.

Such being the fact, i. e. the demonstrative pronouns οὗτος, αὐτός, and ἐκεῖνος, being so often actually expressed as the subject to which ὅς relates, Bretschneider and many other critics consider the numerous cases in which ὅς is employed when no antecedent is expressed, as cases in which there is an *ellipsis* of the demonstrative pronouns οὗτος or αὐτός. These may be divided into two classes, corresponding with the two described on pp. 65, 66, above. (1) The demonstrative is omitted, which would precede ὅς; e. g. Matt. 13: 12, καὶ ὃ ἔχει and *that which he has*, put for καὶ [τοῦτο] ὃ ἔχει; Matt. 20: 15, ποιῆσαι ὃ θέλω to do *that which I will*, put for ποιῆσαι [τοῦτο] ὃ θέλω. So in Luke 19: 21, 22. John 4: 22. Matt. 20: 24, et al. saepissime. (2) The demonstrative which would follow, is omitted; Matt. 5: 21, ὃς δ' ἂν φονεύσῃ, ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει, i. e. [οὗτος] ἔνοχος κ. τ. λ. Luke 4: 6, ὃ ἂν θέλω, δίδωμι, i. e. [τοῦτω] δίδωμι. So Matt. 19: 6. 20: 4, 7. Mark 6: 23, et al. saepe.

In the Greek classics this idiom, in both cases, is very common; e. g. μεμνημένος ὧν ἔπραξε, remembering [those things, τούτων] *which he did*; οἷς ἔχω χρῶμαι, *those which I have*, I use, i. e. [τούτοις] χρῶμαι.

Now there are two ways of solving all cases of this nature; and these cases are very numerous. First, we may suppose the demonstrative pronouns to be understood, as Bretschneider does, and as Buttmann seems also to intimate (Gramm. § 130); or secondly, we may solve all cases of this nature, by assigning to ὅς the double sense of *he who, that which*, etc. Exactly such a usage we have in English; e. g. 'What will suffice, I know not; what will happen, God only knows;' and perhaps also, 'who will do this, I shall see;' and thus in thousands of cases. The very same usage prevails in Greek, as to ὅς, in cases that are beyond the reach of enumeration. And I may add, that in Hebrew, אֲשֶׁר is thus employed in a like multitude of cases.

No critic will deny this usage, let him solve it as he may. It

is certainly the most simple solution to say, that *ὅς* very often stands for both a demonstrative and relative pronoun at one and the same time, like *what* in English, and *וְכֵן* in Hebrew. Moreover *ὅς* is, like the Hebrew *וְכֵן*, used in this way in all genders and numbers. One has only to read a few pages of Greek, or to consult a good lexicon, in order to be fully apprised of this.

Our first question then is fully answered. We have seen that there are innumerable cases in Greek, in which *ὅς* is employed, where no antecedent or subject is expressed, but where *ὅς* does itself designate both the demonstrative pronoun which is the *subject*, and the pronoun that relates to this same subject.

II. We come then to the second question, viz. Whether *ὅς* is ever employed in this way, in reference to any definite individual or particular thing?

One would naturally expect that *ὅς*, as being originally a demonstrative pronoun, must of course be *definite* in its very nature, inasmuch as it must always point to some specific and definite object, which was either visibly so to all, or at least was thought to be definite by the speaker or writer. But it is very plain, that such limits have not been prescribed to *ὅς* by Greek usage. Instead of confining it to the designation of some individual person or thing named in the context, or adverted to by it, *ὅς*, with the adjunct particle *ἄν* or *ἐάν*, stands usually for *any individual whatever*, in a generic way. Thus *ὅς ἄν*, or *ὅς ἐάν*, means *whoever, whosoever, every one who, any one who, if any one*; i. e. *ὅς ἄν*, or *ὅς ἐάν* is, if I may so speak, a generic designation of individuality.

All this is made very plain by examples; e. g. Matt. 5: 21, *ὅς δ' ἂν φονεύσῃ*, '*whoever shall kill*;' Matt. 5: 22, *ὅς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ*, '*whoever shall say*;' Matt. 5: 31, *ὅς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ*, '*whoever shall dismiss*;' and so in Matt. 5: 32. 10: 14. 15: 5. 16: 25. Mark 3: 29. 4: 25. 8: 35, 38. 9: 37. Luke 4: 6. 7: 23. 8: 18., 9: 24, 48, et al. *sexcenties*. The same idiom is common in the classics; and in epic poetry *ὅς τε* also is used in the same manner.

That *ὅς ἄν* and *ὅς ἐάν* are rightly construed in this way, is perfectly plain from the nature of the passages in which they are employed; and moreover from the fact, that they are altogether equivalent, in such cases, to *πᾶς ὅς, ὅστις, ὅσοι*, etc. For examples, consult Matt. 5: 22, where *πᾶς ὅς* in the former part of the verse has the same sense with *ὅς δ' ὅν* in the latter clause; so Matt. 5:

28, 39 (ὅστις), 41. 10: 33. 12: 50. Mark 6: 11 (ὅσοι). Luke 9: 5. In the Septuagint, moreover, ὅς ἐάν often corresponds to the Heb. אִישׁ אֶחָד; e. g. Ex. 30: 33, 38. Lev. 20: 10, et al.

The neuter gender ὁ ἐάν is employed in the same generic way; e. g. Matt. 15: 5, ὁ ἐάν . . . ὡφληθηθῆς, 'in respect to *whatever* thou mightest be profited on my account.' Matt. 16: 19. John 15: 7. 5: 4. 1 John 3: 22.

Such is the nature of ὅς ἄν and ὅς ἐάν. But is ὅς, *when standing alone*, ever used in this generic way? To this I answer in the affirmative. The cases are quite clear; e. g. Mark 4: 25, ὅς οὐκ ἔχει, 'whoever hath not,' where ὅς is plainly and exactly equivalent to ὅς ἄν in the former part of the same verse. So Mark 9: 40. Matt. 10: 27. 10: 38, et al. saepe.

Enough has been said to shew clearly, that ὅς ἄν, ὅς ἐάν, and ὅς, are employed to designate *generic* individuality. The turning point still remains; viz. is ὅς, without any antecedent expressed, ever employed to designate specific or limited monadic individuality? In other words, can ὅς, if it is the reading in 1 Tim. 3: 16, be considered as referring to Christ only, and not be necessarily construed as the generic *whoever*, *any one who*, *every one who*, etc.?

The statement of Mr Nolan, which Dr Henderson commends (p. 45), seems plainly to imply that it cannot be so understood. According to him, ὅς must mean the same as ὅς ἄν or ὅς ἐάν. Bishop Bloomfield has explicitly declared, also, that ὅς in the sense of *he who*, as referring to a specific individual, viz. Christ, is *not Greek*; and Dr John Jones declares, that it is "neither good sense, nor good Greek." These are certainly authorities on the subject of Greek idiom, which are entitled to high respect; and surely Dr Henderson himself may well be considered as adding a fourth to the other three already named. When I began this investigation, my apprehensions were, that there could scarcely be any doubt that these critics are in the right. I have now come to think somewhat differently; and I feel it to be due to them to state my reasons for it.

It is indeed plain enough, as all these respectable critics suppose, that if ὅς must necessarily be rendered *whoever*, or *every one who*, the passage will make, as they say, "palpable nonsense," or "no sense" and "not Greek." For then the apostle would be represented as saying in effect, that *every one* who appears in a human body, is justified by the Spirit etc.—a declaration which no one will attribute to him. But the difficulty

in all this matter, as it now seems to me, is, that *ὅς* is not necessarily to be construed in this *generic* way, for it admits of another interpretation which is more specific.

Of course I am justly held to the proof of this ; and I proceed to proffer it. John 4: 22, ‘Ye worship *ὃ οὐκ οἴδατε*, *that which* you do not know ;’ where the Saviour does not surely mean to accuse the Samaritans of worshipping *every thing* and *any thing* which they did not know, but of worshipping a God with whose will and intentions respecting the true mode of worship they were not acquainted. In Matt. 13: 17, *ἃ βλέπετε . . . ἃ ἀκούετε*, do not mean, ‘any thing and every thing which ye see and hear,’ but the specific instructions and miracles of the Saviour. Matt. 20: 23, *οἷς ἡτοιμάσται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου*, does not mean to any one, in an indefinite way, for whom the honour there in question may be intended, but to the specific individuals for whom it is designed. Luke 7: 43, *ὃ τὸ πλεῖον ἐχαρίσατο*, ‘*he to whom* he forgave much,’ where *ὃ* undoubtedly means a specific individual, viz. the one mentioned in the preceding parable. John 19: 22, *ὃ γέγραφα, γέγραφα*, which refers to the specific inscription which Pilate had written to put on the cross of Jesus. Rom. 2: 1, *ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίνεις*, ‘in that particular thing in which thou condemnest the heathen.’ Heb. 2: 18, *ἐν ᾧ γὰρ πέπονθεν αὐτὸς πειρασθεὶς*, ‘for by *that very circumstance* that he suffered through temptation.’ In John 8: 38, *ὃ ἐώρακα . . . ὃ ἐώρακατε*, is not *any thing which*, or *every thing which*, but that ‘*specific thing* which I have seen, and you have seen,’ viz. in relation to what he and they had just been saying and doing. Matt. 26: 50, *ἐφ’ ὃ πάρει*, ‘for *what particular purpose* do you come?’ John 13: 7, *ὃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ*, ‘that particular thing which I now do, thou dost not now understand,’ etc. John 19: 37, *ὅψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*, ‘they shall look on *him whom* they have pierced ;’ a clear and indubitable example of *ὅς* in the sense of *he who*, as applied to a specific individual person ; as also Luke 7: 43 above quoted, and John 3: 34, *ὃν γὰρ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς, τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ θεοῦ λαλεῖ*, *he whom God hath sent, speaketh the words of God* ; which agrees in all respects with the idiom in *ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη, κ. τ. λ.*

If it be said, in answer to this, that *ὅς* in John 19: 37 and 3: 34 is made specific by the sequel *ἐξεκέντησαν, ἀπέστειλεν*, etc. I admit it ; but then the very same thing may be truly said in respect to *ὅς* in 1 Tim. 3: 16. There the sequel, *ᾧφθῃ ἀγγέλοις, κ. τ. λ.* clearly shews that Jesus, and he only, could be meant.

In addition to all the examples produced, it may be remarked, that the use of ὁ δέ, ἃ δέ, ὁ γάρ, ἃ γάρ, for *as to this* or *that*, *as to these* or *those*, is in its own nature specific; and this is an idiom which occurs in numberless cases in the classics, and often in the New Testament. See Sturzii Lex. Xen. III. p. 335. Bretschn. Lex. ὅς, II. 2. c. "Ὅς too, it will not be forgotten, was originally a *demonstrative* pronoun.

Matthaei remarks (Gram. § 482), that the noun or pronoun to which ὅς relates, is often omitted, when it is either a general word, or *when it may easily be supplied from the connexion*. The examples which he there produces, and others of the like nature supplied in what he says of ὅς, serve abundantly to confirm the idea, that ὅς may be employed in a definite way, although the noun to which it relates is not expressed, but only implied by the context.

It were easy to proceed almost indefinitely in proffering examples. And special references in this way to an individual person, to whom the context refers, are made in cases without number by the Hebrew אִשָּׁר. How can we doubt, then, that *he who*, as referring to an *individual*, is a legitimate sense of ὅς? For my own part, I must not only hesitate to subscribe to the remarks of the critics above named, and of others who have maintained the same thing; but I am compelled, after the above investigation, to believe that there are numerous cases of exception to the principle which they have laid down.

Bretschneider (sub voce ὅς, c. γ.) observes, after stating that the demonstratives οὗτος and αὐτός are often the subjects to which ὅς refers, that 'when these demonstratives would follow ὅς in the order of position, they are omitted *saepissime*,' of which he produces a great abundance of examples. Such being the case then, what hinders us from supposing that the grammatical construction of 1 Tim. 3: 16 might be, ὅς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, [οὗτος] ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι, κ. τ. λ.? I confess that I am unable to see how this is "bad grammar" or "bad Greek." At any rate I am unable to distinguish it, with respect to the idiom in question, from ὅφονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν and ὃν γὰρ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεός, τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ θεοῦ λαλεῖ. According to the reading with ὅς in 1 Tim. 3: 16, the first clause, ὅς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, would as much designate a definite person, as ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν or ὃν ἀπέστειλεν does. I cannot see that any important difference whatever can be pointed out.

It will be seen, in accordance with what has been intimated

above, that the definiteness of ὅς is made certain, if what Dr Henderson has said on p. 47 above, is correct, respecting the use of φανερωῖσθαι ἐν σαρκί; where he maintains, and very justly, that it can properly be applied to no other individual than to Christ. Such being the fact, ὅς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί must of course characterize Christ quite as definitely as ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν, etc. and "the Greek" of it may be defended in the same way.

It follows from all this, that neither "the genius of the Greek," nor "the grammar," can be fairly considered as deciding the point in controversy about the reading ὅς. Are there then any other considerations, of an *internal* nature, which may help to decide this matter?

That the apostle should (instead of saying Χριστός, Ἰησοῦς, or θεός) describe the Saviour by saying ὅς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, must at least be admitted to be a peculiar method of expression, if not a strange one. The fact, indeed, that Christ did come in the flesh, is frequently asserted; e. g. 1 John 4: 2, 3. 2 John 7. Rom. 8: 3. Heb. 2: 14, 17. But to name Christ *he who came in the flesh*, strikes one at least in a singular way. Where, in all the Scriptures besides, is there such an appellation? Yet, while we admit that the appellation is *sui generis*, we can hardly aver that it is 'neither grammar nor sense.' That it would be pregnant with meaning, is apparent from comparing the texts above cited.

We cannot make out, then, if I am correct in the above remarks, any strong argument from 'the Greek,' or 'the grammar,' against the reading ὅς. The case must rest, so far as we have yet gone, mainly on the manuscripts; and here I cannot feel that there is any considerable room for doubt that θεός is the true reading.

But an inquiry may still be raised in regard to θεός, which has respect to internal evidence. It is this; Does θεός as the subject of a proposition, appear without the article? Naturally it would have it; but must it necessarily have it?

This inquiry may have been made by others, and pursued to a satisfactory result. But if this is the case, their labours have not come within the sphere of my observation. I have not, as yet, any where found the question to be seriously made, and followed up by adequate investigations.

As to the word θεός itself, it is well known that in the New Testament it is often *anarthrous*, i. e. destitute of the article. As a predicate in a proposition, it would naturally be so; for

more usually the predicates of propositions are anarthrous, although this is far from being a universal rule. The reader, who is desirous to see a host of exceptions to the usual principle above named, may consult Winer, *Grammar of the N. Testament* § 17. 5, p. 100, Ed. 3. Still, a great majority of cases fall within the general rule; and in this way we have *θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, πνεῦμα ὁ θεός*, etc. in which *ὁ λόγος* and *ὁ θεός* are palpably in the nominative case, i. e. they are the subjects of propositions.

But besides cases of this nature, which are conformed to the ordinary principles of the Greek language, there are many cases where *θεός* is anarthrous in distinction from the more usual custom of the Greek. For example, when *θεός* follows another noun and is put into the genitive by it, in a multitude of cases it omits the article; see Winer (*ut supra*), and also consult any Greek Concordance. It is also anarthrous in all its cases except the nominative, in many instances, and from a variety of causes; but sometimes this is merely (so far as I can see) because it has the license of *proper* names, which are well known to every Greek scholar to be exempted from the common rules of the language in respect to the article. Every reader may find abundance of examples in proof of the assertion just made, in his Greek Concordance under the word *θεός*.

But the nominative case, or *subject* of a sentence, is the only case which now concerns us. Is this anarthrous too?

This was one of the first questions which I asked myself, when I came, in the course of this discussion, to consider the internal evidence of the reading *θεός*. If this question has not been discussed, it is high time that the discussion should be commenced.

To the Concordance of course must we resort for an answer, as to what the usage of the New Testament writers is with regard to this point. An investigation thus conducted has brought me to the following results, viz.

Θεός is employed in the nominative as the subject of a proposition,—by Matthew 6 times;—Mark 5;—Luke 68, viz. in his Gospel 9, in Acts 59;—John 41, viz. Gospel 14, first Epistle 13, Rev. 14;—Paul 128, viz. Rom. 31, 1 Cor. 29, 2 Cor. 15, Gal. 5, Eph. 5, Phil. 8, Col. 2, 1 Thess. 6, 2 Thess. 4, 1 Tim. 1, 2 Tim. 2, Philem. 1, Heb. 19;—James 4;—Peter 6, viz. 1 Pet. 5, 2 Pet. 1. In all there are *two hundred and fifty seven* clear

cases, in which the article is prefixed to *θεός* when it is employed as the subject of a proposition. These are enough to shew, that an almost overwhelming usage is on the side of employing the article in such a case.

I except from this class the *vocative* *ὁ θεός*, which occurs in Mark 15: 34 bis. Luke 18: 11, 13. John 20: 28. Heb. 1: 8, 9. 10: 7, 9 (this last is a doubtful reading). Rev. 15: 3. 16: 7.

I also except from the same class, cases where *ὁ θεός* is the *predicate* of a proposition; e. g. *ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεός* Ἀβραὰμ κ. τ. λ.; which same expressions occur in Mark 12: 26. Acts 7: 32. Here *ἐγὼ* is plainly the subject of the proposition, and *ὁ θεός* the predicate, agreeably to a principle of the Greek language mentioned on pp. 72, 73, above.

I have also excepted the somewhat doubtful cases in Matt. 19: 17. Mark 10: 18. Luke 18: 19, viz. *οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός, εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός*. Most of our editions here point the latter clause thus, *εἰ μὴ εἷς, ὁ θεός*, putting a comma after *εἷς*, and designing (I presume) that the sentence should be considered as in substance the same as *εἰ μὴ εἷς, [ὅς ἐστι] ὁ θεός*. In this way the example would not fall under those in which *ὁ θεός* is a *subject*, it being here a *predicate*. But the true Greek construction I apprehend to be, *οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός, εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός*, *no one is good, except the one God* [is good]. In this way, these three examples would be added to our general collection above, of cases in which *ὁ θεός* is the subject of a proposition.

In the same way, and in the same sense, *εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός* occurs in Mark 2: 7; in Luke 5: 21 it reads *εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ θεός*; all of which goes to shew that the construction put on the preceding phrases is probably correct. These two cases must also be added to the general list.

But there are cases where *θεός* occurs without the article, some of which might be mistaken by unexperienced readers, for examples like *θεός* *ἐφανερώθη*. E. g. Luke 20: 38. John 8: 54. 2 Thess. 2: 4. Rev. 21: 3, where *αὐτός* is evidently the subject, and *θεός* only a predicate. So Rev. 21: 7, where *ἐγὼ* is the subject. There are others also, where *θεός* is connected with *ἐστὶ* expressed or implied, when it is used in a kind of impersonal way, being employed just like our English *there is*; e. g. 1 Cor. 8: 4, *οὐδεὶς θεός ἕτερός [ἐστὶ], εἰ μὴ εἷς*; 1 Cor. 8: 6, *ἡμῖν εἷς θεός, ὁ πατήρ*, (where *ὁ πατήρ* may possibly be reckoned as the *subject*); Eph. 4: 6, *εἷς θεός [ἐστὶ] καὶ πατήρ πάντων*. In Rom. 3: 30, we have *εἷς ὁ θεός, ὃς κ. τ. λ.* where

the sense is, *God [is] one, who will justify*, etc. which places this example on the general ground. In 1 Tim. 2: 5 we have *εἰς γὰρ θεός*, connected with *ἔστι*, *there is*, implied. But whatever may be the reason of the usage, in relation to *θεός* in these examples as anarthrous, the case is totally unlike that of *θεός* in 1 Tim. 3: 16, and cannot therefore be appealed to as casting any light upon it.

We come now to cases which really are, or at least which seem to be, exempted from any just doubts. A seeming case of this nature, is to be found in 2 Cor. 1: 3, *ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρῶν καὶ θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως*, where *θεός* is a *subject* of the proposition. But here a common principle in Greek accounts for the omission of the article, viz. that in case several nouns of the same gender are connected together by a conjunction, especially when they relate to the same thing, the article is more usually omitted after the first of them; see Winer Gramm. § 18. 4. This then is not a case in point. But real cases which are to our purpose, are the following, viz.

1. 2 Cor. 5: 19, where we have, *ὅτι θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλάσσων ἑαυτῷ*. If the reading be stable here, it is a case, both in sentiment and grammar, like that in 1 Tim. 3: 16. On consulting both Griesbach and Matthæi, I find no ground to call the genuineness of the reading in question. No doubt is suggested respecting it, and no variations from it are produced.

2. Gal. 2: 6, *πρόσωπον θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει*. Here *θεός* is clearly the subject of the proposition. But here Griesbach notices "A. 17. 71. 73. Mt. d. h. Ed. Chrys." as adding *ὁ* to *θεός*. This shews, at least, what the feeling of some copyists must have been relative to usage. At the same time, these authorities for inserting the article are altogether insufficient; and accordingly, all the texts which I have been able to compare, omit it. With these Griesbach himself is to be reckoned.

3. Gal. 6: 7, *Θεὸς οὐ μὐκτερίζεται*, is a clear and indubitable case of omitting the article before *θεός*, when it is the subject of a proposition. The critical editions of Griesbach and Matthæi give no notice of any variation here of the reading, either in any manuscript, or in any of the Christian fathers. On grounds of external testimony we are not permitted, therefore, to call the reading in question.

4. 1 Thess. 2: 5, *Θεὸς μάστις*; which is equivalent to *θεός [ἐστι] μάστις*. It seems quite plain, that *θεός* is intended here

to be the subject of the proposition. If so, it is an undoubted case in point; inasmuch as there are no evidences of any variations in the reading. And even if *μάρις* be taken as the *subject*, the absence of the article is equally striking; for in this case we should naturally expect *θεὸς ὁ μάρης*, *the witness [is] God*. On the whole, I do not see that there can be any hesitation in acknowledging this to be a case in point.

These are all the cases of variation from common usage, as to the article before *θεός* when it is the subject of a proposition, which I have been able to find in the New Testament. I have not extended my investigations beyond the New Testament for want of time. But then, this of course is the most satisfactory of all sources, in regard to the evidence which is needed.

The reader, who has ever been engaged in an investigation like the preceding, well knows that absolute assertions respecting the numerical accuracy of results, are somewhat hazardous. In spite of all which diligence and watchfulness can do, the eye will occasionally pass over an example in a Concordance, which would be in point. In the case before us, I have been obliged to select the examples in point from about 1300 instances in which *θεός* occurs in the New Testament. It would have been easy to register all the 257 or 262 cases, where (as subject) it takes the article. But I deemed it unnecessary to occupy room in this way, when every reader can so easily find the examples in his own Concordance. I have only to say respecting the number as reckoned above, that I am confident it is pretty nearly accurate, and that no revision will essentially alter the result, as to the nature of the argument in favour of what is predominant usage. It is possible, also, that some more examples may be found, in which *θεός* as the subject of a proposition omits the article. I can only say, that in either case I have not willingly concealed or misrepresented any example of either kind.

It would be proper to add here, that the usage of Paul, in respect to omitting the article before *θεός* as subject, is not peculiar. We find the like usage in the classics; e. g. in Xenophon, *Cyrop.* V. 4. 21, *ἣν θεὸς θέλη*, *if God will*; *Cyrop.* VII. 1. 9, *ἣν θεὸς θελήσῃ*; *Anab.* VII. 3. 23, *εἰὰν θεὸς θέλη*; *Econom.* II. 4. 10, *ἂν θεὸς θέλη*. Other examples, it may be presumed, occur, of the like nature. The good Greek of this usage is sufficiently vouched for, in the fact that it is found in Xenophon.

It remains, at the close of this unexpectedly protracted investigation, to make a few remarks on its results.

I. In regard to the reading *ὅς*, the *internal* evidence does not seem to be sufficient to warrant us in deciding against it. As a relative pronoun, and *anticipative* (if I may so speak), it may relate to a subject which follows; and this may be a definite person supplied by the mind of the reader, but not named by the writer; exactly as in John 19: 37 and 3: 34. Still, thus much will probably force itself on the mind of every reflecting reader, viz. to ask, In what part of the New Testament is there any such designation of Christ, as is made by *ὅς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί*? The answer must be, Elsewhere there is none; and yet if one compares John 1: 14. 1 John 4: 2, 3. Rom. 1: 3. 9: 5. 8: 3. Gal. 4: 4. Heb. 2: 11, 14, 17, the singularity of the phraseology can hardly be deemed sufficient, of itself, to call the genuineness of it in question.

On the ground of *manuscripts*, however, I deem the evidence overwhelming against *ὅς*. I am unable to form any other estimate.

II. As to *θεός*, there is an almost unlimited usage in the New Testament which would seem to demand *ὁ θεός*. On the other hand, there are *four* decided and unquestionable examples of a different usage, and one which exactly resembles that of our text. And these examples, let it be remembered, are most peculiarly in point; for the most important question before us is, What was the idiom or usage of *Paul*? It is singular, that every anarthrous case of *θεός* as subject, which is to be met with in the New Testament, (so far as I have been able to discover,) is found in Paul, and is therefore directly applicable to the question, Can it be supposed that Paul wrote in the manner which *θεός ἐφανερώθη* indicates? We are now constrained to answer, that we can suppose this; nay, that we have indubitable and conclusive evidence of it. The examples above produced, are enough to confirm this declaration.

Nor must I omit to notice here, that there is a peculiar bearing in 2 Cor. 5: 19, on the example in 1 Tim. 3: 16. In the first of these passages, we have *Θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλάσσαν ἑαυτῷ*, *God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself*. I acknowledge the possibility of translating this: 'God was *by* Christ reconciling the world to himself;' but on comparing it with other passages of the like tenor, I must doubt whether this was the meaning of the apostle here. And if our English version is right, then does the sentiment here harmonize remarkably with *θεός ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί*. In both cases, also, *θεός* is anarthrous in the same manner.

I cannot but feel, in view of all this, that the confirmation of the reading *θεός* in 1 Tim. 3: 16, is a very strong one, from the great similarity of the two passages. It would seem as if there were some significant design, on the part of the apostle, in omitting the article here. If I may venture to express it, he seems to say that *θεός*, *divinity*, a *divine nature*, was in Christ, or manifested in the flesh; while *ὁ Θεός*, the *Godhead*, i. e. the *proper and entire Godhead*, is not affirmed to be united to the person of Christ; or, in other words, the Father and Spirit are not asserted to have become incarnate. Do I merely imagine a distinction here? Or does the omission of the article, in these two peculiar cases, actually indicate something of this nature?

Whoever compares John 1: 1 with John 1: 14; and these with Rom. 9: 5; and both these with the texts cited under no. 1 on p. 77, and with other texts of a similar tenor; will find reason sufficient, (at least so it appears to me), to acquiesce in the possibility and probability of the reading *θεός*; especially since, as we have seen, the Pauline *usus loquendi* favours this anarthrous reading.

But if we should read *ὅς*, still the sentiment of the text would seem to be strongly at variance with the idea, that Christ was merely and simply human. For what can be the meaning of *ὅς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί*? It is applied to no other being; and if applied to Christ, would it not necessarily imply that he lived, or at least could make his appearance, in some other state than that of human flesh and blood? Granting this, it follows of course that he could not have been a mere man. He must, at least, have been a being altogether *sui generis*.

Again; when we consider this in connexion with the "great mystery" that is asserted of it, I confess myself altogether unable to believe that the apostle would have thus spoken of an *ἐνανθρώπωσης*, such as every human being undergoes. For then how would Christ have been distinguished from all the rest of the human race, and what was there particularly "wonderful" in his case? These considerations serve to shew, that the theory of an origin merely and entirely human, without any reference to a pre-existent state, must have been foreign to the views of the apostle, even on the ground that the reading *ὅς* should be adopted.

I cannot however adopt it, in the present state of evidence. Indeed, I consider it, on the whole, as a case made out, so far as evidence is as yet accessible, that *θεός* is the genuine reading.

But then, I must add here also, that while I admit this, I cannot feel that the contest on the subject of the reading, can profit one side so much, or harm the other so much, as disputants respecting the doctrine of the Trinity have supposed. Whoever attentively studies John 17: 20—26. 1 John 1: 3. 2: 5. 4: 15, 16, and other passages of the like tenor, will see that “God might be manifest” in the person of Christ, without the necessary implication of the proper divinity of the Saviour; at least, that the phraseology of Scripture does admit of other constructions besides this; and other ones, moreover, which are not forced. And conceding this fact, less is determined by the contest about *ὁς* and *θεός*, in 1 Tim. 3: 16, than might seem to be at first view.

My own belief of the meaning of the text is, that the apostle designs to say, (just as John does in 1: 1, 14,) that God, or the divine nature, dwelt in, or was disclosed in, Christ, while in his incarnate state. But he who differs from me in sentiment, may have so many things to say, which are founded in analogical expressions elsewhere applied to believers, that I cannot advance the text in question with much confidence that an opponent will feel the force of any argument from it for the proper divinity of Christ. Of course, while I sincerely believe that the sentiment of the apostle is such as is stated above, I cannot persuade myself that it is best to place dependence on this text, in the great controversy respecting the Godhead of the Saviour. It helps to confirm my faith in this doctrine, with the view which I have of it; but I deem it inexpedient to use it in combating an opponent to the doctrine in question.

If an apology be necessary for the length of the above remarks, I can say, that when I entered upon them, I had no expectation of occupying more than three or four pages. Investigation raised difficulties; and these I was as it were obliged to investigate, until I found satisfaction. If I have been fortunate enough to satisfy the reader, as well as myself, it will afford me pleasure. He will, at least, not accuse me of having trodden a beaten path, or of merely repeating what has been said, scores of times, as well as I could say it, or perhaps much better.

To Dr Henderson, whom I have the pleasure to reckon as my friend and correspondent, no apology, I trust, is needed, for the remarks which I have made. I hope he will find in them a desire manifested *ἀλληθεύειν ἐν ἀγάπῃ*. It would be cherishing entirely different views of him from those which I now enter-

tain, if I should for a moment suppose, that he would not sincerely rejoice in any candid discussion of what he has advanced in any part of his truly valuable Essay, whether the result should accord with his past views or not. He will see that my general results differ not at all from his, although I have come to them, in some respects, by means somewhat different from his own. If I am correct, no one will more candidly allow it than he; if I am not, few are more able to detect my errors. I take it for granted that he will do this, if he finds me in error; and he may be assured that I shall receive the correction with double thanks, as coming from the hand of so highly valued a friend.

ART. III. THE NATURE AND MORAL INFLUENCE OF HEATHENISM, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE GREEKS AND ROMANS, VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF CHRISTIANITY.

By Augustus Tholuck, Professor of Theology in the University of Halle. Translated from the German by R. Emerson, D. D. Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Theological Seminary, Andover.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

For a notice of the author of the following treatise, the reader is referred to the first volume of the *Biblical Repository*, p. 29.

As to the merits of the piece, it may not be improper to remark, that it ranks high in Germany. Gesenius, one of the most competent judges on such a subject, though differing widely from its author in religious views, pronounced it, in the hearing of the Editor of this work, to be the best performance that has appeared on the subject. It certainly exhibits great research, and is written in a style at once lively and candid. If some marks of youth are perceptible, they may well be pardoned, as the essay was first published in 1822, when Prof. Tholuck was about twenty three years of age. The strain of pious feeling which often appears in it, without producing any digression from the main subject, is truly delightful; especially when we consider the prevalence of the opposite feeling in the land from which it comes. While the treatise will afford many facts and general views which cannot fail to be useful to the Christian and to the preacher, it will be an additional advantage of no small importance, should it serve to excite in this country the needful inter-

est in historical research as connected with religion and with the christian church. Perhaps in this branch only of professional education, are the clergy of New England inferior to those of our mother country. And in this, as well as in some other branches of clerical education, we are confessedly and greatly inferior to the Germans. It would be as easy to account for this evil, as for our superior attainments in some other branches to which special attention has been paid. It would also be easy to point out unhappy consequences of a practical nature, resulting from this comparative neglect ; but this is not the place.

That the first sentence may be intelligible, it is necessary to observe, that this was the first essay in a periodical work designed for the illustration of memorable facts and principles in the history and biography of the christian church, printed at Berlin and edited by the excellent Neander : *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Geschichte des Christenthums und des christlichen Lebens.*

It may be proper to remark, that this essay consists of five parts ; of which only the two first are given in the present number, viz. on the origin of the heathen religion, and on the estimation in which it was held by the heathen themselves. The remaining three parts, on the character of polytheism, on the influence of heathenism upon life, and on the study of classical literature, will be given in the succeeding numbers of the present volume.

TRANSLATOR.

THE NATURE AND MORAL INFLUENCE OF HEATHENISM.

Introduction.

The following treatise is designed to shew, that heathenism was by no means capable of renovating man, but that rather, during its continuance, the faults and sufferings of the human race, were continually increasing. It precedes a course of essays, the object of which is to evince, that the invisible community of the Lord must be denominated the *heart* of the human race ; and that even under the coldest temperature, that heart has ever been capable of some pulsations, whose fresh vital power was widely felt. Whoever stands on a lofty mountain, should look not merely at the gold which the morning sun pours on the grass and flowers at his feet ; but he should sometimes also look behind him into the deep valley where the shadows still rest, that he

may more sensibly feel that that sun is indeed a sun ! Thus is it also salutary for the disciples of Christ, at times, from the kingdom of light to cast forth a glance over the dark stage where men play their part in lonely gloom, without a Saviour, without a God ! Hence, a treatise like the following stands here directly in its proper place.

This treatise, therefore, does not come *to bless* ; that is, its object cannot be *to praise*. It lies moreover not within its object—which is likewise reasonable—to show where God is manifested even in the midst of heathenism. Its object is to demonstrate, that heathenism, as such, did not restore, but profaned the image of God in man. No one will therefore accuse the author of injustice, if he does not place before the eyes of the reader every particle of divine seed, of which so many have occurred to his notice in heathenism. Yet, where the mention of good in heathenism is intimately connected with that of the bad, he will not suppress it ; for the mirror of Christianity has no occasion first to breathe on other mirrors with the poisoned breath of calumny, in order that itself may be esteemed clear.

One further preliminary objection, which may be raised against such a view as the one before us, demands attention here at the commencement, viz. that even a hasty glance into the history of Christendom,—to pass over in silence what would be known, could the walls of christian palaces and cloisters speak,—reveals no less of corruption than what is here depicted of heathenism. It may perhaps be asserted, that if one were to gather the booty from the Byzantine Historians and the French *Moniteur* of the close of the 18th century, or from the *Chronique Scandaleuse* of the Lewises and the *Annales Ecclesiastiques* of Alexander VI. and Caesar Borgia, a still more glaring picture of human profligacy might be shown. And this, indeed, we do not deny. As the Lord hath said, ‘ that it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon than for Chorazin and Bethsaida,’ so say we.

But here, it is not the question, in what the Christian who is merely baptized with *water*, is better than the heathen, but the one who is baptized with the spirit and with fire. Nay, the question is not even, in what this or that Christian baptized with the spirit and with fire, is superior to this or that heathen ; but what the fire and the spirit which baptize them through Christ, and which are to be given them without measure, can effect, and from their own nature do effect ; and, on the other hand, what the spirit of heathenism from its own nature is calculated to produce, and does produce.

But when we enter the province of history, and undertake to trace the fruits of heathenism, we shall also show that these fruits might really spring from the germ of the popular religion. This by no means contradicts the position, that some *better* fruit may have proceeded from the same source ; but rather, in this way, the obviously corrupt fruit only is traced to the corrupt root, without attending *here* to the isolated parcels of finer fruit which may occur, as perhaps in Pythagoras, Pindar, Socrates, Plato, and Plutarch. Vain, on the other hand, would be the task of him who would prove, that the mass of weeds which have luxuriated within the pale of the christian church from the beginning, might have sprung from the root of the Spirit of Christ. Bitter and sweet flow not from the same fountain. ‘What have the chaff and wheat to do together? saith the Lord.’* The darkness loved itself, and would not comprehend the light that shone into it ; hence came the weeds. Theophilus of Antioch compared the little christian church in the wide domains of heathenism, to verdant islands in a great raging ocean. Thus also, within the pale of Christianity, has the congregation of the regenerate always stood in relation to the children of the world. For, in every century, there have been only a few who, awakened by the deep inward alarm and call of the Spirit of God, arose, and girding up their loins and pouring oil into their lamps, acknowledged and embraced, as the great purpose of life, the annihilation of the man of sin even to the deepest abysses of the corrupt heart, the daily crucifixion of the lusts of the flesh and of the sense, the daily dying and daily resurrection with the Redeemer of their souls. But where there really stood, amid the darkness, such men taught of God, such sacerdotal spirits to whom He daily preaches of the hidden wisdom, there flowed a milder gleam on the dark clouds of night around them. The kingdom of God on earth, appears as the sun through clouds ; one sees indeed the light, but not the sun ; but when the clouds are gone, he sees both light and sun. Hence, therefore, even that Christianity which has not the spirit of Christ, is yet, nevertheless, not in *all* respects like heathenism. It receives more or less of imperceptible influences from the real children of God who walk within its pale. Indeed, more or less of this leavening spirit is infused even into public life, into political relations, and into science. Hence the merely external Christian is exceedingly ungrateful, who reviles those who are Christians in earnest ; since

* Jer. 23: 28.

it is these very persons who, calling down by their prayers the divine power and Spirit of God, become channels to diffuse blessings imperceptibly even on the enemies of God's kingdom.

In what has now been said, the point of view is also indicated in which we wish that to be regarded, which will hereafter be said respecting the blessing of Christianity which manifests itself in the public and external life of Christendom in general.

Finally, should any one still further object, that the number of Christians who are and have been spiritually planted in Christ, is so very small; that, by the appearing of the Son of Man upon earth, "by the second shaking of the earth," so little has been accomplished; it may be answered, in the first place, that all the thousands who have received only rays of the sun instead of his full splendour, are not to be counted for nothing. It was indeed to their great detriment, that they did not fully admit the sun; yet one ray of this sun, is warmer than the strongest candle-light. It is further to be noted, that the most divine fruits of Christianity, like those of the private Christian, blossom in secret. As nature is noisy only when she rends asunder, but is silent when she brings forth; so it is the abuse of divine power, which is more narrated in history; while none knows its blessed influences, except only the sufferer who is refreshed, and the angel who numbers his dried tears. And who is there that has ever sat by, as a curious spectator, at that exhibition which of all others is the greatest in the kingdom of God, when the heart falls into rebellion against itself, and flaming lust and smouldering rancor, amid infinite contests, are extinguished by the tears of an humility which lies low before God! There first, yea there, where not even the eye of the Christian brother may cast a glance, is the excellency and glory of him who is born of the Spirit. *There* smokes an incense more precious to the Lord than all the aloe of the most fragrant good works; since nothing is greater before God than the proud human heart, humbling itself and divesting itself of its hidden selfishness before his flaming eye.

PART I.

ON THE ORIGIN OF HEATHENISM.

Let us first hear what the apostle Paul says of the origin of heathenism, that we may build our views thereon, whatever they may be, as on a safe foundation. He says, according to an ac-

curate translation of the passage :* “The divine wrath will be manifested from heaven against all ungodliness and unholiness of men who, through unholiness, suppress the truth. For so much as can be known of God, is surely manifest to them ; God himself hath manifested it to them. For what in him is peculiarly invisible, his eternal power and divinity, even that appears, as it were, visible in his creatures since the creation of the world, as soon as we betake ourselves with our inward consciousness to this contemplation ; so that they (the heathen) have no excuse.¹ They knew God indeed, but they honoured him not as the most high God, and were not thankful to him as such ; but they became fools in their speculations, and their dull apprehension was deluded. They became fools, because they pretended to be the wise ; and substituted in the place of the glory of the imperishable God, the image of the form of perishable men, of birds, of four-footed beasts, and of creeping things. Therefore God also on his part hath given them up through the lusts of their sense to impurity, so that they have dishonoured their own bodies ;—they have changed the true nature of God for a false one, and have honoured and worshipped the creature more than the Creator, to whom be glory forever ! Amen. Therefore, I say, God hath given them up to debasing lusts, inasmuch as the women have changed the natural intercourse to the unnatural, and likewise the men in passing by the natural use of the women, have burnt in lust toward each other, as man practising shame with man, wherein they have prepared for themselves the recompense which is due to them for their apostasy. For, as thus they did not regard it worth their pains, to attain to the consciousness of God, so God also hath given them up to a debased mind, to commit indecency, being full of profaneness, whoredom, malice, avarice, baseness ; full of envy, murder, contention, mischief, fraud ; calumniators, slanderers, despisers of God, haughty, proud, boastful, mischief-makers, disobedient to parents, covenant-breakers, unkind, implacable, unmerciful ; who, although they well knew the moral law of God, namely,

* Rom. 1: 18 seq.

¹ Book of Wisdom, 13: 8, “Nevertheless they are not thereby excused. For if they have been able to perceive so much, as to esteem the creature, why have they not sooner found the Lord himself ?” Athanasius’ Apology p. 38, “As the great artist Phidias is known by the proportion and taste in his statues, so God from his great works.”

that they who do such things are worthy of death, still not only do the same, but also bestow applause on those who do them."

What the apostle would here say, we will endeavour more clearly to develope by a paraphrase. Paul would say this: "I am a preacher of the joyful message of a Redeemer to all men, for all men need such a Redeemer. This I will first of all show to you heathen. The wrath of God will one day reveal itself from heaven upon all those who, through unholiness, have suppressed the truth. And these are ye, the heathen. This truth in question consists in the right knowledge of God. But this, so far as it is universally accessible to men, has been revealed to you. No one can know abstractly what God is in himself; we can only learn his *attributes*, and, through them, his *nature*. These attributes of God are partly physical, partly moral, partly power (*δύναμις*), partly divinity (*θεϊότης*). Although in themselves invisible, they have become in a manner visible in the creation of God that lies before us. We cannot indeed derive from nature this idea of a being perfectly unlimited in a metaphysical and moral sense, unless we previously have it in us. But we need only to suffer the revelation which is in us, to be awakened by the external revelation (*νοούμενα καθορᾶται*). And this takes place thus. The unprejudiced man will feel himself impelled, by a survey of creation, to admit an infinite power which formed and limits all things, but is itself without limit.² And thus there arises to him the consciousness of a being, physically unlimited and absolute. But since he must regard this being as the limiter and author of his own moral nature, he cannot do otherwise—he *must* attribute also the highest degree of moral perfection to that unlimited Original. And in this way, if no ungodly impulse disturb this natural consciousness in man, there can develope itself, not indeed *from* a view of the universe, but still *by* a view of the universe, the consciousness of one single moral being, a God who limits all things. This simple perception did not develope itself in the heathen, although the germ of it lay in them; but the selfish impulse (*ἡ ἀδίκη*) suppressed it in the germ. Man *chose* to sin; he would not elevate his soul above the whole

² Wisdom 13: 4, 5. "And as they wondered at the might and power, they should have understood from them how much mightier must he be who hath prepared all such things. For from the greatness and beauty of the works, the Creator of them is proportionally seen."

visible world. Hence the Greeks, in the speculations of their deluded reason, became fools, and sought for the Eternal within the limits of the perishable. This degeneracy in the knowledge of God, occasioned by the selfish ungodly impulse of the will, had this consequence, that the true measure for all that is more elevated, vanished,—that man lost sight of his own higher nature, and debased himself. God suffered this to take place as a righteous judgment, since it lies in the moral arrangement of the universe, that evil punishes itself, just as goodness rewards itself. As therefore man had degraded the being and nature of God down to the world of sense; so now also he degraded himself beneath the brutes, inasmuch as he was no longer guided by the light of a higher knowledge, but from the sinful inclinations of his own will. This continued until even in respect to knowledge also, the divine light continually faded more and more, so that (v. 32) in the end, man, being utterly sunken, could, with cool reflection, even approve of sin in and for itself. Hitherto, the better judgment had only been darkened in moments of sin; but now, when this had taken place, the lowest point of degradation had been reached.”

This view of the holy apostle concerning the origin of the heathen deities, is new and profound. Yet before we take a nearer survey of it, we subjoin to this decision, similar declarations of some distinguished men of the ancient church, which place the apostle’s doctrine in a yet clearer light, viz. of Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, about the year 170; of Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, 350; and of Philastrius, bishop of Brixia, 350.

In answer to the question of the heathen,—Where then is his (the Christian’s) God? Theophilus gives the following reply.³ “Do you, first of all, show whether the eyes of your soul see, and the ears of your heart hear. For as they, who see with the corporeal eye, can perceive the things of ordinary life, and distinguish every variety of each, light and shade, white and black, the well formed and the ill formed, the well fitted and the ill fitted, the symmetrical and the disproportioned or the redundant or the mutilated; and as the same holds true of the hearing, where we distinguish the sharp toned, the dull toned, and the well toned; so is it with the ears of the heart and the eyes of the soul. God is seen of those only who can see him, those namely who have opened the eyes of their

³ Theophilus ad Autolyc. I. 2.

soul. All have eyes, indeed ; but some have them clouded, so as not to see the light of the sun. Now because the blind see not the sun, still it does not therefore cease to be the sun ; but the blind must impute the fault to themselves and to their eyes. Thus, O man, are the eyes of thy soul obscured by thy sins and evil deeds ; for a man must preserve his soul pure as a burnished mirror. As when there is rust upon the mirror, the countenance of a man is not perceived in it, so likewise the man in whom sin reigns, cannot perceive God."

Athanasius describes the origin of idolatry in like manner in his *Apology*.⁴ "Inasmuch as the soul, through devotion to sensual lusts, overspreads the mirror which it has as it were in itself, and by which alone it could discern the image of the Father, it now sees no more what the soul ought to see. It turns itself in every direction, and sees barely the objects of sense which come in contact with it. Now in this condition, filled with fleshly lusts and moved by carnal thoughts, nothing further remains but that it seek for itself the God whom it has forgot, in corporeal and earthly things, assigning the name of God to visible things, and imagining only that in regard to him which is pleasing to itself. *Thus moral corruption leads, as the prime cause, to idolatry.*"—Athanasius further says, p. 9, "As mankind imagined sin which is not real, so likewise gods which are not real. They resemble persons who have fallen into a deep well, and cannot rise on account of the pressure of the water ; they look on the bottom, and soon think that nothing any longer exists above in the light, because they hold that on the ground at the bottom to be the most important. Thus does one, who loses himself in the world of creation, forget the Creator !"

Just so Philastrius expresses himself.⁵ "There is yet one heresy which affirms that heathenism was not introduced through the wickedness of men, nor even invented through the suggestion of the devil, in order to practise vice and sin, but was instituted by God himself. But if it was established by God, why is it condemned by God ? For that from the beginning of the world, a knowledge of God the almighty Father, of his Son, and of the Holy Ghost, was published, admits of no doubt ;

⁴ Athanasii Opp. omnia ed. Parisiis 1727. p. 8.

⁵ Philastrius, Liber de Haeresibus in Biblioth. Max. Patrum Vol. IV. Pars I. p. 30, in the 60th Heresy.

since we find it constantly in the book of Genesis : ‘*And God said ; and God did ;—the Lord caused it to rain from the Lord out of heaven, Gen. 19: 24 ;—the Spirit brooded over the waters ;*’ and since Pharaoh says : ‘*Who shall interpret this to us, who hath not the Spirit of God ?*’—and David says : ‘*By the word of the Lord were the heavens founded, and all their host by the breath of his mouth.*’ But when afterwards the perverted will of man turned away from so lofty a knowledge of piety, when he made it his endeavour to serve false gods and vanities, and preferred to give himself up to the most infamous life, he became subject to the sentence of condemnation ; so that of old the prophets declared : ‘*Whoever sacrifices to idols, shall be rooted out.*’ And again : ‘*The gods that have not made the heavens, shall be rooted out.*’ Hence too the Lord thus announces his second coming : ‘*I that spake by the prophets, behold ! I myself am here.*’ So likewise God no where commands to worship angels, nor the elements of the world, nor any creature, nor the idols which the debased will of man would rather invent, that they may have liberty to practise their infamous deeds and abominations, *in order that through this worship they may venture to enjoy this unbounded licentiousness in sinning.*”

The views of the origin of heathenism laid down in the declarations of Christians now quoted, proceed from the very first on the assumption, that the true worship of God existed earlier than the false ; and that, consequently, heathenism is not the serpent that lay already in the cradle of the human race and first beguiled man. This assumption, moreover, does not need to rest in our minds simply and solely on the authority of the divine declaration alone. Sound philosophy and history, which can distinguish the *disjecta membra poetæ*, afford for it a testimony sufficiently loud. As to history, compare what is said upon it in the Appendix.⁵ As regards sound philosophy, it has always been of the opinion, that dialectics came first, and then sophistry ; the truth earlier than falsehood. But now, when the apostle says to the heathen, that they renounced their God *against their better knowledge, through lust of sin*, this view of the case is indeed new. This however ought not to surprise us ; since Christianity generally is rich in new views, because it ever looks down as from an eminence on spiritual things, and its glance too penetrates to the very depths.

⁵ At the end of this article, in the present Number.

Infinitely great and important is the truth which Christianity thus teaches man, *viz.* THAT SIN IS THE MOTHER OF ALL FALSEHOOD AND ERROR. And truly is it said by the Rabbins: "He is not wise, who first becomes wise and then discovers his sins; but he is wise, who first discovers his sins and then becomes wise." Every one may daily perceive in his own bosom, how sin repeats continually one and the same deceit on man; and this succeeds anew to her with every morning's dawn after thousands of years, with the wisest philosopher no less than with the deluded multitude. Desire and lust, this Tantalus chained in the heart of fallen man, allures and lays hold of; knowledge withstands; but desire then allures with more boldness and vehemence, and knowledge is deluded and seeks a pretext; and now lust conceives and brings forth sin. And the more frequently knowledge, this divine gift, suffers herself to be deluded by enticing lust, the more feebly does she resist, the more she becomes herself a deceptive light, and herself in turn brings forth sin; as the apostle also shews to the heathen.

If now the doctrine of the one true God was the original doctrine among the human race, we can most satisfactorily explain from that very delusion of sin, how the worship of many gods, and those indeed objects of nature, may have gradually arisen. As long as man remained in a living moral relation with God, the source of his life, he directed his view less to that life which pervades and rules all nature. He walked indeed on the earth, but his soul moved in the higher world of spirits, in which its inmost desires take root. In the mean time, the more the vital intercourse of the soul with God grew cold, and the more the mind of man lost the consciousness of the self-existent God who is above the world of sense, and of the kingdom of celestial holiness and bliss, so much the more his whole attention was directed to that natural life apparent in the visible world,—which certainly is not a moral life. When now, through the inclinations of his corrupt heart, man had become thus estranged more and more from intercourse with God, and gradually also from the thoughts of the holy God and the holy spiritual world; when he had thus suffered himself more and more to be drawn away from the Creator down to the creation; then the error lay almost directly in his path, *viz.* that the more sagacious, who renounced the knowledge of one holy, self-existent God above the world, should regard as God that collective vitality which appears in the visible world, and thus give origin to Pantheism; while,

on the other hand, the more dull of apprehension, who could not look away from what lay before their eyes, nor elevate their view to one great whole, should suppose they beheld a distinct God in each individual phenomenon, and in this manner give occasion to Polytheism.

This transition from Monotheism to Pantheism, is confirmed to us by a consideration of the character of several legends of the ancient world of tradition. To this purpose, we may notice, that many traditions which had a moral character among the most ancient nations, have changed that character to a physical import in later times. Thus, for example, the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, had, among the ancient Indians and probably also among the Pythagoreans, a purely moral import, as a token of its identity with the doctrine of the fall of man. Menu, the lawgiver, taught among the Indians:⁶ "Shrouded in thickest darkness, the reward of their deeds, conscious of an aim or end, all these are endowed with a sense of joy and sorrow. Towards this end they now advance, coming forth from God even down to the lowest plant, in this terrific world of being, which sinks continually down in ruin."—Widely different, on the other hand, do we find this doctrine among the later Indians, and in the religion of Buddha,* where the doctrine of the transmigration of souls is only the dividing up and the self-renovation of the divine Being. And if, as to Plato, some have raised a doubt whether he attributed a moral import to the metempsychosis, so much at least is incontestible, that among the New-Platonists, along with the moral view of it, there existed also a physical one, or more properly, one implying fatalism. We likewise find in the Grecian fables of primeval discord still a moral point of view; but among the philosophers, on the contrary, as with Empedocles and Pythagoras in their precepts respecting love and strife, rectitude and perverseness, this vanishes.⁷

But in respect to the origin of Polytheism from the pantheistic *hylozoism* (the attributing of life to matter), the Pythagorean Perictyon thus mentions it as in itself very natural, when

⁶ Schlegel, über die Weisheit der Indier, p. 279.

* Who flourished in India about A. C. 1000 where his religion once prevailed, and whence it spread into Japan, China, and Thibet, where, as well as in Ceylon, it exists at the present day. ENCYC. AMERICANA.

⁷ Compare Plutarch de Iside et Osir. c. 48.

he says :⁸ "Whoever is in a situation to resolve all the laws of things into one and the same fundamental power (*ἀρχή*), and out of this to replace and enumerate them together again, he seems to be the wisest and to have nearest approached the truth ; and he also seems to have found a watch-tower on which one can see God, and view all which pertains to him in its proper connexion and order, and arranged in its appropriate place." Just so was the import of polytheism described by the stoic school. These pantheistic materialists viewed God as the spiritual fire, with whom the visible world is connected in the most intimate union, as the substratum of activity. By virtue of this hylozoism, they were also very well able to connect themselves with the polytheism which prevailed among the multitude ; and they therefore interpreted the several gods to be *the fundamental powers of the universe*. Thus Zeno says :⁹ "God is the author and, as it were, the father of all, as well in general, as in view of that part of him which pervades all ; and he is called by various names, according to the powers manifested. He is called *Dis*, because all things are through him ; *Zeus*, because all live through him (*ξῆν*) ; *Athene*, because his directing power is diffused in aether (*τείνειν*) ; *Here*, because it is diffused in the air ;" etc. Just so the Pseudo-Plutarch speaks of the Stoics :¹⁰ "The spirit, according to their doctrine, pervades the whole world ; but it receives various appellations derived from the universe of matter, according to the various parts of matter which are animated by it."¹¹ —As now there is universally no error in which some distorted truth may not lie at the bottom, so there certainly lay in this error the fact, that, every where in the world both of matter and of mind, man only sees the phenomena without comprehending their essence. Clemens Alexandrinus among the fathers of the christian church, was the most deeply engaged in endeavouring to extract the disguised truth out of every error. He gives us also here a fine hint, when he says :¹² "God, in the universal sense, is really to be designated by no name at all. Every name denotes only a part of his perfections. It is only when one takes

⁸ In Stobaei Serm. I. ed. Aureliae Allobr. 1609.

⁹ In Diogenes Laertius VII. 147.

¹⁰ Plutarchus de placitis phil. I. 7.

¹¹ Compare Cicero de Nat. Deor. II. 40.—Seneca de Trenes. IV.

¹² Clemens Alex. Stromata, V. 12.

all the possible names of the Divinity together, that he is able to name God."

In this sketch, we have laid open the chief sources of heathen mythology, and especially of the gods of the natural world. There is, nevertheless, one other source not wholly to be passed over, viz. the deification of distinguished men and benefactors of the human race. From this especially does the author of the Book of Wisdom derive the origin of idolatry, Chap. 14: 17, 18, 19. "Whomsoever the people could not honour in presence, because of their distant abode, they caused the countenance of him to be delineated for them in distant lands, and made a goodly image of the king to be honoured, so that they might designedly flatter the absent as though present. Thus also the ambition of the artist excited the ignorant to still greater idolatry. For he, desiring to gratify the prince, exerted all his skill in order to produce a picture of the highest beauty." This view had already been presented by some of the Greeks, among whom the most conspicuous were Ephorus, the scholar of Isocrates, whose principles we find in the *Bibliotheca* of Diodorus of Sicily, and Euhemerus, in his celebrated work *Ἱερὰ Ἀναρχία*. Also, for the most part, the defenders of the christian faith followed this view of mythology; and hence likewise Clemens Alexandrinus, in a striking manner, called the temples of the gods, *the tombs of the gods; just as the mausolea are the tombs of mortals*.¹³ This derivation of the gods is not to be entirely rejected, as was done by the New-Platonists and the Eclectics, who contend violently against Euhemerus.¹⁴ For the mythology of the ancients, like Corinthian brass, is compounded of many ingredients; and deified men are certainly found among the gods of the heathen; but still this shallower view has too often predominated in treating of mythology, because it is the easiest of comprehension.

We will now consider the origin of the statues and paintings of the gods. An ancient fabulous tradition places it in the age of Serug,¹⁵ who is said to have made images of his ancestors out of reverence, and his posterity paid divine honours to them. This tradition has been repeated by many western historians, (for example, Cedrenus,) and also by some eastern ones, as

¹³ Compare Eusebii Praep. Evang. II. 6.

¹⁴ See Plut. de Iside and Osiride c. 24.

¹⁵ See Suidas under Σερούχ.

Mirchond. The author of the *Book of Wisdom*¹⁶ also derives the rise of images from the representations of men, Chap. 14: 15. But although perhaps such may have been the fact in some individual cases, yet it cannot be denied that a far greater and deeper feeling lay at the foundation of this whole custom. What this feeling was, is finely described by the heathen rhetorician Dio Chrysostom.¹⁷ "Let no one say, on account of the imperfection of all our representations of God, that it were better to have even none, and rather barely to look up to heaven. The wise may indeed adore the gods as being far from us; but there exists in all men AN EAGER LONGING TO ADORE AND WORSHIP THE GODS AS NIGH. For as children, torn from father and mother, feel a powerful and affectionate longing, often stretch out their hands after their absent parents, and often dream of them; so the man, who heartily loves the gods for their benevolence towards us and their relationship with us, desires to be continually near them and to have intercourse with them; so that many barbarians, ignorant of the arts, have called the very mountains and trees gods, that they might recognize them as nearer to themselves." This longing here described, had already been fulfilled for inquiring souls when Dio wrote these words. The Son of God had already appeared in the world; the reflected splendour of the Father and of his glory, had already been seen of mortals; and the flaming image of his majesty still impresses itself in the sanctified soul of every one who now hears of him.

Less in accordance with the feeling of the lower classes of men, but still very sensibly, Porphyry says of the invention and import of images:¹⁸ "God should be represented in the world of sense, by that which is in the greatest accordance with his spiritual nature." And in a fragment of a lost work,¹⁹ he employs this comparison: "The image is related to the god, as the the written book to the thoughts inscribed in it. The fool may regard the book merely as bark and parchment; but the wise man understands the sense." Athanasius,²⁰ who adduces the same comparison used by the heathen, goes on to add: "*But yet they*

¹⁶ Just so several of the apologists; for example, Lactant. Inst. div. II. 2.

¹⁷ Dio Chrysost. Orationes ed. Reiske Or. XII. p. 405.

¹⁸ Euseb. Praep. III. 7. ¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Athan. Opp. T. I. p. 23.

should not value the signature of the great king higher than the king himself." When we consider the character of human nature, we see that it is very dangerous to suffer man to seek from without, what he should seek only in the interior of his own breast ; and that, through the representations of the gods formed by art, he does but too easily come to suffer his mind to stop at the exterior, without duly attending to the revelation of Deity in a sanctified human soul. Moreover, Christians in later times justified their images of the Divine Being, on the ground that, among an ignorant common people who cannot read, the image stands in the place of the Holy Scriptures ; and that otherwise, if we would prevent all abuse, we must build no churches, lest the multitude should come to the conclusion, that God may dwell shut up within walls.²¹

PART II.

ESTIMATION OF THE HEATHEN RELIGION BY THE HEATHEN THEMSELVES.

Before we take a view of the heathen religion from the highest point of observation, that of the Gospel, let us hear how it may have been judged of by its adherents themselves ; that we may thence perceive how so many became conscious to themselves, that their wants could not be satisfied by it. Of these, the more superficial then passed upon *all* religion the same sentence as upon their own ; while, on the contrary, those who thought more deeply, sought for themselves some compensation in a higher knowledge of their own creating. It might now be in the highest degree instructive, if we knew more accurately the religious wants of the common heathen ; but of the internal religious life of the heathen, as it had shaped itself among the multitude, we know little or nothing. We are therefore not in a situation to point out, how far a longing for something better was manifested among the uncultivated ranks. The common people, so called, have customarily a more lively susceptibility for true religious feeling ; because they have not philosophized away their feeling of religious want ; because no delusive and dazzling

²¹ See Gregory the Great, in his Epistle to Serenus, and Walafrid Strabo.

wisdom has afforded to the longing of the God-related soul, an apparent relief, when once it has awaked out of its slumber of sin.²² On this very ground, we must believe that there was many an individual even among the heathen, who mourned in silence that his desire after heavenly consolation was not satisfied, and that he had no higher spiritual *ideal* at which he might aim, amid the troubles of the world, as the most appropriate object of life.

Tertullian gives us a small specimen of the shaping and direction of pious feeling in the common people among the ancients, when he relates, that "in the deepest emotions of their minds they never direct their exclamations to their false gods; but employ the words: *By God! As truly as God lives! God help me!* Moreover, they do not thereby have their view directed to the capitol, but to heaven." Here, also, belongs the interesting remark of Aulus Gellius;²³ that the ancient Romans were not accustomed, during an earthquake, to pray to some one of the gods individually, but only to God *in the general*, as to the *Unknown*.²⁴ The notices concerning the sentiments of the common people are thus few, for this reason, because that portion of them who became writers, reckoned themselves among the higher and cultivated class, and regarded the mental and moral development of the lower class as wholly different from and inferior to their own. But whenever the more cultivated did still in some degree regard and express the sentiments of the uncultivated, there are exhibited to us many very pointed declarations concerning the gods, the defects of heathenism, and the true character of piety,—namely, in the Greek comic writers, of whom, alas, we have only broken fragments.²⁵ On the other hand, how different do we find the state of things at the beginning of the Reformation, the historians of which give us

²² The fine passage in Lactantius: "Nam vulgus interdum plus sapit, quia tantum quantum opus est sapit." Lact. Inst. III. 5.

²³ Noctes Atticae, I. 28.

²⁴ Lactantius, who dwells upon this more extensively, remarks, that it was in misfortune or danger, that they made use particularly of the appellation *Deus*; "postquam metus deseruit, and pericula recesserunt, tum vero alacres ad *deorum* templa concurrunt, his libant." De Inst. div. II. 1.

²⁵ See the important fragments of Philemon, Menander, Diphilus, in Clem. Alex. Strom. V. and in his book de Monarchia Dei.

innumerable and extremely affecting traits out of the spiritual life of the common people, who were longing for that religious revolution ; because these writers recognized, even in the lowest of the people, the one and the same Spirit of God which had awakened themselves to a holy life.²⁶

If now, among the more cultivated Greeks and Romans, a lively feeling of the heart contributed less to make them see the vanity of their idol worship, (since they themselves sought to substitute in its place only abstract systems,) yet, on the other hand, their knowledge was so much the more clear, and they easily perceived theoretically the corruptness of such a system of religion. Among the most ancient of these witnesses for the truth, Xenophanes, the author of the Eleatic sect, deserves to be mentioned. This sagacious man closed his work on Nature with these striking words : "No man has discovered any certainty, nor will discover it, concerning the gods and what I say of the universe. For, if he uttered what is even most perfect, still he does not *know* it, but conjecture hangs over all."—All true, if only the guide of syllogistic reasoning is to lead men up to the highest Being. In this view, Xenophanes justly deserves the praise which Timon the misanthrope gave him, who called him the *thinker without conceitedness* ; only that in the above assertion, the acute philosopher was merely a destroyer, who could give man nothing in place of what he took away.

Xenophanes differed nevertheless from the other philosophers in this, that he frankly declared whatever was his conviction concerning the gods ; and although he might come out in the strongest contradiction to the popular opinions, still he really made it his object, to enlighten and cultivate the people. He taught thus :²⁷ "One God only is supreme among men and gods ; neither in external shape nor in spirit to be compared with man."—"But mortals think that the gods are begotten, are like themselves in mind, in voice, and body."—"But if cattle or lions had hands, so as to delineate with their hands, or to perform the business of man, then horses would represent the divinities like horses, the cattle like cattle, and lend them such bodies as themselves possess."²⁸

²⁶ See the excellent remarks on the Reformation in George Müller's *Reliquien*, Leipzig 1806. B. III.

²⁷ See Sextus Empir. adv. Mathem. VII. 49.

²⁸ Clem. Alex. Strom. V. 14. Euseb. Praep. XIII. 13.

Theodoret gives, by way of extract, the continuation of these verses;²⁹ in which Xenophanes affirms, that the illusion as to the images of the gods, is even more manifest than the illusions of the stageplayer; inasmuch as the Ethiopians represent their gods as black, with flat noses like themselves; the Thracians, reddish, etc. Yet even from this error, we can discover the truth which lies at the foundation. It is indeed true, what Epicharmus says in a fragment,³⁰ that each race of beings regards its own original form as the most beautiful; but this springs from the fact, that no being can rise beyond the limits prescribed to him by the Creator. Every one sees God in the archetype of his own species; and perceives only through the fundamental ideal of his own being, the founder of all being. Nevertheless he perceives the same not the less truly on this account. This is the one great visage that is reflected in the mirrors of all the archetypes of the several species, and of every particular individual. From the smaller mirrors, it beams back in a more limited manner, from the larger more perfectly; but from all truly; as the doctrine of emanation in the cabalistic book *Sohar*, finely illustrates it by the same image. Now precisely in this also lies the deep import of anthropomorphism and anthropopathy, which ought by no means to be thrown away, but only to be used with wisdom.

But Xenophanes also attacks the representations of the gods which are found in the Greek poets, and which are not only unsuitable, but also contemptible and unworthy. He says: "Homer and Hesiod attribute to the gods all that is disgraceful and base among men, theft, adultery, and mutual fraud."³¹ Hence Timon also calls him, 'the mocker of Homeric deceit,' *Ὀμηροπαύτης ἐπιτόπτης*.—Heracitus of Ephesus expresses himself even more severely than Xenophanes against the poets.³² He says: "Homer should be thrown out of the contest and have his ears boxed, and Archilochus likewise."

Next after Xenophanes, that philosopher deserves to be quoted, who was both the greatest among the heathen and the nearest to Christianity, namely Socrates. Discarding the propensity to airy and fruitless speculation, so deeply founded in the character

²⁹ De affect. curat. disp. III. p. 780. ed. Hal.

³⁰ Diog. Laert. III. 16, in the Life of Plato.

³¹ Sext. Emp. adv. Math. X. 193.

³² Diog. Laert. IX. 1.

of his people, and opposed to every thing which does not directly influence the moral character of man, he introduced among the Grecian people, by his hints and by particular doctrines, a new sect ; which, though afterwards so greatly subjected to the Grecian form, was nevertheless, throughout six hundred years, the jewel of all those among the Greeks and Romans who had an earnest regard for that which is holy and divine. The ignorance of Socrates [in regard to true religion], was not mere *doctrine* but *feeling* ; between which, as Hamann remarks, there is a greater difference, than between a living animal and an anatomical skeleton. This conscious and deeply felt ignorance brought him down, with *self-denial*, to become the teacher of the common people, for which God had formed him. He followed his daemon or guardian spirit, so far as it did not dissuade him. But it dissuaded him from entirely taking away that world of gods from the people, on which depended all the morality that was then extant. It dissuaded him from undertaking what surpassed his powers ; for that it was not fear which caused him to keep silence on the subject, is at least shewn by the declaration which he makes in Plato (in Crito) ; “ We must therefore not care at all for what the multitude say, but for what the knower of right and wrong, the One and the truth itself declares.

He acted, accordingly, on that principle of wisdom which he had learnt from the Delphic Apollo—*οὐ λέγει, οὔδε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει*, ‘ he does not declare nor conceal a thing, but he indicates it.’ His doctrine respecting the divinity, was this : The very appropriate and skilful structure of man, and of the inferior world, as also the judicious and wonderful arrangement of the whole universe, are a witness for the invisible Being, who, although he does not himself appear, is yet perceived by his operations, just as the soul by its activity. “ This,” says Socrates (in the remarkable passage, Memor. IV. 3) to Euthydemus, “ this”—namely, *that the gods imparted supernatural revelations to man*, in relation to which Euthydemus had before expressed the opinion that Socrates himself seemed to be in the highest degree worthy of such a revelation,—“ thou wilt also learn, O Euthydemus, *if thou dost not wait until thou seest the shapes of the gods ; but if it is enough for thee, beholding their works, to worship and adore the gods.*”³³

³³ The Mohammedan Calif, Omar II. finely exhibits the same thought, namely, *that the sanctification of man is the way for him to attain to the knowledge of the Divine nature.* See Ghasali's

Socrates avoided every more minute explanation concerning the nature of God, as being unintelligible to man. "Consider," says he to Euthydemus, (l. c.) "that the sun, which is visible to all, nevertheless permits no man closely to inspect it, but if any one attempts to view it in an improper manner, it robs him of sight. Even the servants of the gods,³⁴ thunder and wind, are perceptible to men by their effects, but invisible in themselves."³⁵ To this prudent ignorance about the nature of God, Socrates added the explanation of the only right way to happiness for man; and through this, established the true knowledge of the nature of God, which he had given up on the dialectic plan. Socrates taught, that RESEMBLANCE TO GOD IS THE ONLY WAY TO THE TRUE HAPPINESS OF MAN; he execrated those who had first explained the *good* and the *useful* as two diverse things,³⁶ and he placed holiness and happiness as synonymous. And just this view of holiness is by all means requisite, if it is intended to be a true view. By this practical doctrine concerning God and divine things, seed was scattered abroad which, although Socrates himself did not attack heathenism, was yet received by many warm hearts, produced fruit even to the latest periods, and in various ways occasioned a reaction against the system of heathen mythology.

Among the immediate followers of Socrates, Xenophon is first

book on the forty principles, Cod. Ms. Bibl. Reg. Berol. p. 6. Hariri relates, that, at a certain time, the prophet approached as they were conversing with each other on predestination, and chided them angrily: "What do I hear? Am I sent to you on account of this? Have I not an hundred times said, ye shall not dispute on this subject? Rather imitate Omar. When one asked him, What is predestination? he answered: A very deep sea. When the question was repeated, he said: A very dark path. But when he was asked yet again, he cried out: It is a secret which, since God has concealed, I shall not reveal. Whoever wishes to discover the secrets of kings, departs not from their gates, and zealously executes their commands. Do thou even thus, if thou wouldst learn to understand the secrets of God."

³⁴ Ps. 104: 4, Thou makest the winds thy servants, etc.

³⁵ The farce of Aristophanes, which he denominated the *Clouds*, was probably in derision of Socrates for guiding men from idols to a single God in heaven. Thus, from the same misunderstanding, Juvenal says of the Jews: Nil præter nubes et coeli numen adorant.

³⁶ Cicero de Off. III. 3.

to be noticed. In a letter to Aeschines, he says:³⁷ "For that divine things lie beyond our knowledge, is clear to all; it is enough, therefore, to revere the power of God which is elevated above all things; since it is neither easy to find him, nor right to speculate minutely concerning him. *Servants do not need to know the nature of their masters, since nothing belongs to them but obedience.*" In these remarkable words of this heathen, lies the ground why Christianity gave no revelation of metaphysical truths to man, but only of practical truths. It was not so much a matter of importance for us to learn the nature of God and the relations of the three persons in the Godhead, as to discover the will of God, and experience the blessed influences that go forth into the hearts of men from the Creator and Upholder, the Redeemer, and the Sanctifier.

We also find the same Socratic sentiment concerning the relation of God to man, in other voices of Greece, e. g. in the Tragedian who said:³⁸ "*If the gods themselves conceal it, then thou canst not discover the nature of Deity, even if thou goest about investigating all things;*"³⁹ and in the comedian Philemon:⁴⁰ "Believe in one God and revere him; but speculate not concerning him. Thou canst do nothing more, than barely to speculate. Do not strive to learn whether he is, or whether he is not. *Revere him continually as being, and as being nigh to thee. Whatever God is, THAT he himself wills not that thou shouldst learn.*"

Next to Xenophon, Plato is to be mentioned. In Plato, we see the practical mind of Socrates, which scarcely rose in any degree above the radical character of the Greek people as such, again become still more invested with the Greek form, and even

³⁷ Stobaei Serm. ed. Aureliae Allobrog. 1609. Sermo 78.

³⁸ Bothe Fragm. Soph. No. VI. out of Stobaeus.

³⁹ Akin to this, is the sentiment of the Arabian Abul Hussein Nuri, in Jami's Garden of Spring, Cod. Ms. Book I. "When God hides himself from any one, no guide nor intelligence can conduct to him. When our beloved does not himself put forth his countenance from beneath the veil, no one is able to withdraw the veil from it. And again, were the whole world to become a veil, there is nothing to fear where he exhibits his beauty."—At the foundation of this there lies the truth, that God is found, not through voluntary running, but through the mercy of God.

⁴⁰ Stobaei Eclogae ed. Heeren, No. 5.

not unfrequently to be entirely swallowed up in it. We see in Plato the intuitive manner of perception united with the discursive, profundity with acuteness of mind, the Orient with the Occident, yet continually with a preponderance of the latter. This contest of the two diverse elements, shows itself in him also on the subject of religion. He wavers between the mythological and the purely speculative, instead of giving his convictions, like Socrates, in the simple form of familiar conversation. What Plato says in his *Politicus*, is completely true in itself: "It is difficult, in the exhibition of something more lofty, not to employ imagery (*παράδειγματα*)."⁴¹ And thus has Plato himself applied it to religion; inasmuch as on the one hand he by no means disdains the religious mythology of his nation, but customarily elicits from it a refined and truly elevated sense; as, for example, in the fable of Saturn, who, in the golden age of the world, was the herdsman of the herd of men; or in the striking *mythus*, in his *Symposion*, of Poverty, which Love bore as a child along with Wealth, etc.

On the other hand the speculative delineations of God by Plato, though likewise parabolically presented, are the highest summit to which the human mind can attain. According to him, God, as the author of all being, is elevated above all visible being, and is not this being itself; *as the sun in the visible world is neither the organ of vision nor the object, so God is related to every object of thought*; he is the medium between the thinking mind and the object thought of.⁴¹ How could it be otherwise, with the sublime views which that great mind had of the divine Being, but that he also perceived the unity of that Being? He does not indeed declare it without hesitation; but it is doubtless implied in his appellation of *τὸ αὐτὸ ἀγαθόν*, *the purely good*. With this correct perception of divine things, he was aware also of the mournful fact, that the popular belief followed at so great a distance; and uttered his indignation at the disgraceful fables invented by the poets respecting the gods, which least of all were fit to be put into the hands of children. In the second book of his *Republic* he makes the following remark: "Especially are the greater falsehoods of Homer and Hesiod to be censured; for it is the worst species of falsehood, when any one, in his discourse, represents the nature of the gods and heroes in an unworthy manner. This may be compared to the

⁴¹ De Republ. VI.

undertaking of the painter, who would paint a likeness, and yet paints nothing like. For first of all, he indeed has told the greatest lie and in the most important things, who says that Uranus did what Hesiod makes him do, and then also tells how Saturn punished him. But the deeds of Saturn and the deep disgrace received from his son, even if they were true, ought not, as it appears to me, to be so thoughtlessly related to the simple and the young, but much rather to be kept in silence. But were there an existing necessity for relating them, it should be in so secret a manner, that as few as possible might hear, and only such, indeed, as had offered not barely a swine, but some greater and more rare victim, so that it might be possible for only a very small number to witness it. Such traditions ought by no means to be divulged in our state; at least not before a young man; who, if he should in turn in any way chastise his father by whom he had been offended, might thus be led to think he had done nothing uncommon, but had only practised what was done by the greatest and best of the gods. It is also by no means either becoming or true, when it is said, that the gods make war upon the gods, lay snares for each other, and fight; that is, if we are to regard as most abominable a reciprocal hostility between those who are bound to guard the state;—and still less shall we dare to relate and chant the fables of the wars of the giants, and many and various other hostilities of the gods and heroes against their relatives and kindred. Much rather, indeed, when we are in a situation to persuade them that one citizen was never a foe to another, (and indeed this can by no means be right,) ought the grey headed, the matrons, and all adults to declare this at once to children as of paramount importance; but they ought also to compel the poets to sing in the same strain. On the other hand, how Juno was chained by her son; how Vulcan, when he would have come to the help of his mother, was hurled down from heaven by his father; and all those contests of the gods related by Homer; these we dare not receive into our state, whether they may have a hidden sense or not. For the youth is not in a condition to decide, what has a secret meaning and what has not; but whatever opinions he has once received in these years, are wont to be indestructible and indelible. On this account, we ought to take the utmost pains, that what they first hear may be such stories as are fitted to lead them to virtue.—But now, if any one were to ask, of what nature or kind such fables ought to be; what should we answer to the ques-

tion? Such descriptions must ever be given of God, as exhibit God truly as he is; whether one present him in epic, lyric, or tragic song. One truth will therefore serve as a guide as well for all orators as for all poets: *God is the author NOT OF ALL THINGS BUT ONLY OF THE GOOD.*"

Plato discloses the same sentiments in another passage,⁴² and in *Timaeus*,⁴³ where he mentions in ridicule the fables of the gods in the poets, in the following manner: "But as to the origin of the rest of the gods, this is too difficult a matter for me; we must, nevertheless, pay the tribute of belief to those who have spoken of old; who, as they themselves affirmed, are the *children of the gods*, and therefore are well acquainted with *their ancestors*. It is, consequently, not perhaps possible, not to believe the children of the gods, even when they speak without probable and convincing proofs. We who ourselves follow the law, must surely give credence to them, as being those who, as they say, speak only of family affairs. Their genealogical tables of the gods, are now the following."—

From the very same age, we have still one remarkable testimony against the then existing system of the gods from the orator Isocrates,⁴⁴ where, speaking against the sophist Polycrates, he says: "Thou hast not suffered thyself to adhere to the truth, but hast followed the blasphemies of the poets, who relate such abominable deeds and chastisements of the children of the immortals, as would scarcely be expected in the most abandoned of men. They even say such things of the gods as no man would dare to say of his enemy. For they disgrace them, not barely by attributing to them theft, adultery, and daily labour in the service of men, but by attributing to them the devouring of children, emasculation of fathers, incest with mothers, and other vices."

With these words of Isocrates, we connect the very sensible judgment which Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who lived about the time of the birth of Christ, passes concerning the religious system of the Romans compared with that of the Greeks⁴⁵: "I admire this in Romulus, that he regarded, as the foundation of

⁴² Eutyphron, c. 6.

⁴³ c. 40. p. 40. ed. Bekker.

⁴⁴ Isocrates in Busuridis Laudatione.

⁴⁵ Dion. Halicar. Antiqq. Romanae, II. 67. So also Eusebii Praepar. Evangel. II. 8.

citizenship, something of which all statesmen speak, but which few seek to effect, viz. first of all *the good will of the gods*, which, where it is present, guides every thing for the best in respect to man.—Temples, chapels, altars, statutes of the gods, as also their forms, symbols and powers, the good deeds they have shewn to men, the festivals to be celebrated to each god or daemon, the sacrifices which they desire from men, the holy days and assemblies, the inviolability of persons destined for the service of the gods, all these he arranged exactly according to the best institutions of the kind among the Greeks. But the traditions handed down in relation to these subjects, in which are found calumnies and criminations, he regarded as disgraceful, useless, and shameless, and rejected them altogether as being not only unworthy of the gods but even of good men. On the other hand, he taught men to say and to think the best of the gods, and to attribute no desires to them which are unworthy of the gods. Thus the Romans relate neither that Uranus was dismembered by his children; nor that Saturn devoured his children because he feared their plots; nor that Jupiter hurled Saturn from his throne and shut up his own father in the prison of Tartarus. Also, one hears among them nothing of wars, wounds, chains, and job-work of the gods with men. Just as little do we find among them days of mourning and complaint, where women shriek and lament on account of the gods who have disappeared; as is done among the Greeks on account of the rape of Persephone and the death of Bacchus. Yea, though the morals are now doubtless corrupted, we never see the gods carried about for a show, those corybantian ravings, those bacchanalia and secret consecrations, those night watchings of men and women together in the temples of the gods, nor such like juggleries; but rather all their actions and speeches which have a reference to Deity, show a devoutness not found among Greeks nor Barbarians. And what I have especially admired, although an innumerable multitude of people have come into the city, who consider themselves bound to honour the gods of their native countries with their ancient and customary formalities, yet the city has publicly received none of those foreign religions, as is done by so many others; but if, by the decision of some oracle, any sacred institutions have been introduced from abroad, still she has adapted them to her own institutions, after removing from them all that was false and puerile. This is apparent, for instance, in the worship of the mother of the gods. The praetors annually

assign to her sacrifices and festal games, according to the Roman laws; but thereby both the priest and the priestess are Phrygians. These go through the city and ask alms for her every month, according to their custom, wearing a small image on the breast and beating the drum, while the multitude who follow after, chant the songs of the mother of the gods. But of the native Romans, no one begs the monthly alms, nor does he suffer them to sing behind him, nor does he wear the party-coloured mantle, nor honour the goddess with Phrygian rites; which neither the people nor the senate demand. Thus cautiously does the state demean itself in regard to foreign customs, and scorns every fable which is not proper and decorous."

Seneca also, when justifying the accumulation and possession of his great riches, expresses himself very freely concerning the unworthy representations of the gods which had come into circulation, especially through the poets. He says⁴⁶: "You thereby injure me just as little, as they who overthrow the altars of the gods; but their wicked dispositions and wicked purpose thus show themselves, even where they cannot really inflict injury. I bear your injurious acts just as the great Jupiter does the follies of the poets, one of whom attributes to him wings; another, horns; again another, adultery and nocturnal revelling; one delineates him as fierce towards men; one, as the stealer of beautiful children, yea, as the seducer of his own relatives; while, finally, another describes him as a parricide, and the conquerer of a foreign kingdom belonging to his own father;—from which altogether, no other effect could possibly be produced, but that all shame on account of sin should be taken away from men, if they believed in such gods."

Finally, Plutarch also is to be quoted, who in many passages, not only of his *Morals*, but also of his *Lives*,⁴⁷ blames and often criminales sharply the faults of the poetical mythology. He helps himself out, however, by means of the ethical and physical explanation of these scandalous traditions; inasmuch as he confesses without hesitation⁴⁸: "Were we to understand these literally, one must disdain and execrate the mouth that uttered such things."—In this respect, his truly golden book, "*On the Study*

⁴⁶ Seneca de Vita beata, c. 26. With him Pliny fully accords, *Histor. Nat.* II. 7.

⁴⁷ See Plut. *Vita Periclis*, c. 39.

⁴⁸ Plutarchus de Iside, c. 26.

of the Poets," is especially important. He proceeds upon this principle, that "poetry is like the land of Egypt, of which Homer sings: ἔχει φάρμακα πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ πολλὰ δὲ λυγρὰ, 'it produces many a good, but also many a noxious drug.' While the youth ought not to be entirely held back from it, on account of this danger, yet we must by all means 'tame the furious god by means of the sober one,' (an expression of Plato's, which means, wine by water,) so that the noxious qualities may be removed without at the same time taking away the beneficial. We must therefore come to the perusal of poetry with the presumption, that very much in it is false; much the poets may have invented with a view to ornament, or as a vehicle (ὄχημα) of truth, much also they may have represented falsely from their own erroneous views. Thus when Homer says: 'Now the father of the gods stretches forth the golden balance, places in the scales two gloomy death-lots, this for Achilles and that for the horseman Hector;'* it is evident, the poet well knew the thing was not so, but he expressed it thus for the sake of rhetorical ornament. On the contrary, when Homer says: 'Jupiter, who, to men, is the director of contests,'—or when Aeschylus says: 'God gives to men an occasion, when he wishes totally to destroy a race,'—this may be thus written from an erroneous conviction of the poet. In these cases, we must either seek other declarations of the poets by which they confute themselves; as for example, when Euripides says: 'By various forms of craft the gods deceive us, since they are more knowing than ourselves'—we may answer with the verse: 'If the gods do evil, they are no gods;' or we must, without hesitation, make the youth attentive to the falsehood, and not be like those who admire and imitate every thing in revered objects,—in Plato even the crook of his neck, and in Aristotle the whisper of his voice."

Thus we see, that the better and the educated heathen well comprehended how the religious doctrines of the people were not only foolish, but corrupting and dangerous; how they must serve more to call forth sin than to subdue it. In reference to this insight, Augustine says, not unjustly: "Plato, who saw well the depravity of the Grecian gods, and has seriously censured them, better deserves to be called a god, than those ministers of sin."⁴⁹ But, nevertheless, the better and wiser among these people strove to uphold even these disfigured and corrupted forms of

⁴⁹ Augustinus de Civ. Dei, II. 14.

* Ilias χ. 209

religion, inasmuch as they now had them. The motives for this were indeed various. Some pressed for supporting them from a kind of *genteel indolence*. Of this class, were men who knew no fervid inspiration for what is holy, who were willing to live on together in the course of the world, but who yet could not disown an internal voice which pointed them to the need of a positive connexion with a higher government of the world. They were too indolent to force their way through the knowledge of the truth, by contest and restless research; hence they were afraid of the study of philosophy, which points out so many various courses, but which always appeared at strife with the standing religion. They regarded it therefore as the safest course, to uphold the latter, that they might use it in case of necessity. This is the same disposition which has often shown itself in many of the orthodox of various parties, especially among the Catholics; who rejected and strove to suppress all study and investigation merely on this account, that they might not suffer it to rob them of the false means of consolation which might be afforded them, in hours of inward or external calamity, by that religion concerning which they had felt no further anxiety, and were ignorant of its true nature. For Christianity at least is not intended merely for some particular hours of life; it comes neither for the purpose of imparting religious enjoyment now and then, nor to afford support barely in the hour of death, or under the loss of earthly goods; but it comes to him who receives it, TO MAKE A NEW MAN OF HIM, to destroy the consequences of the fall in every individual, and to re-produce in the darkened soul the original image of God.

This indolent disposition of the more cultivated heathen, Eusebius depicts in these words: "Every one must revere the religion of his fathers, and not desire to move that which is unmovable."⁵⁰ It is also plainly asserted by the heathen Caecilius, who thus expresses himself in Minutius Felix:⁵¹ "Since now, either *chance* is certain, or *nature* is unfathomable, how much better and more reverential is it, to adopt the system of our ancestors as the umpire of truth, to revere the traditional religion, to worship the gods whom thy parents taught thee to fear, before we dive deeper into the knowledge of them,

⁵⁰ Eusebii Praep. Evang. IV. 3. δέον σέβειν ἑκαστον τὰ πάτρια, μηδὲ κινεῖν τὰ ἀνύνητα.

⁵¹ Minutii Octavius, c. 6. § 1.

and to utter no judgment concerning them, but to trust our progenitors, who, in an age yet rude and near the beginning of the world, were deemed worthy to have the gods for kings and friends!"—And in another passage, he says:⁵² "Whatever is doubtful, one must leave as it is; and while so many and so great men are contending one way and another, one must not boldly and lightly pass a judgment on either side, that neither old wives' superstition may be introduced, nor all religion be overthrown."

Thus also, many an educated heathen, who through most of his life paid no heartfelt attention to religious subjects, afterwards, in hours of affliction or of approaching age, may not barely in this outward manner have sought consolation in his religion and bestowed attention on the traditions connected with it, but actually have busied himself with them from the heart. For, leaving out of view the doctrines of all philosophers, there is a system of divine and human things in the breast of every man, which is more in unison with the traditions even of the most corrupt religion, than with the positions of many philosophers. In this sense, perhaps, the aged Cephalus, in the beginning of the Republic of Plato, says: "Thou knowest well, that when one is old or sick, he believes more firmly in the traditions of the lower world." Thus Diogenes Laertius relates of the atheistic philosopher Bion, that, on his death bed, he changed his opinion and repented of the sins he had committed against God.*

Plutarch describes more in detail the conversion of a heathen free thinker, in a narration in many respects memorable,⁵³ which we give in an extract, without determining what in it may be historical or what not. "Thespesius of Soli, an acquaintance and friend of the same Protogenes who is here with us, at first lived in great prodigality and debauchery; afterwards, when he had squandered his wealth, want induced him to have recourse to baseness. He avoided no vile action which only brought him money, and thus he accumulated again a fine fortune; but fell in this way into the reputation of the most detestable profligacy. What contributed most to bring him into evil repute, was a prophecy of Amphilocheus. He had applied to the oracle with the question,—Whether he should live better the rest of his life? and had received for answer,—He would be better when

⁵² Minutii Octavius, c. 6. § 1.

* Lib. V. c. 54.

⁵³ Plut. de sera Numinis vindicta, c. 27.

he should die. And just this came in a manner to pass, not long after. He fell down from a height upon his neck ; and although not wounded, yet he died of the accident. On the third day, however, while in the act of being buried, he at once recovered his faculties and came to himself ; and now, there appeared a wonderful transformation in his life. Indeed the Cilicians know of no one in that period, who was more conscientious in his dealings, more devout towards the Deity, more annoying to his adversaries, more constant to his friends ; so that those who were conversant with him, wished to learn the cause of this transformation, while they rightly thought, that such a change of life to a disposition so excellent, could not come of itself. The matter then was thus ; as he himself related to Protogenes and other judicious friends. When his rational soul had left the body, he felt like a pilot who is plunged from his vessel into the depths of the sea. Then it rose up, and suddenly his whole *self* seemed to breathe, and to look in every direction around itself ; as if the soul had opened itself like one single eye. Of all former objects, he saw nothing ; but beheld immense stars, at a vast distance from each other, endowed with wonderful splendour and wonderful sounds ; and the soul glided gently and lightly, as in a calm, being borne along upon a stream of light in every direction. He omitted, in his narration, what he saw besides, and merely said, that he saw the souls of those just dead, who ascended from the sphere of earth. They resembled a kind of flaming bubble. When this burst, the soul came forth tranquilly from it, splendid and in human form. But all the souls did not move alike. Some soared upward with wonderful facility, and mounted, without impediment, to the regions above him. Others whirled around like spindles, now mounting upward, then sinking downward, and had a mixed and disturbed motion. Most of them, he knew not. Two or three, however, he recognized as his relatives. He resolved to go and speak to them, but they heard him not ; for they were not themselves, but unconscious ; and avoiding every look and touch, they first turned around in circles by themselves ; then, as those in the same situation came more in contact, they moved with these towards every side, while they uttered unintelligible sounds, like shouts of joy mingled with lamentations. Others, again, appeared above on high, shining brightly, and united to each other by love, but fleeing from the former who were thus unquiet. There too he saw the soul of one of his relatives, but not clearly ; for

the person had died while yet a child. Meanwhile it drew nigh to him and said : ‘Welcome, Thespesius!’—And when he answered, that he was not called Thespesius, but Aridaeus, it replied : ‘Formerly, thou hadst indeed that name ; but henceforth, thou art called Thespesius. Thou art not yet dead, but by a peculiar destiny of the gods, thou, as to thy rational soul, hast come hither. Thy other soul, thou hast left behind as an anchor in the body. Now and in future, it may be a sign to thee to distinguish thyself from those who are really dead, that the souls of the departed no longer cast any shadow, and can look steadfastly without winking at the light above.’ Thereupon, this soul conducted Thespesius through all parts of the other world, and explained to him the mysterious arrangements and leadings of divine justice, why many are punished in this life, and others not ; and showed him all the kinds of punishment which become the portion of the ungodly hereafter. He beheld all with sacred awe ; and after he had seen all this as a spectator, he fell at last, as he was about to retire, into extreme terror. For just as he was about to hasten away, there seized him a woman, of a strange appearance and size, and said : ‘Come hither, that thou mayest the better remember all!’ And at the same time she stretched forth a small red-hot wand, such as painters have ; when another woman prevented her and released him. But he, being wafted suddenly away as by a tempestuous wind, sunk at once back into the body and again looked up in the grave.”

Another class of heathen believed themselves to be greatly elevated above the common people in respect to religion, by their education and understanding ; while yet they were not so dazzled as not to perceive, that the multitude, in whom the more refined vices of ambition and pride of conscious virtue could not suppress the ruder out-breakings of sin, can only be held in check by the positive doctrines of religion. They were therefore in favour of having a popular religion remain ; since such a religion, even in its most corrupted state, is yet more efficient than a cold abstract philosophy. This sentiment is advanced by Strabo,⁵⁴ who has in general extensively considered the influences of religion in the course of his reflections. He says : “Not only have the gods invented fables, but cities also did it even much earlier ; and so too have law-givers, on the ground of utility ;

⁵⁴ Strabo, *Geographia*, I. 2.

having reference in this to a natural inclination or tendency of rational beings. Man is desirous of knowledge. The commencement of this desire arises from a longing after stories, with which there springs up in children that sympathy in narratives, which gradually ever becomes stronger and stronger. The ground of it is, that the fable tells of something unusual as well as new. Novelty, however, and what was before unknown to us, is welcome ; and all this, too, makes us still more eager for knowledge. If, besides, there is something wonderful and unheard of, this increases so much the more the pleasure ; which is the spur to all learning. In the commencement we must employ such allurements ; but must also guide, with advancing age, to the learning of realities, when the understanding is now strengthened and no longer needs allurements. In like manner every uncultivated and ignorant person is, in a certain sense, a child ; he is just as much attached to fables ; and it is also not less the case with one who is somewhat cultivated. His understanding is not yet strong, and he still retains the habit of childhood. As now the wonderful may not only be pleasing but also terrific, we must make use of both kinds among boys and such as have not yet grown to manhood. Thus we relate to boys pleasing fables, in order to allure ; frightful ones, in order to deter them. Such fables are the Lamiae, the Gorgons, Ephialtes, and Mormolyca. In this manner, also, the lower classes of citizens are incited by pleasing stories, when they hear the fabulous achievements related by the poets, as the contests of Hercules or of Theseus, or the honours awarded by the gods ; or when they see the images, statues, and works of art, which represent such fabulous events. On the other hand, they are deterred when they expect or imagine they shall have to endure from the gods chastisements, terrors, and threatenings, either by words or by frightful apparitions. For it is impossible for philosophy to bring the multitude of women and of the dregs of the people to a right understanding, and to guide them to piety, the fear of God, and conscientious feelings. That must be brought about through superstition ;⁵⁵ and this

⁵⁵ Curtius expresses the same opinion of the power of superstition over the mind, though he does not, like Strabo and Polybius, comprehend under it the heathen mythology. *Q. Curtii de Rebus Gestis Alexandri*, IV. 10. "Nulla res efficacius multitudinem regit, quam superstitio, alioquin impotens, saeva, mutabilis, ubi vana religione capta est, melius vatibus quam ducibus suis paret.

cannot exist without fables and miraculous stories. For the thunderbolt, the aegis, the trident, the lamps, the dragons, the thyrsus of the gods, are fables, as is the whole of the old mythology. These have been adopted by the founders of states as bugbears for childish minds."

In a manner equally distinguished by pretension, but also equally politic, the circumspect and sagacious Polybius explains himself.⁵⁶ "The Roman state distinguishes itself to great advantage from others, by its belief in the gods. What is censured by other men, appears to me directly to constitute the basis of the Roman state, namely, their superstition. For whatever has reference to it, is as much cultivated and enters as deeply into public and private life, as is perhaps in any way possible. To many, this will appear singular. But to me, it appears that this is so arranged for the sake of the common multitude. Were we to form an empire of purely wise men, perhaps such a procedure would be not at all important. But as every common multitude is frivolous, and full of licentious desires, full of irrational anger and of violent rage, nothing else remains, but to hold them in check by invisible terrors and such like frightful stories. Hence it appears to me, that the ancients have by no means without reason, spread among the people the representations of the gods and the doctrine of the infernal world; and that they who now seek to remove these things, proceed much more frivolously and irrationally. For, to pass over other things, they who manage the public money among the Greeks, cannot possibly be honest, even when only a single talent is entrusted to them, although ten comptrollers and as many seals and also double witnesses may be present; while among the Romans, they to whom ever so great an amount is entrusted in offices or on embassies, preserve their fidelity simply in consequence of the oath. Among other nations, it is rare to find any one who does not embezzle the public money; but among the Romans, it is rare to detect one in such a deed."—To these passages, which certainly should be deeply considered by all servants of the state, we add yet one more from Polybius, of kindred import:⁵⁷ "So far as some writers aim to uphold the fear of God and piety among the people, we must put up with

⁵⁶ *Reliquiae Hist.* VI. 56.

⁵⁷ *Polybii Histor. Reliq.* XVI. 12. 9.

it, although they relate what is strange and fabulous about such things ; but we should not allow of excess in this point."

On the same ground of policy, even the frivolous Athenians themselves showed no toleration towards such as represented the existence of the gods as only doubtful. Thus Protagoras of Abdera, on account of his sceptical turn of mind, was banished from the city, and his books were burnt in a public assembly of the people.⁵⁸

But upon more noble grounds also, there sprang up an attachment to the paternal system of religion among a third class. This class of men first formed itself in the midst of a predominant unbelief. For, in the centuries immediately before Christ and those immediately after, heathenism was continually sinking into greater decay ; while superstition and infidelity, as we shall more minutely see further on, were continually supplanting the simple conviction of those truths which even yet gleamed forth from the disfigured religion of heathenism. Mental improvement was so far advanced, that the popular religion in its mythic dress, was no more received as certain truth. The intermingled error rendered uncertain even that which in itself was truly divine, although hidden and corrupted. Thus the time prepared by Providence was indeed come, when heathenism should give way to a new system and a new spiritual life. Those now, who, in the time of this general declension, did not know of the new and divine arrangement for salvation, or would not know it, but nevertheless felt in their hearts the undeniable need of a divine revelation, devoted themselves to a deeper investigation of what their own religion offered them. And as a greater part of the Grecian fables are barely symbols⁵⁹ which passed from the East—where all that is spiritual is represented in images to strike the senses—into the West, where the more thoughtless Greeks, without searching for their deeper sense, soon came to regard them merely as entertaining narratives ; so the original import of them must soon have again disclosed itself to such serious, investigating men as these ; especially since they

⁵⁸ Cicero de Natura Deorum, I. 23.

⁵⁹ Thus Macrobius denominates the fable a *relatio vera per figmentum* ; and he distinguishes here a twofold species, *contextio narrationis per indignact turpia nominibus ac monstro similia*, like the Greek mythology ; or *sub pio figmentorum velamine*. Macrobius Saturnalia, I. 2.

had already been shewn by Plato many examples and experiments, how a most important meaning may often be elicited from the simplest fable. In addition to this, the secret doctrines of the Greeks, which were made known only to the more advanced, had been made to include the explanation of many allegories and traditions, by which they appeared in a sublimer light. Thus it came to pass in that period, that men, urged on by that spiritual necessity, were led to search out, after the manner of these interpretations connected with the secret doctrines, and by the example of Plato, the moral and physical import of the fables of all nations. And since they were able to decipher the greater part of these fables truly and happily; and found in some of them a genuine and lofty wisdom, and in others what they imagined to be such, they were led to regard and to applaud the mythologies of antiquity as the treasury of all higher knowledge. Since, moreover, the traditions of all the nations of antiquity have one common root in the higher regions of Asia; since the mythologies of single nations are to be regarded only as branches of the same tree, and hence truly present a great resemblance to each other; so there was a foundation in the nature of the case, that those investigators should come to the result, that one and the same divine revelation is found among all nations, only under various symbols and forms; and that in this very way, the certainty of the religion of one's country is augmented;—surely a touching and spirit-stirring thought!

Thus Plutarch,⁶⁰ who is the first among the religious philosophers of the New Platonic school, says: “We do not believe that there are different gods among the different nations of men, the Grecian and the foreign, the southern and the northern; but, as sun and moon and heaven and earth and sea are common to all men, though differently denominated by different nations; so, in diverse countries, there are diverse kinds of worship and different appellations fixed by the laws, while one Intelligence orders all, and one Providence directs all, and subordinate powers are appointed over all.”

How much these men felt the life-giving power of a positive divine worship performed in faith, the same Plutarch shows, while he paints the felicity of serving God:⁶¹ “One must in-

⁶⁰ Plut. de Iside and Osiride, c. 67.

⁶¹ Non posse suaviter vivi sec. Epicur. c. 21.

deed remove superstition from his faith in the gods, as dust from the eyes. But if this should be impossible, yet one must take care and not at the same time pluck out or blind the eye of faith, by which most men adhere to the gods. This faith is not any thing terrific and gloomy, as the Epicureans represent it, that they may thereby calumniate Providence, as though it frightened us like children, or persecuted us like a destroying goddess of vengeance. There are probably very few among those who fear the Deity, to whom it were better if they did not fear him. For while they fear him as a sovereign who is kind to the good and hostile to the bad, they are far less disquieted than those who yield free course to their wickedness and give way to their audacity, but afterwards immediately fall into terror and remorse ; for through this one fear, in consequence of which they do not need other terrors to warn them from the commission of evil, they keep the wicked disposition quiet in their bosoms, till, by degrees, it consumes itself. Meanwhile the disposition which most of the uncultivated, but not wholly abandoned, cherish towards the Deity, has certainly, together with veneration and awe, something also of a certain anxiety and fear which we commonly denominate superstition (*δεισιδαιμονία*) ; but a thousand fold greater and more influential are the joyousness and pleasing hope with which they implore and receive the reward of their piety, as depending on and proceeding forth from the gods. This is manifest from the clearest proofs. For no sojourn in the temples, no festal season, no deed, no sight, affords more joy, than what we ourselves see or do in reference to the gods ; whether we attend the sports of Bacchus and the sacred dances, or are present at the sacrifices or the mysteries. The mind is not here melancholy and dejected, as though it were associating with tyrants and terrific chastisers, as it must be in such a case ; but where it is convinced that the gods are especially present, there the mind, banishing sadness and fear and grief, resigns itself up to joy, even to intoxication, jesting, and laughter. In the feasts of love, as the poet says : ‘ Even the grey-headed man and the grey-headed woman, when they remember golden Venus, even their fond heart is moved with joy.’ But at the festive processions and sacrifices, not merely the grey-headed men and women, not merely the poor and the common man, but also ‘ the thick-limbed maid that grinds at the mill ;’ yea, even the domestic slave and the day labourer are enlivened with a feeling of comfort and joy.

The rich and even kings attend in public the festal banquets. At the sacrifices, and when they believe themselves to come the nearest in contact with the Deity, they feel, during the worship, a peculiar delight and joy. But of this he knows nothing, who denies a Providence. For it is neither the fullness of wine nor the roasted flesh, which excites this joy on festival occasions, but rather the delightful hope and belief that God is propitiously present, and kindly receives the offering. Flute and garland may fail at all other feasts; but if God is not present at the sacrifice, all else, like the victim of the banquet, is forsaken of God, unfestive and uninspiring; yea, all is joyless and gloomy for the worshipper. Through fear of the multitude, he feigns prayers and adoration without feeling his wants; and utters words which stand in contradiction with his philosophy. When he sacrifices, he approaches the sacrificing priest as he would a cook; and when he has made the offering, he goes away, with the verse of Menander: I have sacrificed to gods who pay me no regard."

Plutarch has here very strikingly and comprehensively depicted the empty-mindedness of him who, without a belief in positive revelation from God, still moves in the ranks of such as possess such belief. He speaks very truly when he says, in another place,⁶² that we must search out all the arguments to defend the pious paternal faith; but there is certainly a question, whether the means which these philosophers laid hold of, were the right ones to bring back again the heathen system into general repute. To Plutarch himself, the reason appears to have risen dimly to view, why heathenism, once so deeply sunken, was scarcely capable of renovation. He remarks, namely,⁶³ "that words are as precious as coin. In old time," he says, "there was much more of excitement among men. At that period, history, philosophy and religion, and the whole of life, was poetry. Hence also, from the exigencies of men, the gods imparted their oracles in highly poetical expressions. But now, in his time, man had become far more simple and prosaic. Hence the necessity of his age demanded simple, unadorned responses of the gods." This noble heathen knew not that, at that time, there had already come to man-

⁶² De defectu Oraculorum, c. 18.

⁶³ De Pythiae Oraculis, c. 24.

kind the most simple and intelligible revelation of God.* Now that very poetry in the heathen religion, was in fact the thing which stood in the way of a reformation in the manner attempted by the Platonists. For when these men either pointed out or inserted, in the fables of that religion, a fine moral sense, still their teaching appeared to the people, on this very account, as nothing else than beautiful poetry. The people were too dull or too indolent to search out the moral kernel. This is also placed in a truly striking light by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He says :⁶⁴ "I know, indeed, that many excuse the immoral fables of the Greeks, on the ground of their being allegorical. But though I know this as well as any man, I am nevertheless very cautious respecting them, and hold rather with the Roman mythology ; as I consider the good arising from the Grecian fables to be very small, and not capable of benefiting many, and indeed only those who have investigated the cause for which they were invented. But there are only a few who have become masters of this philosophy. On the other hand, the great and unphilosophic mass are accustomed to receive these narratives rather in their worst sense, and to learn one of these two things ; either to despise the gods as beings who wallow in the grossest licentiousness, or not to restrain themselves even from what is most abominable and abandoned, when they see that the gods also do the same."

Thus it appeared then, in fact, that the efforts of those Platonists by no means reached to the multitude of the lower classes, who were abandoned to themselves. These remained, afterwards as before, given up to their obscure and erroneous ideas and wretched external ceremonies. But these exertions must nevertheless appear great and important to us—partly in themselves, as proceeding from holy minds, inflamed with desires for the *divine*,† and partly in respect to Christianity, which

* As Plutarch lived amid the spread and persecution of Christianity, till near the middle of the second century, it is hardly credible that such a scholar should remain wholly unacquainted with revelation, especially as he resided in Greece and Rome, and travelled extensively.

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⁶⁴ Dion. Hal. Antiq. Rom. II. 69.

† I prefer to give, as nearly as possible, a *verbatim* translation of such passages as may excite particular curiosity in regard to the views of the learned and pious author, on interesting topics. To

so abundantly satisfies all those wants felt by the Platonists, and particularly by Plutarch ; inasmuch as it not only placed before the moral capacities of man a sublime object of attainment, through the doctrine of a holy God and a holy kingdom, into which all the redeemed and purified shall be received ; but also bestowed on fallen man, through the atoning death of the divine Redeemer and the vital powers which emanate from him, the ability to enter into that heavenly economy and to participate in that happy life. Here too, it was not merely the *πεπαιδευμένοι*, the educated, who should share in the promised glory ; but every member of the human race obtained the same right to the royal priesthood of the redeemed, to the same participation in the heavenly inheritance. For the greater or less degree of science and knowledge was no longer to be the measure of dignity for man, as was the customary error of even the best heathen, even of a Plato. Corporeal penance too, (to which every corporeal frame is not adapted,) was not to ensure the enjoyment of this dignity ; but the childlike reception in faith of the word of the cross, the following of the despised Jesus, amid scorn, reproach, and reviling, in self-denial, humility, and love.

APPENDIX TO PART I. p. 89.

On the primitive condition of Man.

That a higher condition of the human race preceded its more degenerate state, is a truth which has been acknowledged in all ages by the more profound. As the child becomes a man only among men, so the man becomes a man only by living in human society. Hence we must admit, either the eternal existence of human society, in which one man has ever been formed by another *ad infinitum*, or else a particular period, when God himself introduced man as ready formed for society into his present relations of life. Now as the Scriptures inform us, that the first human pair fell from a holy life in God into an unholy life in

express things in the most abstract and comprehensive manner, the Germans employ the adjective used as a noun much more frequently than we do. It is manifest from such passages as the above, that the author had a more favourable view of the extent of real piety among the heathen, than is commonly entertained, and more than the Bible and history appear to warrant.

TRANS.

selfishness ; so we must believe that man, thus fallen from his primitive purity, has yet brought with him, from that happy period into his sunken state, great capacities and powers. Were this not so, even the most important phenomena of primitive history would be inexplicable. Whence was that deep knowledge in Astronomy, in Geometry, in Natural Philosophy, in Architecture, which we find in ancient India, Chaldea, Egypt, and China ? Whence, especially, that lively interest in divine things and solemn reverence of them ? Whence comes it, if the first generations were savages and semi-brutes, that among them government, morals, science, art, all were founded on religion, and reverence for God was the centre of their whole intellectual life ? Heeren says respecting the influence of religion on politics :¹ “ It clearly appears from the history of politics, that religion maintains a higher political importance, the further we trace back history.”—“ What other sanction of law can there be among rude nations, where there is no conviction of the importance of obeying the law, but in religion, through which the law is regarded as the command of the gods ?”—And a distinguished natural philosopher thus speaks of the value and employment of natural philosophy in the primitive world :² “ A hasty glance teaches, that astronomy and the study of nature were not means for the attainment of an end, but a sacred occupation. Hence kings acted as high priests and astronomers, Osiris in Egypt, and Hoangti in China five thousand years before Christ,* with his minister Yuchi, who ascertained the polar star and discovered the sphere.”

Thus the historian testifies to the founding of politics on religion in ancient times ; and the natural philosopher, to the connection of astronomy and physics with the same ; but that religion itself rests on immediate revelation, is asserted among others by Herder :³ “ The footsteps of religion, various as may be its costume, are found even among the poorest and rudest nations. Whence came it to these nations ? Did every wretched wanderer, in some way, discover his system of worship as a kind

¹ Heeren's *Ideen über Politik und Verkehr der Völker der alten Welt*, Gött: 1805. B. I. p. 18. p. 22.

² Schubert, *Nachtseite der Natur*, Dresd. 1818. p. 54.

* According to the extravagant chronology of the Chinese. *TRANS.*

³ Herder, *Ideen zur Geschichte der Philosophie der Menschheit*, B. II. p. 288.

of natural theology? These miserable men discover nothing; they follow in all things the tradition of their fathers. Tradition is the mother of their language, as of their religion.”—Hence the historian places at the head of all history, an original and higher state of cultivation in man, proceeding from God. Johannes von Müller expresses himself thus on this point:⁴ “There is something very remarkable in the fact, that the most ancient nations, though entirely uncultivated in other things, had perfectly correct views and knowledge of God, of the world, of immortality, and even of the motions of the stars; while the arts which pertain to the conveniences of life, are much younger. Does it not seem, as though the breath of Divinity dwelling in us, our spirit, had acquired through the immediate teaching of a higher being, and for a long time retained, certain indispensable ideas and habits, to which it could not easily have attained of itself? Whatever, on the other hand, pertains to the employment of material capacities, was left for the exercise of our own mental powers.”—Later investigations and discoveries have shown, that also in these arts of life the most ancient people were greatly distinguished. With this intimation of Müller, F. Schlegel⁵ should be compared, who strikingly shows the necessity of admitting an original teaching of the human race by the spirit of God. And especially are the words of the distinguished antiquary, Oüvarof, to be noted⁶: “The natural state of man is neither the savage state, nor a state of corruptness; but a simple and better state, approaching nearer the divinity; the savage and the corrupted man* are equally removed from it.”

But we need not stop with these later investigators. The universal tradition of the ancient world, spoke of a higher illumination of man at the commencement of this earthly course. This is declared, first of all, by the general tradition of nations of a golden age of the world, of Paradise. Moreover also Plato follows this opinion, where Socrates in *Philebus* says⁷: “All that originated in art, originated in the following manner. There was once, as it seems to me, a gift of the gods, brought down to men

⁴ Joh. v. Müller, *Weltgeschichte*. Th. I. p. 4.

⁵ Fr. Schlegel, *Ueber die Weisheit der Indier*, p. 89 seq. p. 105.

⁶ Oüvarof, *Essais sur les Mystères d'Eleusis*. Paris. 1816. p. 10.

* l'Homme corrompu.

⁷ *Platonis Philebus*, p. 142. ed. Bekker.

from the gods by a certain Prometheus, at the same time with the light. Now the ancients, who were better than we, and who stood nearest to the gods, have handed down to us, that, etc." Plato also gives a hint to the same effect in the *mythus*, that once in the primeval period, Saturn himself became the herdsman of the herd of men. And thus Aristotle says⁸: "The tradition has been handed down in the form of fable from the ancients to later posterity, that the above-named are gods, and that Deity encircles all nature;—and that while, according to the various powers of men, every art and philosophy has been often discovered and again lost, these dogmas, as if remnants of their wisdom, have been transplanted to the present time."—In the same sense, the heathen Caecilius also says⁹: "I give credit to ancestors, who, in a yet uncultivated age at the beginning of the world, were counted worthy to have the gods as friends or kings.

If now there are sufficient grounds to assume, that a state of higher mental cultivation and higher knowledge remained to man on his departure from his primitive spiritual and holy life in God, so we must also presuppose that, in such a state, man had a more correct knowledge also of the divine Being. And so the Scriptures represent it to us, which depict the lapse into idolatry as the consequence of a progressive corruption after the fall. We are, besides, led to this supposition by the fact, that all traditions of a moral import, ever tended more and more to a physical interpretation, the further they were handed down among posterity. We have confirmed this in the text (p. 91) by some examples. These may be increased from many sources. Thus, for instance, the religion of Buddha—which, according to the most credible witnesses, emanated from Brahmaism at a later period, though it is found existing along with it in very high antiquity—appears to be only a more consistent and more physically apprehended form of Brahmaism.¹⁰—Thus too we find in the Chinese *Shuking*, the most ancient book of religion, as also in the philosophy *In-kiä*, derived from it and founded on it, the doctrine of a supreme being *as father of all things*; but its followers,

⁸ Aristotelis Metaphys. XI. 18.

⁹ Minutii Octav. VI. 1.

¹⁰ Compare especially the treatise of Mahony: The doctrines of Boodha from the books of the Sengalees. Asiatic Researches. T. VII. p. 32. and Buchanan on the religion and literature of Burmah. Asiat. Res. T. VI. p. 136.

the *In-kia*, also call the same being *Hoangtien*, or *lofty heavens*; and thus glide over into something more physical.* The *Shuking* has also the doctrine of tutelar genii.¹¹ The *Yking*, on the contrary, is wholly in the strain of metaphysical pantheism. Hence Johannes von Müller strikingly says¹²: "Man entered the world with few but pure and satisfying ideas; and I think I see these inborn ideas shining forth here and there. But, made for labour, he lost himself in subtle speculation; of which the oldest fruit is the *Yking*."—Especially does the truth in question appear to be established by Parseeism. *Servan-Akerene*, or illimitable time, which here stands above Ormuzd and Ahriman, is only a pantheistic primeval being, like the Chronos of the Greeks. How came this being now at the head of all things? Certainly only in later times, for the purpose of giving a substratum to those two persons. It therefore proceeded only from the speculation of after times, striving for unity. Many sects of the Persians have never received it.¹³

TO BE CONTINUED.

* The Chinese now use the word *Tien* to denote the supreme Being. A long and severe dispute was carried on at Rome in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whether the Jesuit missionaries, always so ready to be content with barely baptizing the idolatry of a heathen people, should be allowed in continuing to call Jehovah by so ambiguous a term and one so fitted to cherish heathen views. The pope finally decided in their favour, on condition of their annexing to it the word *Tchu*. This removed the ambiguity; for *Tien Tchu* means *Lord of the heavens*. See Mosheim, Vol. V. p. 27. and Vol. VI. p. 3. First American edition.

TRANSLATOR.

¹¹ Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, T. XXXVIII. p. 272 sq.

¹² Johannes v. Müllers Werke, B. XVI. p. 41.

¹³ See Hyde de Relig. veterum Persarum. Isfraini, De diversis Sectis, Cod. MS. Arab. bibl. reg. Berol.

ART. IV. ARE THE SAME PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION TO BE APPLIED TO THE SCRIPTURES AS TO OTHER BOOKS ?

By M. Stuart, Prof. Sac. Lit. in Theol. Sem. Andover.

A question this of deeper interest to religion and sacred literature, than most persons would be apt at first to suppose. In fact, the fundamental principles of scriptural theology are inseparably connected with the subject of this inquiry ; for what is such theology, except the result of that which the Scriptures have taught ? And how do we find what the Scriptures have taught, except by applying to them some rules or principles of interpretation ? If these rules are well grounded, the results which flow from the application of them will be correct, provided they are skilfully and truly applied ; but if the principles by which we interpret the Scriptures are destitute of any solid foundation, and are the product of imagination, of conjecture, or of caprice, then of course the results which will follow from the application of them, will be unworthy of our confidence.

All this is too plain to need any confirmation. This also, from the nature of the case, renders it a matter of great importance to know, whether the principles by which we interpret the sacred books are well grounded, and will abide the test of a thorough scrutiny.

Nearly all the treatises on hermeneutics, which have been written since the days of Ernesti, have laid it down as a maxim which cannot be controverted, that the Bible is to be interpreted in the same manner, i. e. by the same principles, as all other books. Writers are not wanting, previously to the period in which Ernesti lived, who have maintained the same thing ; but we may also find some, who have assailed the position before us, and laboured to shew that it is nothing less than a species of profaneness to treat the sacred books as we do the classic authors, with respect to their interpretation. Is this allegation well grounded ? Is there any good reason to object to the principle of interpretation now in question ?

In order to answer these inquiries, let us direct our attention, in the first place, to the nature and source of what are now called *principles* or *laws of interpretation*. Whence did they originate ? Are they the artificial production of high-wrought skill, of laboured research, of profound and extensive learning ? Did they spring from the subtilities of nice distinctions, from the phi-

losophical and metaphysical efforts of the schools? Are they the product of exalted and dazzling genius, sparks of celestial fire which none but a favoured few could emit? No; nothing of all this. The principles of interpretation, as to their substantial and essential elements, are no invention of man, no product of his effort and learned skill; nay, they can scarcely be said with truth to have been discovered by him. They are coeval with our nature. They were known to the antediluvians. They were practised upon in the garden of Eden, by the progenitors of our race. Ever since man was created, and endowed with the powers of speech, and made a *communicative*, social being, he has had occasion to practise upon the principles of interpretation, and has actually done so. From the first moment that one human being addressed another by the use of language, down to the present hour, the essential laws of interpretation became, and have continued to be, a *practical* matter. The person addressed has always been an *interpreter*, in every instance where he has heard and understood what was addressed to him.

All the human race, therefore, are, and ever have been, interpreters. It is a law of their rational, intelligent, communicative nature. Just as truly as one human being was formed so as to address another in language, just so truly that other was formed to interpret and to understand what is said.

I venture to advance a step farther, and to aver that all men are, and ever have been, in reality, good and true interpreters of each other's language. Has any part of our race, in full possession of the human faculties, ever failed to understand what others said to them, and to understand it truly? or to make themselves understood by others, when they have in their communications kept within the circle of their own knowledge? Surely none. Interpretation, then, in its basis or fundamental principles, is a *native* art, if I may so speak. It is coeval with the power of uttering words. It is of course a universal art; it is common to all nations, barbarous as well as civilized.

One cannot commit a more palpable error in relation to this subject, than to suppose that the art of interpretation is one which is like the art of chemistry, or of botany, or of astronomy, or any of the like things, viz. that it is in itself wholly dependent on *acquired* skill for the discovery and developement of its principles. Acquired skill has indeed helped to an orderly exhibition and arrangement of its principles; but this is all. The materials were all in existence before skill attempted to develop them.

Possibly it may excite surprise in the minds of some, to be told that, after all, hermeneutics is no science that depends on learning and skill, but is one with which all the race of man is practically more or less acquainted. Yet this is true. But so far is it from diminishing the real value of the science, that it adds exceedingly to its weight and importance. That it is connate with us, shews that it is a part of our rational and communicative nature. That it is so, shews also that it is not, in its fundamental parts, a thing of uncertainty, of conjecture, of imagination, or of mere philosophical nicety. If it were a far-fetched science, dependent on high acquisitions and the skilful application of them, then it would be comparatively a useless science; for, in such a case, only a favoured few of the human race would be competent to understand and acquire it; still fewer could be satisfactorily assured of its stable and certain nature.

An interpreter well skilled in his art, will glory in it, that it is an art which has its foundation in the laws of our intellectual and rational nature, and is coeval and connate with this nature. He finds the best assurance of its certainty in this. It is only a quack (if I may so speak) in this business, that will ever boast of any thing in it which is secret, or obscure, or incomprehensible to common minds.

All which has ever led to any such conclusion, is, that very few men, and those only learned ones, become critics by profession. But the secret of this is merely, that professed critics are, almost always, professed interpreters of books in foreign languages, not in their own mother-tongue. Then again, if they are interpreters of their own vernacular language, it is of such exhibitions of it as present recondite and unusual words. Now in order to interpret a foreign language, or in order to explain the unusual words of one's own vernacular tongue, a good degree of learning becomes requisite. This is not, however, because the rules of interpretation, when applied either to foreign languages, or to unusual words or phrases in one's own language, are different from the rules which all men every day apply to the common language employed by them in conversation. Learning is necessary to know the meaning of foreign words, or of strange vernacular words, on the same ground, and no other, as it was necessary for us to learn originally the meaning of the circle of words which we usually employ in speaking or writing. The same acquaintance with foreign words that we have with our every-day ones, would of course make them equal-

ly intelligible, and equally supersede any *studied* art of hermeneutics, in order to interpret them.

When a man takes up a book, which contains a regular system of hermeneutics all arranged and exhibited to the eye, and filled with references to choice and rare volumes, he is ready to conclude, that it contains something almost as remote from the common capacity and apprehension of men as Newton's *Principia*. But this is a great mistake. The *form* of the treatise in question, it is true, may be altogether a matter of art. The quotations and references may imply a very widely extended circle of reading and knowledge. But after all, the principles themselves are obvious and natural ones; at least if they are not so, they are worth but little or nothing. The illustration and confirmation of them may indeed be drawn from a multitude of sources widely scattered and some of them very recondite, and a great display of learning may be made here; but still the same thing is true, in this case as in many other departments of learning and taste. Nature first teaches rules; art arranges, illustrates, and records them. This is the simple truth as to hermeneutics. Systems have digested and exhibited what the rational nature of man has taught,—of man who was made to speak and to interpret language.

I may illustrate and confirm this by a reference, for example, to epic or lyric poetry. Men did not first invent rules by the aid of *learned* art, and then construct epic and lyric poems by the aid of these rules. Nature prescribed these rules to a Homer, a Pindar, and to others. They followed nature; and therefore wrote with skill and power. That they have become models for all succeeding epic and lyric writers, can be accounted for only from the fact, that they followed the promptings of nature in their respective kinds of composition; and others cannot swerve essentially from their course without swerving from nature; and then of course they will offend against what we may truly call the common sense of mankind.

It is the same in hermeneutics. Many a man has, indeed, laid down rules in this science, which were a departure from the principles taught us by our reasonable nature; and where he has had personal influence, he has obtained disciples and imitators. But his popularity has been short-lived, or at least he has sooner or later been taken to task for departing from nature, and has been refuted, in the view of sober and unprejudiced men, in regard to such principles as violate the common rules of interpretation which men daily practise.

There are only two ways in which men come to the knowledge of words ; the one is by custom, education, the daily habit of hearing and speaking them ; the other is, by studying them in books, and learning them in the way that philology teaches. Now the first method supersedes the second. But as the second is the only way left for all such as wish to understand the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, so the thorough study of those books which are necessary to impart the knowledge in question, renders a good degree of learning a matter which of course is necessary. All this occupies time, and costs labour and effort. Few succeed, after all, to any great extent, in making the acquisition under consideration ; and hence the general apprehension of its difficulty. Hence too the idea, that the art of interpretation is the result of learned skill, rather than the dictate of common sense.

I do not aver, indeed, that a man destitute of learned skill can well interpret the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures. But this I would say, viz. that his *learning* applies more to the proper knowledge of Greek and Hebrew words in themselves considered, than it does to the principles by which he is to interpret them. In the estimation of men in general, however, these two things are united together ; and it is in this way, that hermeneutics comes to be looked upon as one of the more recondite and difficult sciences.

I certainly do not wish to be understood as denying here, that the *practice* of the hermeneutical art in a successful manner does require learning and skill. Surely this must be true, when it is applied to the explanation of the original Greek and Hebrew Scriptures ; because no one can well understand these languages, without some good degree of learned skill. But I say once more, that the learning necessary to understand the meaning of particular words in these languages, and that which is employed in the proper *interpretation* of them, are not one and the same thing. When the words are once understood, the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures are interpreted by just the same rules that every man uses, in order to interpret his neighbour's words. At least this is my position, and one which I expect to illustrate and confirm, by shewing more fully still, that from the nature of the case it must be so, and moreover that it is altogether reasonable and proper.

I have urged at so much length, and repeated in various forms, the sentiments contained in the preceding paragraphs, be-

cause I view them as of essential importance in respect to the subject before us. If God has implanted in our rational nature the fundamental principles of the hermeneutical art, then we may reasonably suppose that when he addresses a revelation to us, he intends and expects that we shall interpret it in accordance with the laws of that nature which he has given us. In shewing that the science of interpretation is not a production of art and learned skill, but that it is merely developed and scientifically exhibited by such skill, I have shewn that the business of interpreting the Bible need not necessarily be confined to a few, but may be practised, in a greater or less degree, (if we except the criticism of the original Scriptures,) by all men who will attentively study it. It is true, that all men cannot be critics upon the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures; for the greater part of them never can obtain the knowledge of the words necessary for this purpose. But still, there is scarcely any man of common understanding to whom a truly skillful critic may not state and explain the *principles* of interpretation, by which he is guided in the exegesis of any particular passage, in such a way that this man may pass his judgment on the principle and make it the subject of his approbation or disapprobation. This proves incontrovertibly, that the principles of the science in question are in themselves the dictates of plain common sense and sound understanding; and if this be true, then they are principles which may be employed in the interpretation of the word of God; for if there be any book on earth that is addressed to the reason and common sense of mankind, the Bible is pre-eminently that book.

What is the Bible? A revelation from God. A REVELATION! If truly so, then it is designed to be *understood*; for if it be not intelligible, it is surely no *revelation*. It is a revelation through the medium of human language; language such as men employ; such as was framed by them, and is used for their purposes. It is a revelation *by men* (as instruments) and *for men*. It is made *more humano*, because that on any other ground it might as well not be made at all. If the Bible is not a book which is intelligible in the same way as other books are, then it is difficult indeed to see how it is a *revelation*. There are only two ways in which the Bible or any other book can be understood; the one is by miraculous illumination, in order that we may have a right view of contents which otherwise would not be intelligible; the other is, by the application of such hermeneuti-

cal principles as constitute a part of our rational and communicative nature.

If you say, now, that the first of these ways is the true and only one ; then it follows that a renewed miracle is necessary in every instance where the Bible is read and understood. But, first, this contradicts the experience of men ; and secondly, I cannot see of what use the Scriptures are, provided a renewed revelation or illumination is necessary, on the part of heaven, in every instance where they are read and understood. It is not the method of God's wisdom and design, thus to employ useless machinery ; nor does such an idea comport with the numberless declarations of the Scriptures themselves, that they are plain, explicit, intelligible, perfect, in a word, all that is requisite to guide the humble disciple, or to enlighten the ignorant.

I must then relinquish the idea of a miraculous interposition in every instance where the Bible is read and understood. I trust that few enlightened Christians will be disposed to maintain this. And if this be not well grounded, then it follows that the Bible is addressed to our reason and understanding and moral feelings ; and consequently that we are to interpret it in such a way, as we do any other book that is addressed to these same faculties.

A denial of this, throws us at once upon the ground of maintaining a miraculous interposition, in all cases where the Bible is understood. An admission of it, brings us to the position that the Bible is to be interpreted in the same way as other books are.

Why not ? When the original Scriptures were first spoken or written, (for very much of them, in the prophets for example, was *spoken* as well as written,) were they designed to be *understood* by the men who were addressed ? Certainly you will not deny this. But who were these men ? Were they inspired ? Truly not ; they were good and bad, wise and foolish, learned and ignorant ; in a word, men of all classes both as to character and knowledge.

If now the prophets, in addressing such men, expected to be understood, intended to be so, (and clearly they did,) then they expected these men to understand them in a way like to that in which they understood any one else who addressed them, i. e. by means of applying the usual principles of interpretation to the language employed. Any thing which denies this, of course must cast us upon the ground of universal miraculous interposition.

Let us now, for a moment, imagine ourselves to stand in the place of those who were addressed by the prophets. Of course we must suppose ourselves to have the same understanding of the Hebrew language, to have been educated within the same circle of knowledge, and to be familiar with the same objects both in the natural and spiritual world. Should we need lexicons, grammars, and commentaries, in order to understand Isaiah, or any other prophet? The supposition is, upon the very face of it, almost an absurdity. Are our common people, who have the first rudiments even of education, unable to understand the popular preachers of the present day? If it is so, it is the egregious fault of the preacher, and not of his hearers. It is because he chooses words not contained in the usual stores of language from which most persons draw, and which he need not choose, and should not select, because he must know that such a choice will make him more or less unintelligible. But who will suppose the prophets to have acted thus unwisely? The inspiration by the aid of which they spake and wrote, surely enabled them to speak and write *intelligibly*. If so, then were we listeners to them, and in the condition of those whom they actually addressed, we could of course understand them, for just the same reasons, and in the same way, that we now understand the popular preachers of our time. All our learned apparatus of folios and quartos, of ancient and modern lexicographers, grammarians, and critics, would then be quietly dismissed, and laid aside as nearly or altogether useless. At the most, we should need them no more than we now need Johnson's or Webster's Dictionaries, in order to understand a modern sermon in the English language.

All this needs only to be stated, in order to ensure a spontaneous assent to it. But what follows? The very thing, I answer, which I am labouring to illustrate and establish. If the persons addressed by the Hebrew prophets, understood them, and easily and readily understood them, in what way was this done? Plainly by virtue of the usual principles of interpretation, which they applied in all the common intercourse of life. They were not held in suspense about the meaning of a prophet, until a second interposition on the part of heaven took place, i. e. a miraculous illumination of their minds in order that they might perceive the meaning of words new and strange to them. Such words were not employed. They were able, therefore, at once to perceive the meaning of the

prophet who addressed them, in all ordinary cases ; and this is true throughout, with exceptions merely of such a nature as still occur, in regard to most of our preaching. Now and then a word is employed, which some part of a common audience does not fully comprehend ; and now and then a sentiment is developed, or an argument is employed, which the minds of some are not sufficiently enlightened fully to comprehend. But in such cases, the difficulty arises more from the *subject* than it does from the language.

The prophets indeed complain, not unfrequently, that the Jews did not understand them. But this complaint always has respect to a spiritual perception and relish of the truths which they delivered to them. 'They heard but understood not ; they saw, but perceived not.' The fault, however, was the want of spiritual taste and discernment ; not because the language, in itself, was beyond human comprehension.

Admitting then that the prophets spake intelligibly, and that they were actually understood by their contemporaries, and this without any miraculous interposition, it follows of course, that it was the usual laws of interpretation which enabled their hearers to understand them. They applied to their words, and spontaneously applied, the same principles of interpretation which they were wont to apply to the language of all who addressed them. By so doing, they rightly understood the prophets ; at any rate, by so doing, they might have rightly understood them ; and if so, then such laws of interpretation are the right ones, for those laws must be right which conduct us to the true meaning of a speaker.‡

I can perceive no way of avoiding this conclusion, unless we deny that the prophets were understood, or could be understood, by their contemporaries. But to deny this, would be denying facts so plain, so incontrovertible, that it would argue a desperate attachment to system, or something still more culpable.

In view of what has just been said, it is easy to see why so much study and learning are necessary, at the present time, in order to enable us correctly to understand the original Greek and Hebrew Scriptures. We are born neither in Greece nor Palestine ; we have learned in our childhood to read and understand neither Greek nor Hebrew. Our condition and circumstances, our course of education and thought, as well as our language, are all different from those of a Jew in ancient times. Our government, our climate, our state of society and manners

and habits, our civil, social, and religious condition, are all different from those of Palestine. Neither heaven above nor earth beneath, is the same in various respects. A thousand productions of nature and art, in the land of the Hebrews, are unknown to our times and country; and multitudes of both are familiar to us, of which they never had any knowledge. How can we then put ourselves in their places, and listen to prophets and apostles, speaking Hebrew and Greek, without much learning and study? It is plainly impossible. And the call for all this learning and study, is explained by what I have just said. All of it is designed to accomplish one simple object, and only one, viz. to place us, as nearly as possible, in the condition of those whom the sacred writers originally addressed. Had birth and education placed us there, all this study and effort might be dispensed with at once; for, as has been already stated, we could then understand the sacred writers, in the same way and for the same reason that we now understand our own preachers. When we do this, we do it by spontaneously applying the laws of interpretation which we have practised from our childhood; and such would have been the case, had we been native Hebrews, contemporary with the prophets and apostles.

When the art of interpretation, therefore, is imagined or asserted to be a difficult and recondite art, dependent on great learning and high intellectual acuteness, the obvious mistake is made of confounding with it another sort of learning, which is only preparatory and conditional, but does not constitute the principles themselves of hermeneutics.

It seems to my own mind, that we have arrived at the conclusion which it was proposed to examine and confirm, in a very plain, natural, and simple way. The substance of all is: The Bible was made to be understood; it was written by men, and for men; it was addressed to all classes of people; it was for the most part understood by them all, just as our present religious discourses are; and of course it was interpreted in such a way, or by the aid of such principles, as other books are understood and explained.

But there are objectors to this position. Some of them, too, speak very boldly, and with great zeal and confidence. Candour requires that we should listen to them, and examine their allegations.

OBJ. 1. 'How can the common laws of interpretation apply to the Scriptures, when confessedly the Bible is a book which

contains revelations in respect to supernatural things, to the knowledge of which no human understanding is adequate to attain?"

The fact alleged I cheerfully concede. But the inference drawn from it, I do not feel to be at all a necessary one, nor in fact in any measure a just one. So far as the Scriptures are designed to make known a *revelation* to us, respecting things that are above the reach of our natural understanding, just so far they are designed to communicate that which is intelligible. If you deny this, then you must maintain that to be a revelation, which is not intelligible; or, in other words, that to be a revelation, by which nothing is revealed.

If you say that a new interposition on the part of heaven is necessary, in order that any one may understand the Scriptures, then you make two miracles necessary to accomplish one end; the first, in giving a so called revelation which after all is unintelligible; the second, in supernaturally influencing the mind to discern what is meant by this revelation. The reply to this has been already suggested above, viz. it contradicts experience, and it is contrary to the analogy of God's dealing with us in all other respects.

As far then as any *revelation* is actually made in the Scriptures, so far they are intelligible. But perhaps some one will here make another objection, viz.

OBJ. 2. 'Intelligible to whom? A man must be enlightened in a *spiritual* respect, before he can understand the Scriptures. How then can the *usual* laws of interpretation enable him to understand and to explain them?'

The fact here alleged is rather over-stated; I mean to say, the assertion is too general. That there are parts of the Scriptures which no unsanctified man can fully understand and appreciate, is and must be true, so long as the fact is admitted that there are parts which relate to *spiritual* experience. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." Most freely and fully do I concede what is here meant to be affirmed. How can any man fully understand what is said of religious experience and feelings, who is not himself, and never has been, the subject of such experience and feelings?

After all, however, there is nothing new or singular in this, at least so far as the *principle* itself is concerned. The same

principle holds true, in regard to other things and other books. Before a man can understand them, he must be in a condition to do so. Who can read Newton's *Principia* or the *Mecanique Celeste* of La Place, and understand them, unless he comes to the study of them with due preparation? Who can read any book of mental or moral science, and enter fully into the understanding of it, unless he is himself in a state which enables him throughout to sympathize with the author, and to enter into all his feelings and views? Who, for example, can read and fully understand Milton and Homer, without the spirit and soul of poetry within him which will enable him to enter into their views and feelings? Who can read intelligently even a book of mathematics, without sympathizing with the writer?

The answer to these questions is too plain to need being repeated. How then does the *principle* differ, when I ask: 'Who can read the Scriptures intelligently, that does not enter into the moral and religious sympathies of the writers?' I agree fully to the answer which says, 'No one.' The thing is impossible. But it is equally impossible in all other cases to read intelligently, without entering into the sympathies of the writers.

Those then who are solicitous for the honour of the Scriptures, have in reality nothing to fear from this quarter, in respect to the principle which I have been advocating. A demand for *religious feeling*, in order fully to enter into the meaning of the sacred writers, rests on the same principle as the demand for a poetic feeling in order to read Milton with success, or a mathematical feeling in order to study intelligibly Newton and La Place. How can any writer be well and thoroughly understood, when there is not some good degree of community of feeling between him and his reader? This is so obvious a principle, that it needs only to be stated in order to be recognized.

But still, it would be incorrect to say that Newton or Milton is unintelligible. They have both employed language in its usual way; or if not always so, yet they have furnished adequate explanations of what they do mean. The laws of exegesis are the very same, in reading and explaining Milton, as they are in reading and explaining Pope or Cowper; they are the same in respect to La Place, that they are in respect to Day's mathematics. But in both these cases, higher acquisitions are demanded of the reader in the former instance than in the latter.

It is incorrect, therefore, to say that the Bible is unintelligible, or to say that the usual laws of interpretation are not to be ap-

plied to it, because an individual's feelings must be in unison with those of the writers, in order fully to understand all which they say.

Let me add a word also by way of caution, in regard to the subject now under consideration. There is a way of inculcating the truth, that "the natural man receiveth and knoweth not the things of the Spirit," which is adapted to make a wrong impression on the minds of men. They are prone to deduce from certain representations of this subject which have sometimes been made, the conclusion that natural men can understand no part of the Bible, and that they must be regenerated, before they can have any right views of the Scriptures. But this is carrying the doctrine much beyond its just limits. A great part of the Bible is addressed to intelligent, rational, moral beings as such. All men belong to this class; and because this is so, they are capable of understanding the sacred writers, at least so far as they designed originally to be understood by all, and so far as the great purposes of warning and instruction are concerned. It is the condemnation of men, that "light has come into the world, and they love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil." Our Saviour could not have said, that if 'he had not come and spoken to the Jews, they would not have had sin,' except on the ground that the light which he communicated to them, rendered them altogether inexcusable. Let the preachers of the divine word take good care, then, that they do not so represent the ignorance of sinners as to diminish their guilt. When this ignorance is represented as involuntary, or as a matter of dire necessity, then is this offence committed.

OBJ. 3. 'But is it not *God* who speaks in the Bible, and not man? How can we expect the words of God himself to be scanned by the rules of human language?'

The answer is brief, and like to that which has already been given. When God speaks to men, he speaks *more humano*, in human language; and this, in condescension to our wants. Does he expect us to understand the language of angels? He does not. The Bible is filled with the most ample illustrations of this. Every where, *human* idioms and forms of speech, common to the Jewish nation and to individuals, are employed by the sacred writers. All the varieties of style and expression are observable in these writers, which we see any where else. The same figures of speech are employed; the same modes of address and instruction. We have historic narration, genealogical

catalogues, prose, poetry, proverbs, addresses, sermons, parables, allegories, enigmas even ; and all this in a way similar to that found in the works of uninspired writers. It is the *matter* rather than the *manner*, which characterises the superiority of the Scriptures. The manner indeed is sublime, impressive, awful, delightful. But this is intimately connected with the elevated matter, the high and holy contents, of the Bible. After all due allowances for this, we may say, that the manner is *the manner of men* ; it is *by men and for men*.

We come then, after canvassing these principal objections against the position which has been advanced, to the conclusion before stated, viz. that the rules of interpretation applied to other books, are applicable to the Scriptures. If their contents are peculiar, (as they are,) still we apply the same laws to them as to other books that are peculiar, i. e. we construe them in accordance with the matter which they contain. If there are peculiarities belonging to individual writers, as is the fact with respect to several of them, we still apply the same principles to the interpretation of them which we do to other peculiar writers, i. e. we compare such writers with themselves, and illustrate them in this way. In short, no case occurs to my mind, in which the general principle above stated will not hold good, unless it be one which has been often proposed, and strenuously asserted, and which still has deep hold on the minds of some in our religious community ; I mean the position, that some part of the Scriptures has a *double* sense, a temporal and spiritual meaning at one and the same time. If this be true, it is indeed an exception to all the rules of interpretation which we apply to other books. But whether it be well grounded, in my apprehension may be doubted, *salva fide et salva ecclesia*. The discussion of the question respecting this however, would occupy too much room for the present. If Providence permit, it will be made the subject of examination at some future period.

ART. V. ON THE NATURE OF PROPHECY.

From Hengstenberg's "Christologie des Alten Testaments." Translated by James F. Warner, of the Theol. Sem. Andover.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

In presenting to the readers of the Biblical Repository the following article from the pen of Prof. Hengstenberg, the Editor fulfils the promise made on p. 709 of the preceding volume. The article is inserted here, partly because it is necessary to the full understanding of a former article on the Genuineness of the last part of Isaiah, from the same author, contained in the first volume of this work ; and partly because the Editor is desirous that this important subject should receive all the light which can be thrown upon it, by the labours and suggestions of learned and pious men of different views and in different countries.

For the correctness of the views exhibited in the following article, the Editor of course is not responsible. Here, as in all other articles, the name of the writer is given ; and the ultimate responsibility must rest alone on him. The Editor is accountable only for the *selection* of the piece ; and for this the reasons are contained in the foregoing paragraph. He is free to say moreover, that in his view, Prof. Hengstenberg has carried the main position in his essay to an extreme. Where he says (p. 141), that 'the prophets were in an ecstasy, in which they were deprived of intelligent consciousness and individual agency,' he seems to take for granted the thing to be proved ; that is, it ought to be proved that the ecstasy was truly of such a character, as to deprive them of intelligent consciousness and individual agency. This however he has not done, nor attempted. To such a view as this, moreover, there are strong objections. If such was the necessary state of a prophet, where are we to class all the revelations of the Old and New Testament that were communicated in dreams during sleep, as to Abraham and Jacob and Joseph ? What are we to say of the apostles and the prophets of the New Testament ; where Paul declares that the 'spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets ?' If it be said, as Prof. H. would seem to say, that all these belong to another class of phenomena, and that his view applies only to the prophets of the theocracy ; we may ask, by what authority he makes this distinction, when Paul seems to affirm that 'one

and the same Spirit' reigns and directs in all the diverse gifts of inspiration? 1 Cor. 12: 4—11.

A further objection to the view of Prof. Hengstenberg is, that it takes away a broad and obvious distinction between the prophets of the Old Testament, and the heathen oracles and diviners; while he substitutes nothing tangible in the place of it. Whatever difference there may be, according to him, *in fact*, there can certainly be none to the eye or experience of mankind. On the ground of Prof. Hengstenberg, the prophets of the Scriptures and of the heathen must, to all *human* view, stand upon a like footing.

In respect to the alleged obscurity of the prophecies, which Prof. Hengstenberg deduces as a necessary consequence from his view of the nature of prophecy, he does not intimate definitely, whether he means to apply the term 'obscure' to the language, or the subjects, or to both. He would seem however to have the *subjects* principally in view. Compare the note in Vol. I. p. 709, of this work.*

The following translation has been made by a friend at the Editor's request; and in accuracy and elegance, as compared with the original, leaves nothing to be desired. EDITOR.

NATURE OF PROPHECY.

Many erroneous views have obtained currency in relation to the nature of prophecy. It has been usual to regard the prophetic Scriptures in the same light as all the rest; or if a difference has been admitted in the principles of hermeneutics, still it has been forgotten in exegesis. We must spend the more time on this subject; inasmuch as the correct interpretation and preservation of numerous passages which relate to the Messiah, depend upon a right theory of prophecy. We are here, however, concerned only with the inquiry as to the manner in which revelations were made to the prophets. Other kindred questions do not fall under our purpose, and belong to another place.

We proceed, in the first place, to inquire into the condition or state of the prophets immediately before and during their predic-

* The Editor is happy in being able to state, that an article by Prof. Stuart on the "Nature and alleged Obscurity of Prophecy" is already prepared and in his hands. It was written with special reference to this essay of Prof. Hengstenberg, and is deferred to the next Number only for want of room in the present.

tions. Since the controversies with the Montanists, the view almost universally prevalent in the church has been, that the essential difference between the theocratic or true prophets, and the heathen oracles and diviners, consists in the circumstance, that the latter spoke in a state of ecstasy, the former, with a perfectly intelligent consciousness, and of course with a full understanding of what they uttered. According to Eusebius, Miltiades wrote a book "On the impossibility of a prophet's speaking in a state of ecstasy."* Epiphanius remarks: "In whatever the prophets have said, they have been accompanied with an intelligent state of mind."† And he endeavours to show that an intelligent consciousness is the surest mark of true prophecy.‡ To the same effect Jerome expresses himself in many places. E. g. in his Preface to Isaiah: "Nor indeed, as Montanus and insane women dream, did the prophets speak in an ecstasy, so that they did not know what they uttered, and, while they instructed others, did not themselves understand what they said."§ Prooem. to Nahum: "The prophet does not speak in an ecstasy, as Montanus and Priscilla and Maximilla insanely imagine, but the prophecy which this book contains, is from a man who understood what he spoke."|| Preface to Habakkuk: "It is the vision of a prophet, and contrary to the perverse opinion of Montanus, he understands what he sees; he does not speak as a madman, nor, in the manner of insane women, utter sounds without sense."¶ But Chrysostom expresses himself with the most definiteness respecting the distinction between the heathen diviners and the theocratic or true prophets: "For this is characteristic of the diviners, to be in a phrensy, to be impelled by

* *Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν προφήτην ἐν ἐκστάσει λαλεῖν.* Hist. Eccl. V. 17.

† "Ὅσα γὰρ οἱ προφητῆται εἰρήκασιν μετὰ συνέσεως παρακολουθοῦντες ἐφθέγγοντο. Adv. Haeres. Montani, c. 2.

‡ Ib. c. 4 sq.

§ Neque vero, ut Montanus cum insanis feminis somniat, prophetæ in ecstasi loquuti sunt, ut nescirent quid loquerentur, et cum alios erudirent, ipsi ignorarent quid dicerent. *Praef. in Jes.*

|| Non loquitur propheta ἐν ἐκστάσει, ut Montanus et Priscilla Maximillaque delirant, sed quod prophetat liber, intelligentis est quod loquitur. *Prooem. in Nahum.*

¶ Prophetæ visio est, et adversum Montani dogma perversum intelligit, quod videt, nec ut amens loquitur, nec in morem insanientium feminarum dat sine mente sonum. *Praef. in Habak.*

necessity, to be driven by force, to be drawn, like a madman. A prophet, on the contrary, is not so, but utters his communications with sober intelligence and in a sound state of mind, knowing what he says. Therefore, learn hereafter to know the distinction between a diviner and a prophet.”* The more modern theologians for the most part follow the church fathers.

This view depends upon the correct impression, that between the condition of the true prophets, which is of divine origin, and that of the false, which is not so, there must be an essential difference. Still it appears, if we more closely examine the passages of Scripture which relate to the condition of the former, that the nature of this distinction has been falsely apprehended. It appears, that the true prophets also were in an extraordinary state, characteristically different from the usual one, viz. in an ecstasy (*ἔκστασις*), in which intelligent consciousness retired, and individual agency was entirely suppressed by a powerful operation of the divine spirit, and reduced to a state of passiveness. Thus, the prophets, as Philo said, were interpreters, whose organs God employed in making known his revelations.† Indeed, the means which the prophets used to prepare themselves, indicate an unusual condition. They employed music to calm the tempest of their passions and kindle their love to God. Compare 2 Kings 3: 15. 1 Sam. c. 10.‡ Then they were seized by the Spirit of God, and that in a forcible manner, which suppressed, for the time, their own agency. This is denoted by the expressions: ‘The hand of God or the Spirit of God came upon him or fell upon him.’ E. g. Ezek. 1: 3. 1 Sam. 19: 20 sq. 2 Kings 3: 15. 2 Chron. 15: 1. The irresistibleness of this seizure is indicated in Jeremiah 20: 7, by these words: “Lord, thou

* Τοῦτο γὰρ μάντεως ἴδιον, τὸ ἐξεστηκέναι, τὸ ἀνάγκην ὑπομένειν, τὸ ὠθεῖσθαι, τὸ ἔλκεσθαι, τὸ συρροῦσθαι, ὡς περ μαινόμενον. Ὁ δὲ προφήτης οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ μετὰ διανοίας νηφούσης καὶ σωφρονούσης καταστάσειως, καὶ εἰδούς ἃ θείγγεται, ἀπὸ πάντων ὥστε καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐκβάσεως καρτερεῖν γνωρίζει τὸν μάντιν καὶ τὸν προφήτην. Homil. 29 in Ep. ad Cor.

† Compare e. g. besides many other passages, *de Praem. et Poen.* p. 711. ed Hoesch. ἐρμηνεύς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ προφήτης, ἐνδοθεν ὑπὸ χούντος τὰ λεκτέα τοῦ θεοῦ.

‡ Cornelius a Lapide remarks, on the first chapter of Ezekiel, that the prophets took their station by the side of the river, that in the stillness, and delightful scenery around them, they might, through the soft, pleasing murmur of the waters, be refreshed, enlivened, and prepared for the divine ecstasies.

hast persuaded me, and I have suffered myself to be persuaded; thou hast been too strong for me, and hast prevailed." The following expression also from the New Testament has a bearing on the same point: "Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."* With this, Knapp compares the following expressions of the profane writers: *κατεχέσθαι ἐκ θεοῦ*, *corripi deo*, *deum pati*, etc.†

This suppression of the prophet's own agency, terror before the divine majesty, and the extraordinary nature of the divine communications, caused a great internal perturbation and struggle. It is said of Abraham in Gen. 15: 12, when he had a vision, "Behold terror and great darkness fell upon him." Balaam, when the Spirit seizes him, falls to the ground, Num. 24: 4. So Ezekiel, 1: 28; and John, Rev. 1: 17. Daniel (10: 8—10) after having seen a vision is entirely deprived of strength and sinks down with faintness; c. 8: 27, he is sick many days in consequence of the struggle which he had. Sometimes the internal struggle of the divinity with humanity was so great, that the prophets tore off their clothes from their bodies. Comp. 1 Sam. 19: 24, where it is said of Saul, that even he, no less than the other prophets, stripped off his clothes, fell upon the ground, and prophesied. The unusualness of the prophetic condition appears also from the fact, that unbelievers supposed the prophets to be insane. Thus, in 2 Kings 9: 11, the courtiers say to Jehu, when a prophet had been with him: "Wherefore came this mad fellow (מְצֻנֵן) to thee?" Compare a perfectly similar passage in Jer. 29: 26. That the prophetic condition made itself known externally as one entirely different from what was usual, appears from the narration in 1 Sam. c. 10. To Saul it is said in verse 6, "The Spirit of the Lord shall come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them." And in verse 11, as Saul prophesied among the prophets, all who knew him before said with aston-

* *ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι ἐλάλησαν ἄγιοι θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι*, 2 Pet. 1: 21.

† Crusius justly regards the fact, that the condition of the prophets while uttering their prophecies was extraordinary, and not the usual, permanent one, as the occasion of their so frequently repeating the formula, "Thus saith the Lord;" while the apostles, whose divine illumination was a permanent one, connected with intelligent consciousness, use it but seldom, and only when they wish to distinguish their own advice from the commandments of the Lord; as 1 Cor. 7: 10.—*Theol. proph.* I. p. 94.

ishment : "What has happened to the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets?" There must therefore have been something more remarkable in respect to Saul, than that he joined in the songs of the disciples of the prophets.

There can, then, be no doubt that the Hebrew prophets, as well as the heathen diviners, were in an ecstasy. Indeed the Seventy use this very term (*ἔκστασις*) in Gen. 15: 12. There occur in the New Testament designations which are at least entirely correspondent. Christ and the apostles very often say, the prophets spoke *ἐν πνεύματι*, i. e. in spirit; and in like manner John, Rev. 1: 10 and 4: 2, designates the ecstasy which he had by the words *ἔγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι*, i. e. I was in the spirit.

Accordingly, we may apply to the true prophets what Plato enlarges upon in *Ion* and *Phaedrus*; namely, that with prophesy there is necessarily connected the suppression of human activity and intelligent consciousness. But the nature of the prophetic condition is very appropriately described by Philo: "While the mind sheds its light around us, pouring into our souls a meridian splendour, we, being in possession of ourselves, are not under a supernatural influence. But after the sun has gone down, as might be expected, an ecstasy, a divine influence, and a phrensy falls upon us. For when the divine light shines, the human goes down; but when the former goes down, the latter rises and comes forth. This is what ordinarily happens in prophecy. Our own mind retires on the advent of the divine spirit; but after the latter has departed, the former again returns. For it is not becoming, that the mortal and immortal should dwell together. Consequently, the retirement of reason and the darkness connected with it, is followed by an ecstasy and a divine phrensy."*

* *Quis rerum div. sit Haeres*, p. 404. ed. Hoesch. "Ἐως μὲν ἔτι περιλάμπει καὶ περιπολεῖ ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς, μεσημβρινὸν οἷα γέγγος εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναχέων, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ὄντες οὐ κατεχομεθα· ἐπειδὰν δὲ πρὸς δυσμὰς γένηται, κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἔκστασις καὶ ἡ ἔνθεος ἐπιπίπτει κατοικωχὴ τε καὶ μανία. "Ὅτε μὲν γὰρ αὖθις ἐπιλάμπει τὸ θεῖον, δύεται τὸ ἀνθρώπινον· ὅτε δὲ ἐκεῖνο δύει, τοῦτ' ἀνίσχει καὶ ἀνατέλλει· τῇ δὲ προφητικῇ γένει αἰλεῖ τοῦτο συμβαίνει· ἐξοικίζεται γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ νοῦς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος ἄφαιξιν· κατὰ δὲ τὴν μετανάστασιν αὐτοῦ πάλιν εἰσοικίζεται· θῆμις γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι θνητὸν ἀθανάτῳ συνοικῆσαι· διὰ τοῦτο ἡ δύσις τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν σκότος, ἔκστασιν καὶ θεοφόρητον μανίαν ἐγέννησε.

But as we have now found that the distinction given by the church fathers between true and false prophecy is without foundation, the question arises, Wherein does it consist? Tertulian already distinguishes between *ἔκστασις* and *μανία*, *furor*, and attributes the last to the false prophets. This is correct. The real prophets were truly elevated to a higher region. With their intelligent consciousness were removed also the inferior qualities of the mind. Their capacity for perceiving divine objects was freed from its earthly fetters, and thus adapted, like a pure mirror, to receive the impressions of divine truth. The extraordinary corporeal state which accompanied the ecstasy, resulted only from the contest of humanity struggling with divinity. This contest terminated in the triumph of the latter over the former, and in a condition of quietness. In the case of the heathen seers, on the contrary, though indeed the ecstasy consisted in the suppression of intelligent consciousness, yet this happened only from the circumstance, that the inferior part of the soul was excited to a contest against the superior. The object of this contest was not quietness; but the more that unquietness was awakened, and the higher the feelings were excited, and the more strongly the passions were agitated; so much the more divine the condition was supposed to be.* At last, resort was had to a multitude of narcotic means.† The condition of the prophets was a *supernatural* one; the condition of the heathen seers was an *un-natural* one, a momentary insanity. This is indicated indeed by the derivation of the Greek word *μάντις*, it being from *μαίνω*. In agreement with this, the Pythia is described by the scholiast on the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, and by Lucan: "She madly raves through the cavern, impelled by another's mind, with the fillet of the god and the garland of Phoebus shaken from her erected hair; she whirls around through the void space of the temple, turning her face in every direction; she scatters the tripods which come in her way, and is agitated with violent commotion, because she is

* "Pseudopropheticus spiritus, cum evehi nequeat supra infimam et obscuram regionem sensus et materiae, aut adtolli in serenum visionis propheticæ coelum, operam dat, ut magis atque magis confirmetur in phantasie regione. Quamobrem vates et pseudoprophetae veteres et recentiores soliti sunt, quoad ejus fieri potuit, phantasiam suam evehere." John Smith de proph.

† Comp. v. Dale, de Oraculorum ethnicorum origine atque auctoribus. p. 140 sq.

under thy angry influence, Apollo.”*—So the Cassandra of Lycophron. According to Lucian, foam stood in the mouth of the seers, their eyes rolled, their hair flowed, their whole appearance was terrific, and their motions were like those of a madman.

From the fact that the prophets, during the time of making their communications, were not in the usual condition of intelligent consciousness, but in an ecstasy, we derive now an important conclusion. All communications were made to the prophets by immediate perception, or intuitively. In the case of the apostles, the illumination of the Holy Spirit pervaded alike *all* the faculties of the mind, not excluding the activity of the understanding. But with the prophets all impressions were made upon the internal sense, which was furnished with materials by the divine Spirit, while reflexion and the external senses were at rest.

The proof of this is included in the evidence which has already been adduced to show that the prophets were in a state of ecstasy; yet we can fully make it out aside from this. We appeal, in the first place, to the important passage in Num. 12: 5—8. There the distinction is pointed out between the divine revelation which was made to Moses, and that which was made to the prophets. The destination of Moses to be the founder of an economy and the lawgiver for the same, demanded a perfectly clear and also intelligent perception. Hence, communications were made to him in plain unfigured language both internally and externally, *οὐ δι' αἰνιγμάτων*, as Philo says, i. e. not by obscure and enigmatical expressions. But to the prophets, on the contrary, as being sufficient for the design of prophecy, communications were always made in visions (וִּזְיוֹן) or in dreams, and of course always when reflexion and the external senses were at rest.†

* ——— Bacchatur demens aliena per antrum
Colla ferens, vittasque dei, Phoebaeaque sarta
Erectis discussa comis, per inania templi
Ancipiti cervice rotat, spargitque vaganti
Obstantes tripodas, magnoque exaestuat igne
Iratum te, Phoebe, ferens.—*Lucani Pharsalia*, V.

† In coincidence with this view, the older Jewish interpreters have fixed upon the distinction between the divine revelation made to Moses, and that made to the prophets: “Statuunt phantasiam ex-

all the facts, which we are about to point out as necessary consequences of it.

This characteristic of prophecy has not been *entirely* unknown to most interpreters.* Yet they have usually limited it to those parts of prophecy in which it is peculiarly evident, as Is. c. 6. Ezek. c. 1, the first part of Zechariah, and the second part of Daniel. Such portions of Scripture have, in consequence of this, been exclusively called *visions*.†

But the distinction between these and the other prophecies is untenable. The arguments which have been adduced, bear a like testimony in respect to all the prophecies; and these all exhibit, to one who correctly apprehends the facts, ample evidence that they possess the character of visions.‡

* It has been very imperfectly understood, more especially by those who have written general treatises on the hermeneutics of the prophetic writings; as Gulich, before whose *Theologia Prophetica* there is found a *Hermeneutica Sacra*, the second part of which treats *de interpretandis prophetis*;—Crusius, whose *Hypomnemata ad theol. proph.* Vol. I. contain some valuable remarks relative to this subject;—Meier, *Hermeneutik des A. T.* Bd. 2; and Pareau, *Instit. Interpr. V. T.* p. 476 sq. Anton also in the often quoted writing, *de ratione prophet. Mess. interpret.* affords little aid.—The best treatises are found in Maimonides, *Doctor perplexorum* II. 36 sqq.—in John Smith in the very valuable *Dissertatio de prophetia et prophetis*, a copy of which is inserted before Le Clerc's Commentary on the Prophets,—in Velthusen, in the estimable treatise, *De optica rerum futurarum descriptione, ad. illustr. l. Jes.* 63, reprinted in Velthusen, Kuinoel and Ruperti Commentt. Theol. VI. 75 sqq. which has been mostly followed by Ewald, David II. 356 sqq. and Jahn, Einl. II. p. 368.

† The explanation which usually follows visions belongs to the ecstasy, as much as does the vision itself. Maimonides, l. c. cap. 43, illustrates this by a comparison with a person dreaming, who in imagination, as if he were awake, relates his dream to another and explains its meaning.

‡ De Wette, after the example of many others, Einl. § 205, explains visions to be a mere arbitrary figurative dress. Gesenius (zu Jes. I. p. 253) maintains the contrary. We shall nevertheless hereafter have frequent occasion to show, what a deleterious influence has been exerted upon this commentary also, by a misapprehension of the nature of prophecy.

We now proceed to consider some properties, necessarily connected with prophecy, according to the view which we have taken of its nature.

I. No one who duly observes this characteristic of prophecy, can demand that the prophets should always represent the events which they describe, in all their connexions and relations. "The prophet," remarks Herder, "was no preacher, according to our ideas of that character; and still less an expositor of a doctrinal topic."* Such a connected and comprehensive mode of representation can be demanded only of him who teaches with an intelligent consciousness. The prophets always uttered merely that which was presented to their internal view; and that only was thus presented, which was best suited to the relations existing at the time. This is particularly observable in the prophecies which relate to the Messiah; and we have a special reference to these in this whole treatise. The prophets never present the truths which respect the Messiah in their whole compass. At one time they occupy themselves, in a special manner, with the person of the Messiah; at another they do not mention this at all, but describe only the nature of his kingdom. Not unfrequently they present the Messiah exclusively in a state of glory. Malachi leaves the first appearing of Christ, in a state of humiliation, wholly unnoticed, and says nothing respecting the interval of time between his precursor and the judgment upon Jerusalem. Often the most particular and minute circumstances are mentioned, while those far more important are passed over in silence. Frequently the happy occurrences of the future are alone presented, and again the view falls especially upon those which are adverse. Thus, e. g. Jeremiah (23: 5, 6,) connects the conversion of the first fruits of the Jews, and the general conversion which was to be expected in future time; and passes over the intermediate rejection of the greater part. So Ezek. 34: 22—30. 37: 21—28. On the contrary Malachi and Daniel represent, in a special manner, the other side of the picture, the rejection of the people, the devastation of the land and city. The prophets frequently overlook all the impediments which retard the progress of the Messiah's kingdom; and hence bring together, in one picture, its feeble commencement and its glorious completion.

To this peculiarity of prophecy, Paul seems to refer, when he

* Briefe, p. 108.

says, "We know in part and we prophesy in part."* It follows from this, that all individual prophecies ought to be regarded only as fragments; and that we then only can have a perfect picture, when we collect and unite the individual features. The ease with which we may accomplish this, is so much the greater, because we have history as a guide, to show us where each individual feature is to be arranged.

As, in modern times, the whole nature of prophecy has been misapprehended, so has also this particular characteristic of it, resulting from that nature. The attempt has been made to prove from prophecy this peculiarity, that different prophets conceived different ideas of the Messiah. Thence the conclusion has been drawn, that prophecy is of human origin. When e. g. Joel describes the nature of the Messiah's kingdom, but not the Messiah himself, it is inferred that his anticipations could have had no connexion with any particular person. When Jeremiah speaks only of a Messiah in glory, the conclusion is, that he could have had no knowledge of a suffering Messiah. The incorrectness of this manner of viewing the subject can be shown from the very position of the opponents themselves. For, were this the correct mode, it would follow that the prophets not only contradicted one another, but also themselves. Thus, e. g. in Isa. c. 2, as also in Joel, there is a description of the times of the Messiah, without any mention of the Messiah himself. On the other hand, in a prophecy connected with the former and uttered at the same time, the Messiah is expressly named (c. 4). In like manner, there are found in the second part of Isaiah's prophecy many general descriptions relative to the Messiah, intimately connected with passages which directly refer to his person, c. 53 etc. Jeremiah, in c. 31: 31 and onward, occupies himself only with the nature of the Messiah's kingdom; but on the other hand, in c. 23 and elsewhere, with the person of the Messiah. Isaiah describes to us in many places only the glorified Messiah; but in c. 53, on the contrary, he sketches a picture of him in a state of humiliation, and represents this humiliation as a source of his exaltation to glory.

In determining what were the views of a profane writer, e. g. those of Plato, we do not examine merely a single passage, but the whole of his writings taken together. Now if we treat the

* *Ἐκ μέρους γὰρ γινώσκομεν, καὶ ἐκ μέρους προφητεύομεν,*
1 Cor. 13: 9.

prophets in the same manner, it is evident, that we cannot fully understand their representations respecting the Messiah, until we have brought together into *one* picture the various particular features which are found scattered in different places. Admitting this, it is clear, that from the fact that individual prophets leave unnoticed whole parts of the great picture, it does not follow that they were unacquainted with them. Were more prophecies of Joel preserved to us, we may suppose that the individual features would mutually supply each other, as is the case in Isaiah. Had Jeremiah prophesied under the same relations as Isaiah in the second part of his book, we should not miss in his prophecy the annunciation of a suffering Messiah.

That the view which we are opposing is untenable, appears moreover at once, from the consideration that according to it we must suppose, that to the later prophets all the earlier predictions were unknown, as likewise the popular belief of the whole nation.

The ground of the incorrect views held by modern theologians is, that the prophets are regarded too much as doctrinal teachers, and hence it is demanded of them that in every place they should bring forward the whole purport of their doctrine. But regarding them according to their true character, as *seers*, it is very natural that they should never communicate any thing more than just what they *saw*; without the least intermixture of the knowledge which they might have before acquired, while in possession of intelligent consciousness, from the revelations made to other men of God, and from the current belief of the people. The apparent argument against our position, which might be taken from the pretended use of the older prophets by the later, will be refuted in our remarks on Isaiah c. 2.

II. If the medium through which the prophets received their communications was the internal sense, then must every thing be represented to them *in the present*. This seems to explain many peculiar appearances exhibited by the prophetic writings.

1. It is not surprising, if the prophets speak of occurrences and persons which belong to the remote and even the most distant future, as they saw them present before their view; or even if they actually point to them. Thus it is said, e. g. Is. 9: 6, "A child is given, a son is born to us." He also points to the Messiah, 7: 14. 42: 1, "Behold my servant whom I preserve, my chosen in whom my soul delights." In Isaiah 45: 1—8, Cyrus makes his appearance and is addressed. Frequently a

demonstrative (*δεικτικόν*) pronoun is used instead of the name. The misapprehension of this peculiarity has led many interpreters to the false idea, that here and in other places the discourse related to persons really and externally present; and thus they have been led to erroneous interpretations.

2. Hence is explained the want of precision in the use of the tenses by the prophets. For they viewed things not in time, but in space; and consequently we can expect of them no definite designation of time. They frequently employ the first aorist or praeter, when they speak of the most remote future. The real ground of this fact has not, for the most part, been understood by the older interpreters. We find the remark almost universally made in relation to such places, that the prophet uses the praeter in order to denote the certainty of the thing. So even Vitranga, on Is. 7: 14. Still, Iken had the correct view, and his words are so well worthy of attention, that we cannot forbear to introduce them in this place: "The foundation for such an arrangement of style, I think, is rather to be sought from the manner in which revelations were made to the prophets. This was not always done by express words. They were sometimes entirely carried away by the spirit; that faculty of the mind, by the aid of which we represent things to ourselves, was rendered more acute, so that the hidden events of future time, presented to their view like a picture, could not be otherwise contemplated than as if they saw them with their eyes. Hence they could not but use the present or past tense, since the natural order of speaking demanded it."*

3. From the same cause must the distance of time generally remain unknown to the prophets, unless it was communicated by special divine revelation. They were rather describers of pictures, than chronological historians. If, e. g. they saw the Messiah standing before them, how could they know the length of time which must elapse before his actual appearance? The fol-

* "Fundamentum talis styli dispositionis ex modo, quo propheta futura revelabantur, repetendum potius censeo. Non semper illud fiebat expressis verbis. Toti interdum corripiebantur spiritu; facultas mentis, cujus ope res nobis repraesentamus, in iis acuebatur, ita ut recondita futuri temporis fata in imagine quasi ipsis exhibita non aliter contemplarentur, acsi oculis ea cernerent. Hinc non potuerunt non praesenti aut praeterito tempore uti, cum naturalis dicendi ordo id flagitaret." On Isa. c. 53, in the *Bibl. Hag.* II. 238 sqq.

lowing passage from Crusius contains a happy illustration of this point :* “ The prophets by means of the divine light with which they were illuminated, often looked forward to the future, in a manner similar to that in which we view the starry heavens. For we see stars above us, but what the distance between us and them is, or which are the nearer, and which the more remote, we are unable to perceive.” Hence, when the prophets speak of the times of the Messiah, they employ designations of time which are entirely indefinite. E. g.—בְּאַחֶרֶת הַיָּמִים the usual expression, which only signifies *in time to come*. Indeed, they say expressly, that the time is not known to them, but to God only. Thus Zech. 14: 7. Hence is explained the characteristic peculiarity of prophecy, without a knowledge of which a great part of the prophetic writings must be misunderstood, viz. that occurrences which are separated from each other by a wide interval of time, often appear as *continuous*. To the view of the prophets, events could be given only in the relation of *juxta-position*, not in that of *succession*. We will illustrate this by some examples. The city of Babylon received its first shock in the conquest of the Persians; but more than a thousand years elapsed before its entire fall and traceless ruin. Yet Jeremiah, in c. 50 and 51, connects together the conquest and the complete destruction, without taking any notice at all that they were successive. In the prophecies which relate to the theocracy, the nearer and smaller blessings, or the nearer and smaller judgments of the future, according as the spiritual eye of the prophet is directed to the prosperous or adverse side of the picture, are, in the representation, usually connected with the more remote and greater blessings or judgments, in such a manner that the great interval of time lying between, is not at all intimated. The connexion in this case always depends upon the internal relation of the nearer and more remote events. Thus Isaiah, in c. 11, makes the deliverance which was to be effected by the Messiah, immediately follow the deliverance of the Jewish people from the yoke of the Assyrians, and passes over all the intermediate occurrences in silence. In like manner, Isaiah, Micah, Hosea,

* Prophetæ divina luce, qua illuminantur, ad futura plerumque prospexerunt, quemadmodum fit, quando coelum stelliferum intuemur. Videmus enim supra nos sidera; quanto a nobis intervallo absint, nec non quæ propius, quæ remotius distent, non item animadvertimus.—*Theol. proph.* I. p. 622.

Amos, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah, very frequently connect the deliverance from exile with that which was to be obtained through the Messiah; although no prophet ever expresses the idea, that the Messiah will be the leader of those who return from exile. With Zechariah, who lived after the exile, the scene was changed. In his prophecy, the spiritual salvation of the Jews in the more distant future is connected with their temporal deliverance in the nearer, partly under Alexander, and partly in the time of the Maccabees. In the description which is given of the Messiah's kingdom, there is no notice taken of its successive developments in time; its commencement and its glorious consummation are immediately connected with one another. Thus, e. g. Zechariah, in c. 9: 9, 10, introduces the description of the glorious completion of the Messiah's kingdom immediately after the description of his appearing in a state of humiliation. Joel, in c. 3, does not distinguish between the effusion of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, and its general effusion in after times.

Not unfrequently, instead of events being presented in juxtaposition, they appear as *blended together*; just as when the view is directed to a distance, objects flow into one another, and those seem to be connected which are in reality far apart. This observation throws much light especially upon the second part of Isaiah. There, very frequently, the deliverance from exile, and the deliverance to be procured through Christ, appear in juxtaposition; but in many representations they both come together before the eye of the prophet, now with a preponderance of the one, then with a preponderance of the other. Thus also not unfrequently, all the judgments of the future come together in one view; the foreground and the background are blended together.*

The misapprehension of these peculiarities in the mode in which communications were made by the prophets, has been the source of many errors. The fact, that the prophets frequently placed those events in immediate succession, which were connected by some internal relation, though far apart in point of time, was not understood; and hence, prophecies which belonged together were violently torn asunder.

By others, the fact, that events very widely remote from each other, are presented as proximate or as blended together, is used

* "Quemadmodum simili fallacia optica longissime distans turris domus propinque tecto incumbere aut lunae discus montibus nemoribusque contiguus videtur." Velthusen l. c. p. 89.

as an argument against the divine origin of prophecy. But this is entirely unjust; for if the nature of prophecy is such as has been described, it does not imply a *false* view, but only a *limited* one. Had a prophet foretold that Christ would appear after a definite number of years, and the event had shown the prediction to be erroneous, it evidently could not have been from God. But if, according to the nature of the prophet's view, he spoke *in general*, avoiding all limitation of time and making no pretensions to such limitation; then, one can hence derive as little ground for objecting to the divine origin of prophecy, as he could from the fact, that not every individual prophet has foreseen every individual event of the future.

Others still, who acknowledge the divine origin of prophecy, have been led, by that blending of events which is found in the prophetic writings, to other false assumptions. Proceeding upon the principle that each representation must necessarily relate only to one and the same time, or to one and the same subject, they seek to remove, by forced interpretation, every thing which does not agree with this principle. Jahn has very often been guilty of this last fault. Compare his exhibition of the contents of the prophetic books, in his Introduction to the Old Testament. Or they suffer themselves, by this peculiarity, and another hereafter to be considered, arising from the predominance of figures in the prophetic vision, to be misled to the unnatural assumption of a *double sense*, which affords most ample room for arbitrary interpretation.

That the prophets themselves understood this peculiarity of their prophecies, appears from their so frequently comparing themselves to watchmen, who from a high watch-tower survey the region around, and give notice of approaching friends or enemies. Compare the passages in Micah 7: 4. Jer. 6: 17. Ezek. 3: 17. 33: 1—9, with 2 Sam. 13: 34. 18: 24—27. 2 Kings 9: 17—20. How deeply this characteristic was founded in the very nature of prophecy, may be seen from the fact, that it obtained place even in the predictions of Christ; and the numerous misinterpretations of these have proceeded, for the most part, from ignorance of this peculiarity. Future events presented themselves to him also, as in a great picture, and consequently only in *space*, not in *time*. He describes the individual parts of this picture, viz. the destruction of Jerusalem and the judgment of the world. This he does in such a manner, that the designations of time, such as *εὐθέως* in Matt. 24: 29, relate to the succession

of objects as they are presented to the *internal view*, not as they occur in fact. The passage in 1 Pet. 1: 10—12 is replete with instruction on this point. The apostle there says, that true and divine revelations were made to the prophets by the Spirit of Christ in relation to the future, namely, respecting the sufferings of the Lord and the glory that should follow. Still they strove in vain to discover the time when the events predicted by them should occur; and in this respect they stand far behind those who will live at the time of the fulfilment.*

We have still to answer the question, how the true succession of predicted events can be known, when they are given in prophecy merely as proximate or blended together. The means for accomplishing this were in part possessed by the prophets and their contemporaries, and partly were enjoyed for the first time by those living at a later period. They are the following.

1. Not unfrequently the prophets themselves received extraordinary divine revelations, respecting the order of time in which the events should occur. Thus it was revealed to the prophet Jeremiah, in an extraordinary manner, that the Babylonian exile should last seventy years. So in Joel 3: 1, the time of the Messiah is represented by means of the formula *אַחֲרֵי כֵן*, as first commencing after the deliverance from exile. Isaiah, 8: 23, [9: 1,] distinguishes two courses of time, the times before the Messiah and the times of the Messiah. In like manner, Daniel gives the time which should elapse between the deliverance from exile and the commencement of the Messiah's kingdom, but still, (a circumstance which ought to be well observed,) in so obscure a manner, that contemporaries could ascertain nothing more from it than the mere *succession* of the events; while it was reserved for those who lived after the fulfilment, to acquire more definite information on the subject. So also Christ, having in the first place described the two future events brought to view in Matt. 24: 34—36, (where the antithesis between *πάντα ταῦτα* and *τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλθίνης* ought to be carefully noted,) without any reference to their distance in point of time—events which were connected only by the internal relation of analogy,—goes on to distinguish them from one another, and says that the former, the destruction of Jerusalem, will take place before the eyes of the present generation; the latter, in some unknown, but remote pe-

* Compare on this subject the treatise of Kleuker, *De nezu inter utrumque foedus propheticum*. Helmst. 1791.

riod of futurity.—Aided by such examples in the determination of time, one might, without serious difficulty, even in those prophetic representations where there is no such determination, change the mere juxta-position of events into a *succession*; though indeed the distance of the time might still remain unsettled.

2. The objects of prophecy in cases where there is a blending of events, might easily be separated by a comparison with other passages, where the events which are here united together appear in a state of distinct separation. Thus in the second part of Isaiah, we need only to single out those passages in which the deliverance to be effected by Cyrus, and those in which the deliverance to be accomplished through Christ, were presented to the eye of the prophet separately from one another. Would we compare now these passages with those where the same events are mingled together, we should find that the separation of the objects in these latter would not be very difficult.

3. Not unfrequently is the real succession of the events predicted by the prophets, made known by this, that instead of taking their position in the real present, and thence looking out upon the future, as is usually the case, they place themselves in the nearer future, as a present, and thence view the more remote future.* Thus, e. g. Isaiah, in his second part, takes his position almost universally in the Babylonish exile. So in c. 53, he takes it *between* the sufferings and the glorification of the Messiah; because Christ's sufferings were to be represented as the conditional ground of his glorification. Accordingly, his sufferings are expressed in general by the *praeter*, and his glorification by the *future*.

4. But by far the most certain means for determining the order and distance of time, was the fulfilment. As it respects the prophecies which refer to the Messiah, this means afforded an important advantage even before the time of his advent. Very often the deliverance from exile forms a juxta-position or also a blending of events, with the deliverance through Christ. Now when the first of these had taken place, one could distinguish with certainty that part of the prophecy which related to it, from that which referred to the last. Accordingly, we find that with the prophets who lived after the exile, the annunciation of a Messiah became more clear and disencumbered, than it was with those who lived before. This means assumed a still higher importance at the time of Christ's appearing. We have seen, that

* Comp. Vol. I. p. 706 sq. of this work.

in the prophets the appearing of Christ in a humble condition, and the final splendour of his kingdom, are not separated in point of time. But now, after the former event had actually taken place, this separation might be made.—In like manner, the predictions of Christ himself must have received an important accession of clearness, after the first object of them, the destruction of Jerusalem, had become a historical fact.

III. If the prophets received all their communications respecting the future in mental vision, it follows that these must have been given by images or pictures; for all immediate knowledge is an image or picture, while abstract ideas belong only to knowledge obtained in a different way. But the images under which the future presented itself to the prophets, must have lain within the circle of their ideas, and must have been taken from the relations under which they lived. For, in the first place, God does not operate upon the mind of those to whom he communicates himself, magically, but in a manner adapted to their peculiar capacities and knowledge; and, in the second place, if prophecies had been composed of unknown images, they would have failed of their design,—they would have been wholly unintelligible.

Now, applying this to the predictions which relate to the Messiah, we see it to be a fact necessarily founded in the nature of prophecy, that the kingdom of the Messiah is represented under images taken from the earlier theocracy; and that the things as well as the persons of the former, are directly designated by the names of those things and persons of the latter, which are connected with them by an internal resemblance. This mode of representation has a deeper ground still, in the fact, that the Mosaic economy was arranged with distinct reference to that which was to be established by Christ, and prefigured it. With respect to the office of prophet, king, and high priest, Eusebius has made the same remark in his Ecclesiastical History, where he has pursued the subject in detail. He expresses the result in the following words: “All these have reference to the true Christ, the divine and heavenly Word, who alone is the high priest of all, the only king of all creation, and, of all prophets, the only high prophet of the Father.”*

* Ὡς τοὺτους ἅπαντας τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ Χριστὸν, τὸν ἔν-
θεον καὶ οὐράνιον λόγον ἀναφορὰν ἔχειν· μόνον ἀρχιερεῖα τῶν
ὅλων, καὶ μόνον ἀπάσης τῆς κτίσεως βασιλέα, καὶ μόνον προ-
φητῶν ἀρχιπροφήτην τοῦ πατρὸς τυγχάνοντα.—Hist. Eccl. I. 3.

We will now illustrate what has been said, by examples. So far as the Messiah's person is concerned, the theocracy existing at the time of the prophets afforded them a threefold ground or substratum, to which they might in every case superadd those features in which the original differed from the type. The Messiah appears to them as an exalted *king*. Hence, they interweave all the characteristics peculiar to him, in the picture of a distinguished prince of the earthly theocracy, whose glory was only a faint image of that which should distinguish his great successor. Comp. e. g. Micah c. 5. Isa. c. 11. Jeremiah c. 23. Indeed, they directly apply to him the name of David, inasmuch as the latter corresponded the most nearly to the idea of the typified king. Comp. Hosea 3: 5. Jeremiah 30: 9. Ezek. 34: 23.—Again the Messiah appears to them as a *prophet*, endowed with the fulness of the divine Spirit, who, perfectly realizing the idea of the prophetic office, should teach, admonish, and rebuke among all the people of the earth, and not, like the typical prophets, be confined within the narrow limits of Palestine. Comp. Isa. c. 42, c. 49, and other places.—Finally, the Messiah appears to them as a *high priest*, who should in reality procure the forgiveness of sins, which the high priest of the Old Testament merely symbolized. Ps. 110. Zech. c. 6. Isa. c. 53.

But as the Messiah is represented to be the most exalted prophet, high priest, and king; so also his kingdom is exhibited, not as something dis severed from the theocracy and diverse from it, but as the highest perfection of the theocracy. Jerusalem or Zion, as the ancient seat of the theocracy, often serves as a designation of the Messiah's kingdom. Thus Joel, in c. 2: 32, expresses the idea, that the members of the theocracy only should be saved in the terrible judgment which impended, by the following words: "In Mount Zion and Jerusalem there shall be deliverance." The future triumph of the theocracy over all the heathen religions, was presented to the view of Isaiah, Micah, and Ezekiel, as an elevation of the mountain on which the temple was built, above all other mountains. The future reception of the heathen into the theocracy, appears to Isaiah as a *flowing* to Mount Zion; to Jeremiah c. 33: 9 sq. as a great enlargement of Jerusalem.

A similar mode of representation is also found in respect to all the particular features. The universality of the Spirit's operations in the times of the Messiah, appears to Joel as a general extension of the three forms of divine revelation which occur in

the Old Testament. The idea, that all nations will worship the true God in the times of the Messiah, Zechariah expresses by the declaration that they will participate in the feast of tabernacles. The perfect love and fidelity of God's people to him, appears to the view of Hosea, c. 2 and 14, of Micah c. 5, and of Zechariah c. 13, as the removal of that, which in the earlier theocracy in general, or just at the time of the prophet, disturbed the relation of the people to their God, viz. the worship of Baal, or idolatry in general, the seeking of aid from the Assyrians and the Egyptians, the listening to false prophets, etc.

In representing the glory and happiness of the Messiah's days, the prophets employ the prosperous times of the theocracy under David and Solomon as the substratum. Comp. e. g. Hos. 2: 20. Jer. 23: 6. Micah 4: 1 and Zech. 3: 10, with 1 Kings 4: 24. The general truth, that peace and love should prevail among the people themselves when they should have found reconciliation with God, is exhibited to the view of the prophets, as the termination of the unhappy schism under the old theocracy, the separation of the two kingdoms, Israel and Judah. Comp. Hosea 2: 2. [1: 11.] Isa. 11: 13. The enemies of the Messiah's kingdom are not only called by the general name given to the enemies of the earlier theocracy, viz. גִּוִּים, but they often bear directly the name of some one people who were at that time peculiarly inimical or peculiarly powerful, and who, in the vision of the prophets, immediately represented those enemies. Thus they appear, in Isa. c. 25, under the name of Moab,—in Isaiah c. 63 and Amos 9:12 under the name of Edom,—in Ezekiel c. 38, under the name Magog. These examples, which might easily be augmented by many others, are sufficient for the illustration of our views.

This peculiarity of the prophetic writings has been variously misapprehended. But here particularly two opposite modes of error are to be remarked. The first has been pursued by the carnal Jewish interpreters; and most rationalist interpreters, led indeed by different motives, have trodden in their steps. These either entirely mistake the figurative character of the prophecies, or they adhere strictly to the literal sense in all cases where they can by that means obtain a result adapted to confirm their preconceived opinions, without regard to any principles of hermeneutics. The prevailing interest here is, with the Jews, a positive, but with these modern critics a negative one. To some extent, the same error has been committed by those orthodox

interpreters, who adhere closely to the literal acceptation of that part of prophecy which is yet unfulfilled. This view has always had, and has at present, many adherents in England, and is defended by not a few even in Germany, especially in Würtemberg.

In the other mode of error, those are to be found who cause the *substance* of prophecy to evaporate, by giving an excessive prominence to its *figurative* character. They thus destroy the real contents of prophecy. This method of interpretation is followed by many of the rationalist interpreters; and while it is the object of those who adhere to the former method, to point out an opposition between the Old Testament and the New, it is the preponderating interest with these, by means of extreme generalization, to set aside the agreement which prophecy, when correctly understood, has with the fulfilment.* Not unfrequently we see even the same interpreter following both methods of interpretation, just as it may suit his convenience.—Among those who follow the latter error, we may also, to some extent, reckon such of the orthodox as, through disbelief perhaps in all that is said respecting the appearing of Christ in a state of humiliation, endeavour to set aside the reality which lies at the foundation, and so explain every thing said by the prophets about the future glory of God's kingdom, as to leave nothing but the shell without the kernel.†

Having now shown that the figurative character of prophecy in general is necessarily founded in its essential nature, we must, in order to avoid the errors aforementioned, endeavour to establish certain rules by which we can determine the limits between figure and reality.

1. Where the fulfilment can already be compared with the

* Comp. e. g. Meier's *Hermeneutik des A. T. Th. II.*

† Crusius, in his *Theol. Proph. I. p. 632*, remarks against such interpreters: "Quamquam autem sic in dogmatibus fidei et morum orthodoxiam retinent, errore tamen exegetico decipiuntur, qui magni profecto momenti est. Nam qui ita sentiunt, coguntur scripturas tam coacte interpretari, ut quando simili licentia Judaei utuntur, hos refutare non possint, sin duntaxat his eam non concedant, nec ipsi eam sibi arrogare debeant." But such interpreters are under still greater embarrassments in regard to rationalist critics, than they are in respect to the Jews. Comp. Gesenius z. *Jesaia, III. p. 22.*

prediction, we can of course make the separation with the most certainty by following its indications. But caution is necessary here, because, as we have before shown, the prophets not unfrequently represent events to be *continuous*, which are separated by a long distance of time, e. g. the feeble beginning of the Messiah's kingdom and its glorious completion. Hence, the inquiry must be very carefully made beforehand, whether a prophecy is to be regarded as fulfilled in general, and how far it may be so regarded. In this respect, the information communicated in the New Testament relative to the future developement of the divine kingdom, is of the most important service. The Apocalypse especially furnishes very valuable aid; inasmuch as it takes up again those parts of the Old Testament predictions which are not yet fulfilled, and represents their fulfilment as yet to come.—But as it regards that part of prophecy whose fulfilment can be shown to have already taken place, partly by the simple comparison of prophecy with history, and partly by the declarations of Christ and the apostles; we may with perfect propriety make use of history for the purpose of separating figure from reality. Only we must in this case carefully distinguish two questions, viz. What sense *the prophets* connected with their predictions, and, What sense *God* intended in them. The fact that the prophets spoke in a state of ecstasy, so soon as it has been established, shows that these two questions are diverse. The answer to the first cannot of course be obtained in the manner proposed; nor indeed is it very important to us. For the prophets were only organs of the divine Spirit, and what they said during their ecstasy and the consequent suppression of intelligent consciousness, cannot have been accompanied either with a correct or an incorrect understanding. Hence, in this respect, they stood in the same relation to their predictions, as their hearers or their readers did; so that *their* apprehensions, as to the meaning of what they communicated, cannot determine the true sense.—But the second question may be truly answered in the way proposed. It was the same God who disclosed to the prophets a view of the future, and afterwards accomplished the fulfilment. We do not thus violate the hermeneutical principle, that we must always seek for the sense which the author himself had in view. The difference between us and our opponents, on this point, lies much more in the different answers that may be given to the question, Who is to be regarded as the proper author of the prophecies? On this ques-

tion, our opponents confine themselves to the mere human instruments, while we ascend to the divine Author.

Others, as Seiler and Jahn,* endeavour here to take a middle course by supposing a *double sense*,—the one, that which the prophets had in view,—the other, that which God had in view. But this supposition is entirely untenable, and results from confounding the subjective with the objective sense. The former is, in every writing, as manifold as its readers. The latter can be only *one*. But we can be concerned only with the latter; and we are fully authorized to seek for it by a comparison of the fulfilment, so soon as we have arrived at the conviction that the prophecy is of divine origin; and this is a conviction to which we may attain, partly by comparing the prediction with history, partly by the testimonies of the New Testament, and partly by those signs which the prophets themselves used as documents of their divine mission to their contemporaries. So long as our opponents are unable to show, (as they ever will be,) that this our conviction is unfounded, they must not call in question our right to employ history as a means of determining the sense of prophecy.

But history not only puts us into a condition to strip off the figurative and theocratic dress from prophecy, but it often leads us right, where, if we were without its aid and confined to prophecy merely, we should be inclined to carry out the figurative too far. Thus, e. g. in Psalm 22, we might take the parting of the garments, the perforation of the hands and feet, etc. as a mere embellishment, were not these very circumstances to be found in the history of Christ. So we should regard the riding of the Messiah upon an ass, described in Zech. c. 9, as a mere figurative indication of his meekness, humility, and pacific character, if history did not refer us to an action emblematical of these qualities. In like manner, we should understand the reward of the thirty pieces of silver, mentioned in Zech. c. 11, only in general, as indicating the small success of the Messiah's efforts among the Jewish people. And so in many other cases.

Moreover, for determining the limits between figure and reality, there are not wanting marks in the prophecies themselves, which of course were already in the possession of the prophets and their contemporaries; though the want of the principal means, the fulfilment, must often have rendered such determin-

* Einl. ins. A. T. II. p. 373 sq.

ation more difficult to them. These marks we have yet to exhibit.

2. Those representations of the future are to be understood figuratively, in which there is a distinct reference to earlier occurrences in the history of the Israelites. Here we are always to take only the general, fundamental idea which forms the relation of the future to the past event. This may be exemplified by Isa. 11: 15, 16, where it is said: The Lord, in effecting a new deliverance for the Israelites, will dry up the Arabian Gulf, and divide the Nile into seven streams, so that one may pass over dry-shod. All that is real here, is merely the deliverance of the covenant people, which was presented to the view of the prophet under the figure of the earlier deliverance from Egypt. So also in Zech. 10: 11. Hosea, in c. 2: 16, 17, [2: 14, 15,] says with respect to the deliverance of the Israelites: God will lead them into the desert, there he will speak kindly with them, then he will conduct them into the land of Canaan, and first indeed into the fruitful valley of Achor. But here of course it is acknowledged, that the prophet wishes to express by this picture taken from the earlier history of the Israelites, nothing more than the idea, that the Israelites would in the first place be delivered from their sufferings by the hand of God, and then be refreshed and crowned with rich blessings. Comp. Is. 4: 5. 12: 3.

3. We are also obliged to understand numerous other passages figuratively, if we will not make the prophets plainly contradict themselves. Should we, for instance, as many cabalists have done,* understand literally those passages in which the prophets directly call the Messiah, king David, and should ascribe to them the following sense: David will arise from the dead and receive the kingdom,—we should bring this passage into contradiction with others in which the Messiah is designated as the offspring or son of David. Were we to put a literal construction upon the passage in Jer. 33: 18, and make it express the continuance of the Levitical priesthood and the sacrificial service; it would then stand in contrariety with c. 31: 31, which teaches that, in the time of the Messiah, all will stand in an immediate relation to God; also with c. 3: 16, according to which the Levitical worship should cease. And besides, the literal construction of this passage is shown to be incorrect by passages which occur in the other prophets, and by other reasons for the figura-

* Compare Gläserer, *De gemino Jud. Messia*, p. 52.

tive sense, which are to be brought forward in their place. This ground is peculiarly valid against those, who are disposed to give a literal construction to such passages as speak of wars and victories of the theocracy in the times of the Messiah. In numerous places the prophets give a special prominence to the idea, that the kingdom of the Messiah will be a kingdom of peace, with which all the heathen nations will, through the divine influence, become voluntarily incorporated. If now the same prophets, who describe the kingdom of the Messiah as being entirely a peaceful one, still speak of wars and victories of the theocracy, their language must necessarily, in the one case, be figurative.* In such cases, the figurative language is always to be sought on the side where, considering the customary use of figurative language by the prophets, there appears to have been an occasion for it.

4. Other passages carry the evidence with themselves that they ought not to be taken otherwise than figuratively. Thus, even leaving history and the clear testimony of Christ out of view, we cannot, with the older Jews,† and some modern critics, as Bauer and Baumgarten-Crusius,‡ understand the prophet Elias, whose appearance is announced by Malachi, to be the real Elias; but we are compelled to regard him merely as a prophet similar to Elias. For we cannot be justified in charging upon the prophet so absurd a conception as this, until it can be shown, that the most certain analogies, e. g. the generally acknowledged metaphorical use of the name David, may not be adduced for a similar figurative representation.—In like manner, the literal acceptance of Is. 53: 12 appears inadmissible; because worldly triumphs are not obtained by the deepest humiliation, and worldly rulers do not bestow upon their subjects justification and the forgiveness of sins.—In the last eight chapters of Ezekiel, the literal construction appears, at the first view, to have much in its favour; and yet many passages occur in them which can by no means be understood otherwise than figuratively, and which then give a clew to the correct apprehension of the whole. Here belongs especially the passage in c. 47: 1—12. A great stream of water of unfathomable depth was to

* Comp. e. g. Is. c. 11, with c. 9, and other passages.

† Comp. the passages in Lightfoot on Matt. 17: 10. Eisenmenger II. p. 696 sq. Gläserer l. c. p. 67 sq.

‡ Bibl. Theol. p. 131.

flow out from the temple. This stream was to restore the waters of the Dead Sea, and spread life wherever it should come. Only the pools and puddles which did not receive its waters, were to remain unhealthy. Now who, that has only a limited acquaintance with the figurative language of the Old Testament, can well avoid perceiving in this a representation of the operations of the Holy Spirit, as they were to be exhibited in the time of Christ. The same principle holds good in relation to the similar figurative representation in Zech. 14: 10.—That, in Is. c. 34 and c. 63, Edom serves only as a designation of the enemies of the theocracy, appears incontrovertibly from the context; for the judgment announced is represented as one which will extend over all the people of the earth.

5. In distinguishing figure from reality, we are not to leave out of view the character of each individual prophet. It is very evident that, although all the prophets behold the truth in figures, yet with one the imagery has far more of reality, and the figurative dress is much more transparent, than with another. Even in the case of each individual prophet, there is observable in this respect an important difference, according as his own agency was more suppressed at one time, than at another. Many learned Jews have already observed this, and have endeavoured to make a classification of the prophets accordingly.* There would be e. g. far stronger reasons in favour of giving a construction as literal as possible to a representation in Isaiah, similar to that found in Ezek. 40—48, than there are in Ezekiel.

6. Not unfrequently the attention is expressly directed to the figurative character of the representation, and to the reality which lies at the foundation of the figure. Thus Zechariah, in c. 10: 11, explains the figurative expression, “they shall pass through the sea,” taken from the deliverance out of Egypt, by the epexegesis, “trouble.” In Psalm 110: 3, the language cannot relate to temporal wars, because the Psalmist represents the warriors in holy attire. The passage in Ps. 45: 2, cannot be understood of corporeal beauty; because this beauty is represented as a ground of the divine blessing.

7. As it respects those predictions whose fulfilment is yet to come, the limits between figure and reality are always to be determined according to the analogy of faith. As the same God, who spoke by the prophets, spoke also by the authors of the

* Comp. John Smith l. c. Maimonides l. c. cap. 45.

New Testament, there can be no contradiction between the two. It is on this ground, as Theodoret* has very clearly shown, and as we shall demonstrate in the proper place, that that explanation of yet unfulfilled predictions is to be rejected, which finds in them, through a false literal construction, the doctrine of future prerogatives of the Jewish people, the rebuilding of the temple, and the re-establishment of the Levitical worship.—Still this ground of determining the limits between figure and reality, must be used with caution, and not until after a strict examination of the doctrines contained in the New Testament. It is very obvious that it has been greatly abused. Those are guilty of this abuse, who, with an entire misapprehension of the reality which lies at the foundation of the figure, explain spiritually every thing in the prophecies relating to the external, prosperous condition of the divine kingdom; and who rest upon the pretext that the kingdom of Christ is spiritual, because they do not make the distinction between the kingdom of grace and the kingdom of glory; which last, according to the New Testament as well as the Old, was to be established upon the earth.

8. As the prophets and their contemporaries were not always put in a condition, by the marks that were given, fully to distinguish figure from reality, so we also, in respect to predictions whose fulfilment is yet to take place, are not always in a condition to make this distinction with certainty. Here it is necessary that we should not go farther with our conclusions, than the evidences will warrant. As, in respect to that part of prophecy which has hitherto been fulfilled, history has shown that much, which, without its aid, seemed to be figurative, was real; and that other parts, which had appeared to be real, were only figurative; so we must wait, in many cases, in respect to that part which is yet unfulfilled, for the separation to be made by history.

IV. A necessary consequence of the condition in which the prophets delivered their predictions, as we have represented it, is the obscurity of the latter when viewed in themselves and aside from their fulfilment. This obscurity, however, is to be regarded only as a relative one. It is the result of the three peculiarities already specified.

1. The prophets had clear views only of individual parts of the great whole of the future. Their predictions must be arranged together, and the fragments be collected into one whole,

* On Ezek. c. 48. Opp. ed. Hal. II. p. 1045 sq.

if the prophecy and the fulfilment are to correspond to each other. This is not difficult for us ; inasmuch as history shows us where each individual feature must be arranged ; and even those who lived before the fulfilment, were not, as we have seen, destitute of all the means for this arrangement. Yet it must have been much more difficult to them, and even the prophets themselves might often mistake. That e. g. the reconciliation of passages which announce a Messiah in glory, with those which exhibit him in a state of humiliation, imposed a difficulty upon those who did not enjoy the light afforded by the fulfilment, we see from the fact that, on this account, the Jews conceived the fiction of a double Messiah.

2. But still more was obscurity produced by the fact, that the prophets viewed the future only in space, not in time, and that hence, near and remote events similar to each other, were not unfrequently presented to the view of the prophets as contiguous, or even lying one upon another. In this case, indeed, even before the fulfilment, a combination of various evidences might afford not a little light ; still it must have been very difficult always to find these evidences ; and there was a great liability to err. E. g. had the prophets themselves after having recovered from their ecstasy, or their contemporaries, or their near successors, attempted to come to some conclusion as to the meaning of those predictions in which deliverance from the Babylonish exile, and the deliverance to be effected by Christ, appear as *continuous*, they might have easily supposed that both events were to be historically connected. How readily this idea might suggest itself, we see from Malachi 2: 17. It appears from this passage, that the Jews in exile had firmly held the idea, that they should be delivered from this exile by the Messiah, and be raised to a high state of prosperity ; and that disappointment in this hope excited the carnal part of the people to murmuring. The fact that the feeble commencement and the glorious completion of the Messiah's kingdom were joined together in the prophecies, caused both John the Baptist and the apostles themselves to imagine, that the establishment of Christ's visible kingdom must be intimately connected with his appearing.

3. But a still more important cause of obscurity was the figurative character of the prophecies. We have seen indeed that, even without the aid of the fulfilment, there are not wanting marks for distinguishing figure from reality. But yet, it must be very difficult, and often impossible, to carry out this distinction

into particulars. The prophets, and others belonging to the Old Testament times, stood in the same relation to the predictions of that period, as we do to those which relate to the future development of the divine kingdom,—namely, to the Apocalypse. Although we are acquainted with the figurative character of this book, yet it is often impossible to distinguish in particulars, what is reality, and what is figure, and designed merely for embellishment. The figurative character of the prophecies must have produced still greater mistakes, when the difficulty of a correct apprehension, as it exists in itself, was augmented by bringing to the business of interpretation a carnal disposition, connected with the wish that certain favourite objects of hope might be found expressed in the predictions. The carnal, national pride of the Jews led them to despise all the means for coming to a correct apprehension, which were at their command; and thus they brought together out of the prophecies, by a literal construction of the theocratic figures, their carnal notions of the Messiah and his kingdom.

That this relative obscurity of prophecy was not unknown to the prophets themselves, appears from many of their expressions. Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel say repeatedly, that their prophecies are unintelligible to the carnally minded portion of the people, and that they would continue to be so until they were fulfilled to the detriment of the latter. Comp. Is. 6: 9—13. 29: 10 seq. Jer. 23: 20. 30: 24. Ezek. 33: 33. Daniel and Zechariah declare in many places, that they do not understand the meaning of the visions which they had, and are first instructed in regard to the sense of them at a later period. This implies that, as it respects those visions which were followed by no explanation, like that in Ezek. c. 40—48, the sense must remain in darkness to the prophet himself. Daniel, in c. 12: 4, 9, receives a charge, to seal up a certain prediction which was wholly unintelligible to him, until the last time or the time of fulfilment, when many should come and understand it to be of great import.

But this property of the prophetic writings, is described with peculiar distinctness in the remarkable passage in 2 Pet. 1: 19—21, which serves also to confirm the whole view that we have exhibited in relation to the nature of prophecy.* In what precedes, Peter had appealed, in order to prove the truth of Chris-

* Compare upon this point the excellent treatise of Knapp, the first in his *Opuscula*.

tianity, to historical matters of fact which were sufficiently accredited. He then, in this place, appeals for a second proof, to the whole contents of the predictions in the Old Testament relating to the Messiah, which now in consequence of the fulfilment had attained to clearness and certainty; whereas hitherto, before the clear light of the fulfilment shone upon them, they resembled a faintly burning taper, that could only poorly and imperfectly enlighten the surrounding darkness. He then assigns the reason why prophecy did not have its full light, and consequently its complete utility, until after the fulfilment. The prophets themselves did not fully understand their own predictions;* inasmuch as they did not speak independently nor with intelligent consciousness, but in an ecstasy, as the mere instruments of the Holy Spirit, *ὕπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι*.

This passage is important to our purpose in a double point of view. (1.) It confirms our right, questioned indeed by our opponents, but already shown above to be well grounded, to clear up the darkness of prophecies relating to the Messiah, by the light of their fulfillment. The passage in 1 Pet. 1: 10—12, which has

* We take *ἐπίλυσις*, with Knapp, in the ordinary and established sense, *interpretation*. Steudel urges against this (in d. Weinachts-progr. von 1823 p. 26 sq.) the objection, that Peter could not justly found the proof, that the prophets did not possess the interpretation of their own communications, upon the fact that the latter were given by divine inspiration. But in saying this, the term *φερόμενοι* seems to have escaped his notice. Peter grounds his proof, not upon divine inspiration in general, but upon the *ecstasy* of the prophets, which was connected with the suppression of intelligent consciousness. Steudel, as well as Ullmann, (*Aechtheit des zweiten Briefes Petri* p. 33,) and indeed Oecumenius, wish to understand *ἐπίλυσις* as meaning *prophecy itself*; and they appeal to a passage in Philo, where the prophets are called *θεοῦ ἐρμηνεῖς*. But, supposing it to be proved that this word *might* bear such a sense in some cases, yet it could not in this, for the following reasons; first, because “interpretation” here must necessarily be referred back to *προφητεία γραφῆς*; secondly, on account of the parallel passage in the first Epistle, where likewise he is speaking of the obscurity which attended prophecy even to the prophets themselves; and finally, because a confirmation of the principal idea, *καὶ ἔχομεν βεβαιότερον τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον*, as it is furnished in vs. 20, 21, by the first mode of explanation, is far more in place, than a confirmation of the subordinate idea, *ὧ καλῶς ποιεῖτε προσέχοντες*, as it would stand in verses 20, 21, according to the second explanation.

before been quoted, coincides with the view here exhibited. In this passage it is said to have been revealed to the prophets themselves, that the perfect knowledge of what they predicted respecting the mysterious advent of the Messiah, was not to be enjoyed until the time of the fulfilment, and that the chief import of prophecy did not have regard to them or to their contemporaries, but to those who should come after them. (2.) The source of the obscurity in prophecy, and the consequent necessity of its illumination by history, is referred to the fact, that the prophets spoke in a state of ecstasy. Thus it establishes the fundamental point of our whole exhibition.

Modern critics, disdaining a comparison of the fulfilment with the prediction, have fallen back into the position of those who lived before the fulfilment, and have derived from the darkness of the prophecies, which remains only through their own fault, an argument against the divine origin of the prophetic writings. Thus Ammon remarks :* “ The following perfectly simple expressions, written down in cold historic prose, would not only bear the characteristic marks of true predictions, but, so far as they were proved to be genuine, would be of far more value to us, than all the oracles of the Old Testament taken together, viz. Israel is to expect no king, but a teacher ; this teacher will be born under Herod at Bethlehem ; he will offer up his life under Tiberius for the truth of his religion ; by the destruction of Jerusalem, and the total annihilation of the Jewish state, he will spread abroad his doctrine through all parts of the world.” But without being permitted to enter into the depths of the divine counsels, we still have sufficient grounds to be able to justify the arrangement which God has adopted, and to prove that these demands are unfounded, and incompatible with the design of prophecy.

1. It is contrary to the manner of God’s providence that he should *compel* men to believe. He conceals himself both in nature and in history, that he may be found only by those who seek him. Therefore he gave to prophecy so much clearness, that those who would not voluntarily deceive themselves, might understand its contents, so far as the latter are essential and important to their interests ; but on the contrary, so much obscurity, that those who were disinclined to the truth, should not with violence be forced to see it. One might as justly require that

* Christologie p. XII.

God should daily work miracles in order to convince those who despise his name, of their folly, as he could demand greater clearness in prophecy.

2. If prophecy had possessed the clearness of history, its fulfilment would have been impossible. Had God e. g. suffered the sentences just now mentioned, to be written down ; had the life of Christ, his rejection by the Jews and its sad consequences, the destruction of Jerusalem, been described beforehand as clearly, precisely, circumstantially, connectedly, and as easily to be understood by the carnally minded, as they are in the New Testament ; the great purpose of redemption, which required the death of Christ, could not have been accomplished. On the contrary, with the present character of the predictions relating to the Messiah, the purpose of drawing pious souls to Christ upon his appearing, was perfectly accomplished, and that without frustrating in any degree a far more elevated and important plan.

3. Besides, the obscurity spread over certain parts of prophecy, must have exerted upon believers a far better influence, than clearness would have done. If e. g. the believers of the Old Testament, who lived many centuries before the appearing of Christ, had known that his coming would have been so long delayed, how very much must their love have grown cold, and their hopes been palsied ! How could the expectation of a Messiah have been the rallying point of their whole religious life ! Had the Christians of the first century known that Christ's second coming would be delayed at least 1800 years, how much less power must this doctrine have had over them, than when they were looking for the event every hour, and were directed to watch, because it would come as a thief in the night, at an hour in which they did not expect it.

4. We have already often had occasion to remark, that a great portion of the prophecies relating to the Messiah was intended to have a present effect upon the whole people, and to keep them, even if only externally, faithful to the Lord. This object could not have been attained by a clearness in prophecy, like that in history. But it was well accomplished by an arrangement of the prophecies, in which the self-incurred misapprehension of the people should be followed by salutary consequences. The rude and sensual people possessed themselves of the shell, and believed that they had the substance itself. By this means, they contributed to the preservation of the external conditions,

under which the true contents of prophecy might afterwards be realized.

5. If the inquiry is made, what purpose is subserved by that part of prophecy which is obscure in and of itself, and not through the fault of a carnal disposition, we suggest, that the prophets, as appears from the passages of the New Testament already quoted, prophesied not merely for their contemporaries, but also for those who should live after them. For contemporaries, the perspicuous part was entirely sufficient.

We conclude with the words of the distinguished Pascal, which refer indeed to the whole of revelation, but admit of a peculiar application to prophecy :* “There is enough of light for those who wish only to see, and enough of obscurity for those who possess the opposite disposition.—There is a sufficient degree of obscurity to blind the reprobate, and enough of clearness to condemn them and render them inexcusable.—The design of God is rather to perfect the will, than the understanding. But perfect clearness would only benefit the understanding, and would be an injury to the will.—If there were no obscurity at all, man would not be sensible of his corruption. If there were no degree of light, man would have no hope of relief.—All things turn out well for the elect, even the obscurities of Scripture ; for they honour these on account of the divine splendours which they perceive there. And all things turn out ill for the reprobate, even the splendours of Scripture ; for they blaspheme these on account of the obscurities which they do not understand.”

V. It is a consequence of the condition in which the prophets made their communications, that the latter possess a dramatic character. Every thing, events as well as persons, presented

* Il y a assez de lumière pour ceux, qui ne desireroient que de voir, et assez d'obscurité pour ceux, qui ont une disposition contraire.—Il y a assez d'obscurité pour aveugler les reprovez, et assez de clarté pour les condamner et les rendre inexcusables.—Le dessein de dieu est plus de perfectionner la volonté, que l'esprit. Or, la clarté parfaite ne serviroit qu'à l'esprit, et nuiroit à la volonté.—S'il n'y avoit point d'obscurité, l'homme ne sentiroit pas sa corruption. S'il n'y avoit point de lumière, l'homme n'espereroit point de remède.—Tout tourne en bien pour les élus, jusqu' aux obscuritez de l'écriture ; car ils les honorent à cause des clartez divines, qu'ils y voyent : et tout tourne en mal aux reprovez jusqu' aux clartez ; car ils les blasphèment à cause des obscuritez, qu'ils n'entendent pas.—*Pensées sur la Religion.*

themselves to the internal view of the prophets; this is, as it were, the stage, upon which they all appeared, speaking and acting. Comp. e. g. Isa. c. 14 and c. 63. Ps. 2. This explains the frequent change of the persons speaking, sometimes with a preceding intimation of it, as in Isa. 14: 3, 4, but often without any. It also justifies the assumption, that the Messiah in many places is introduced as speaking. Comp. our remarks on Ps. 2, 16, 22. Isa. c. 42. c. 49.*

VI. Finally, from the condition of the prophets, the opinion appears to be well grounded, that the symbolic actions described by them, occurred for the most part not externally, but internally; an opinion which, as Maimonides has well observed,† is necessarily demanded by the very nature of these actions. For, as the sphere of the prophets, while they were in a state of ecstasy, was not the external but the internal world, every action performed by them, during the state of ecstasy, must necessarily be an internal one. The cases where symbolical actions can be pointed out as externally performed, are to be regarded as exceptions, in which the prophets went out of their appropriate element.‡—Compare a more extensive view of this subject in my remarks on Hosea c. 1—3.

* Gulich l. c. p. 92: "Prosopopoeiae istae apud prophetas ἀνέφαλοι sunt multae. Quia nempe ut, quum res geritur, tales sermones audiuntur vel saltem audiri possunt sine omni nomenclatore, qui indicet quis ille sit, qui loquitur, ita prophetae in visione sermones audiunt et renuntiant."

† Comp. l. c. cap. 46. He says with justice: "Absit ut deus prophetas suos stultis et ebriis similes reddat, eosque stultorum aut furiosorum actiones facere jubeat."

‡ Compare John Smith l. c. p. 14. "Prophetica scena, intra quam omnes peragebantur apparitiones, fuit ipsius prophetae phantasia, omniaque, quae deus ei revelata volebat dramatice in phantasia gererentur, ita ut plures interdum inducerentur in scenam personae, inter quas propheta partes etiam suas agebat. Itaque prout dramaticus ille apparatus postulabat, oportuit eum, ut caeteros actores partes suas agere, aliquando verbis et narratione rerum gestarum, aut propositione quaestionum, aliquando eas partes ferentem, quas jussus erat per alios agere, adeoque eum non tantum sermone, sed etiam gestibus et actionibus locum suum inter alios obtinere."

ART. VI. ON THE NECESSITY OF PHYSICAL CULTURE TO
LITERARY MEN, AND ESPECIALLY TO CLERGYMEN.DELIVERED BEFORE THE MECHANICAL ASSOCIATION OF ANDOVER THEOL. SEM.
SEPT. 27, 1831.

By Edward Reynolds, M. D. of Boston.

THE subject of this discourse has occupied the attention of so many profound minds, that it is impossible to offer any thing new. My object in addressing you is not display or amusement. The distracting cares and the numerous occupations of an arduous profession, wholly unfit me for either. I come with the simple desire to be useful; and to raise my feeble voice in behalf of a subject intimately connected with the vital interests of the church. I do it cheerfully, because I believe it to be the cause of God. I would do it solemnly, because I believe that the neglect of it is eminently calculated to retard the progress of his church; and because I fear, that the peculiar character of the age in which we live, subjects the clergy to continual temptations to such neglect.

It is emphatically an age of intellectual enterprise. The human mind seems to have awaked to a consciousness of its powers, and is beginning to put them forth in the direction for which they were created. A general desire for knowledge in the various departments of science, pervades all classes of the community. Learning, no longer confined within the walls of our seminaries and colleges, is diffusing, through the instrumentality of tracts, periodicals and lyceums, its happy influences over the mass of our population; and kindling within it new desires for intellectual improvement.

When we behold the mighty efforts which this thirst for knowledge has already created, and trace the footsteps of improvement, from the infant school up to our highest seminaries of learning; when we see it accumulating such ample provisions for the highest intellect, and descending in kind simplicity to the wants of the humblest minds; we are cheered by the prospect, and may be almost pardoned for the feeling, that we are approaching—perhaps have already reached—that long expected hour, predicted by the beloved prophet in those remarkable words, “Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.”

It is also emphatically an age of religious enterprise. The church and the world are animated with the same spirit of advancement. ONWARD is the watchword of all her true children. With a more realizing sense of her solemn responsibilities, she is putting forth new exertions in behalf of a perishing world. Under her happy auspices, old systems of error in the moral and political heavens are rapidly crumbling away; ancient landmarks of oppression have disappeared. Guided by her sacred torch, liberty, rational and Christian liberty, is lifting up her head to bless mankind. The glorious work of benevolence has been ramified into its thousand branches, until almost every physical want is provided with its appropriate remedy. Looking with the eye of faith beyond this present scene, she is making new efforts to alleviate the more urgent wants of the never-dying soul.

So much has already been effected, that even the enemies of the cross are compelled to acknowledge that its religion is indeed 'peace on earth, and good will towards men.' This vital spark of love once enkindled in the soul, is destined to burn on, until every dark corner of this fallen world shall be cheered by its light; until every enemy of God is subdued by its power; and until man has assumed that glorious rank as an intelligent, holy being, for which the Creator intended him.

To the Christian patriot, then, and especially to the Christian minister, the present is a period of deep and absorbing interest. Its intellectual and religious character imparts to it peculiarities, which distinguish it in many respects from all other times.—When he beholds the clear footsteps of God in the events of the world around him, and with unshaken faith in the promises, looks onward to the future; he feels that a high and holy trust is committed to his care; a trust demanding the most vigorous effort of all his powers. He feels that much of the hope and happiness of unborn generations may perhaps depend upon the fidelity of his exertions. Besides this, the intellectual state of society subjects him to the necessity of much deep thought, patient, severe study, and a knowledge of many branches of learning, not directly connected with his profession.

It is one of the great evils of this state of things, that the Christian minister is exposed to continual danger, that his efforts, noble and praiseworthy as they are, may occasion injury to his health, which will render them abortive. In the ardent pursuit after knowledge, he is too apt to neglect the body; and to over-

look the fact, that the mind, while united with the body, partakes of all its infirmities.

It becomes, therefore, a question of unspeakable importance, how he may be a faithful servant, and so use the mind, as to secure all its powers to the best advantage, and for the longest time, in the great work of Christian benevolence.

This can only be effected by a judicious and practical attention to physical education. Such a course must be adopted in regard to diet and exercise, as is conformable to nature ; and calculated to establish that perfect harmony of action between the body and mind, which is necessary to the health and vigour of both—in other words, such habits of life as will render learned men, healthy men.

The man whose position in society demands of him great mental effort, should make the acquisition of this knowledge one of his first lessons. Otherwise, he is continually exposed to dangers, which may, sooner or later, paralyze his efforts. Until he has learnt this lesson, he cannot fulfil the high duties which he owes to society and to his Master in heaven. I would almost say, that the scholar who cultivates the mind exclusively, to the neglect of the body, as effectually buries his talent in the earth, as he does who cherishes the body and neglects the mind. Plato calls that man a *cripple*, who exercises the mind and neglects the body. How many of Plato's cripples have belonged to the army of the cross, encumbering its march, and bearing like so many dead weights upon its efforts ; men with minds formed to soar to heaven, and wield the elements of the moral universe ; but chained down by neglected bodies to inactivity and disease ! How often has Zion been called to weep bitter tears over these disappointed hopes ! The mind thus used, or rather abused, becomes weakened by the very means which were intended to strengthen it.

This is a growing evil, to which the circumstances of the present age render us peculiarly liable. It is an evil over which literature and religion have long mourned ; which has thinned the ranks of the Christian army to an alarming degree, and too often blasted the fond anticipations of its devoted friends.

Every occasion, therefore, which encourages us to believe that the axe is about to be laid to the root of this evil, is one of deep interest. I regard the anniversary of the Mechanical Association, which we have this morning assembled to celebrate, as one of these occasions. I rejoice in it, because I here recognize

the fact, that the vital importance of this subject is beginning to be seen and appreciated. I rejoice in it, because I believe, that it has already awakened a spirit, by its beneficial effects on many whom I have now the pleasure of addressing, which may cause its benefits to be extended to other valuable institutions in our country. I rejoice in it, because we have fallen upon times which demand great and long protracted mental exertions ; and few men can be prepared for such exertions, without obtaining that state of mutual harmony between the corporeal and mental powers, which alone can enable each to act out its appropriate functions perfectly, and produce that most desirable of all blessings, the *MENS SANA IN CORPORE SANO*.

Sound health is necessary to the successful prosecution of literary pursuits. Disease throws a chain around the mind, which the latter, by its own unassisted endeavours, cannot burst asunder. This truth is abundantly confirmed by the biography of ancient and modern times. The instances of feeble scholars, who have attained to great literary fame, that here and there appear upon its pages, are exceptions which do not militate against the fact. The laurels with which they were crowned, are to be considered rather the result of great genius, and other favouring circumstances, than of intense mental effort. While the mind and body are united, and subject to the immutable laws imprinted on them by the Creator, the vigour of the one must depend, more or less, on the health of the other. The mind cannot devote itself to diligent study and protracted labour, and range freely in the regions of thought, while the body is pressed down by the leaden weight of disease. Its purposes are broken and its resolution is faint. To borrow the language of the British moralist, who spoke from the knowledge which sad experience had taught him, "The time of such a man is always spent in forming schemes, which every change of wind hinders him from executing ; his powers fume away in projects and in hopes, and the day of action never arrives. He lies down at night delighted with the thought of to-morrow ; pleases his ambition with the fame he shall acquire, or his benevolence with the good he shall confer. But in the night, the skies are overcast ; the temper of the air is changed. He wakes in languor, impatience, and distraction ; and has no longer any wish but for ease, nor any attention but to misery."

Ill health is equally unfavourable in its effects on the heart. Piety is affected by the animal spirits ; and the spirits must and

will flag, when the body is diseased. It is the medium of communication for the soul with outward things. When that medium is disordered, no object is presented in its true colours. Nature to such a man has lost its beauty. 'The heavens are clothed in sackcloth; the earth is dressed in the garment of mourning.' We daily see instances of this melancholy fact. They speak too from the grave. It stands forth in mournful prominence, on the pages of many a diary that issues from the press; and doubtless on many more, which have not yet been presented to the public eye. We could almost weep, while perusing these memoirs, to find faults in them, which even the partiality of friends could not, consistently with truth, omit; but which, we know, were the result of self-induced disease. It has grieved us, after perusing them, to feel obliged sometimes to conceal them, that the enemies of religion may not use them as a cloak for sin, or employ them as arms against the cross. The physician is often called to witness these mournful effects of disease on spiritual life. He is often obliged to use all his skill and all his prayers, before the cloud can be dispersed, which sickness has settled around the holy heart. The clergyman will often be called to witness the same. It becomes him above all men, to beware, lest through inexcusable neglect of health, he appears with the same cloud around his own heart; and becomes the victim of the same disease he is called upon to remove.

Ill health is often a degraded state. What can be more pitiable, than to see a mind formed for great effort—to be almost caught up, while in the body, to the third heavens, and grasp in its broad embrace, "the unutterable knowledge of the goodness and glory of God;" and diffusing this knowledge among its fellow creatures, to lead them, with resistless power and eloquence, from earth to heaven—what can be more pitiable than to see such a mind chained down to the flesh it inhabits; and brooding in mournful and almost unpitied selfishness, over the ills its own ignorance, or folly, or misdirected ambition has occasioned? Where is the freedom, where the religion of such a mind? Like Sampson grinding in the prison-house of the Philistines, the possessor of such a mind is confined to the prison-house of his own digestive organs; and he must have more than mortal powers, to come out from its gloomy enclosures, and preach, as he should preach, the pure and spiritual religion of Jesus.

Ill health is also a depressed state. How can a man in such

a condition, depressed in spirit, filled with fear, weak in purpose, with relaxed nerves and feeble muscles, his mind engaged in a perpetual struggle with melancholy presentiments and gloomy cares,—how can such a man be prepared to comfort and cheer the desponding, “to lift up the hands that hang down and the feeble knees?” Arrayed continually in sackcloth, how can he preach glad tidings of great joy?

But there is another consideration which should not be omitted,—ill health is too often a sinful state. It is sinful, whenever it is the result of ignorance, which, with due care, might have been enlightened. He sins, who, from false security in his present vigour, neglects the use of those wise, precautionary means, which will secure its continuance. Indeed, the decisions of the great day will alone reveal, how much every man sins, who sacrifices health, the best of all human blessings, at the shrine of literary fame, by incorrect notions of duty, and above all, by indolence and sloth.

The opinion is too prevalent, that ill health is a necessary consequence of study; that the man who devotes his life to books, must be willing, like a martyr at the stake, to bid farewell to the pleasures of health. But this is incorrect. Look at Germany. The German students are healthy men. Their mode of life, if examined, will afford a solution of the fact. They devote more time to study, study more intensely, and accomplish more in proportion to their advantages, than our own scholars. But let it not be forgotten, that, at the same time, in obedience to one of the laws of physical education, their seasons of mental labour are alternated with habits of perfect relaxation. They unbend their minds by free and unrestrained amusement; and give themselves up more than we do, to the full indulgence of the social affections; than which, few things are more conducive to the health of learned men. When the German student leaves his study, he shuts the door upon its cares and labours; and goes out into the world, like other men, for repose and enjoyment.*

There is another point of difference to be well noted. They are accustomed to habits of study, almost from infancy. They do not, like many of our students, change suddenly from a youth

* Compare here the results of the Editor's own observation on this subject, as stated in the note on pp. 45—47 of Vol. I. of this work. Ed.

of bodily labour, to studious, sedentary habits. These men bring to their new labours, strong constitutions, the consequence of correct early habits; and deceive themselves with the belief, that they shall be able to resist the causes that break down more feeble men. This is often a fatal mistake. The slender willow bends to the blasts which break the sturdy oak. The more feeble man educated in a city and to a comparatively inactive life, often holds out the longest and the best. The difference is like that between the sexes. The more delicate will bear confinement from the very fact, that they have always been accustomed to it. Tissot alludes to this circumstance. "Even the strength of the constitution is dangerous. People of excellent constitutions apply themselves to study with indefatigable industry. The powerful action of the soul increases that of the other organs; and they are attacked with inflammatory diseases, the consequence of irritation long kept up in vigorous habits. Sometimes, they expire in the first attack. More commonly, they get the better of that, and give themselves up again to the same labours, and fall again into the same disorders. At last in process of time, being worn out by these attacks, and by their labours, they lose their strength, and fall into consumptive diseases, against which they are no longer able to resist."

To these men, therefore, especially, is a continuance of labour necessary, to insure the blessing of health; and very few are the instances, where it can be neglected, without treasuring up materials for future suffering and repentance.

In order that the dangers to which the health of literary men, and especially of the clergy, is exposed, may be successfully met and resisted, they must be seen and understood. A faithful examination of the structure and uses of the human body; the intimate connexion existing between the body and the mind; and the reciprocal action of one upon the other, in health and disease, will alone reveal the source of these dangers, and supply the remedy.

From such an examination, which would be a subject of deep interest, did the time allow us to enter minutely upon it, we learn the following fundamental laws of our nature, viz.

1. That the body was formed, and is admirably calculated, for great activity and exertion; and that such activity and exertion are indispensably necessary for the healthy performance of its functions.

2. That the mind and body, while united, are connected by

close ties, and subject to numberless mutual sympathies. In consequence of these sympathies, each will inevitably feel, in a greater or less degree, the various infirmities of the other. Undue use of the body invariably produces a debilitating effect upon the mind ; and undue use of the mind as invariably occasions disorder of the body. Disease in this way once excited, they are capable of acting and reacting one upon the other, until the cause continuing, the power of both is paralysed, and eventually destroyed.

3. That neither the body nor the mind are capable of attaining the highest point of perfection, until both are brought into full action ; and the exact ratio of action ascertained, which each can bear without occasioning injury to the other.

The first of these laws, the necessity of action to the health of the body, from which the others naturally and necessarily follow, is the very element of physical education. It is taught in the structure of our frame. It is based on the broad surface of eternal truth ; and stands out in bold relief on the first page of the inspired word of God : " By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." This sentence was uttered, be it ever remembered, by that infinite omniscience which created the body, and was consequently best acquainted with its wants. It was uttered as a curse ; and doubtless to Adam in paradise, it was a curse. But the moment he became a fallen being, and the flaming sword of the cherubim closed the entrance to those pure abodes, it became, under the gospel, one of his greatest blessings. It is the immutable law of God, and originated in his wisdom and benevolence. It is in strict conformity with the constitution, the nature, and the wants of man ; and the history of man, from that time to this, seems to prove, that, like the moral law, not " one jot or tittle of it shall pass away till all be fulfilled."

By it, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, after many years of pastoral and agricultural life, attained to a green old age. By its strict observance, Moses and Joshua came to their graves " like a shock of corn fully ripe ;" and walked in and out to the last as in the days of their youth. " Their eyes were not dim, nor their ears dull of hearing, nor their natural force abated." And who shall enumerate the long catalogue of philosophers, poets, and preachers, who lived by this law ; and, though their heads were silvered by age, found not the ' grasshopper a burden,' and were useful and happy to the end ?

It strengthened St. Paul, whose whole history teaches us that he was an active man, for his mighty labours by sea and by land, his frequent preaching from house to house, in season and out of season, and for his unwearied efforts, until the gospel had sounded out to the uttermost parts of the heathen world. Here was one of the true sources of his courage in danger, and his indefatigable activity and laborious perseverance in the cause of God. It was health, the reward of labour, active labour of body and mind. Paul did indeed eat his bread by the sweat of his brow. His own hands, as he tells us, wrought for him; and it was doubtless a morsel sweetened by exercise and digested with ease. And he ate whatever was set before him, asking no questions.* You never find Paul discussing with nice but sickening discrimination, the comparative merits of different articles of food. He found all good; and with the temperance enjoined by the Scriptures, for his guide, digested all with too much ease, to believe that the Father of Mercies had covered the earth with poisons for his children. When Paul fell in company with the beloved sisterhood, he had other communications to make than the tedious recital of his diseases; and even he perhaps would have betrayed impatience at the many anxious queries upon this subject—which is now so common a topic of conversation, and received with so much complacency. He had strength of body which prepared him for all toils; and he had too the unwavering trust in God, and the peaceful serenity of mind, to which health so constantly disposes the sanctified heart.†

* 1 Cor. 10: 25, 27. The allusion to this passage is of course here made by way of accommodation; as the apostle is in strictness speaking of *conscience* in regard to meats which had been offered to idols. ED.

† The Editor takes the liberty of subjoining here the following extract from a letter, subsequently received from the distinguished Author.

“It has been suggested to me, that perhaps some alteration should be made in the part where allusion is made to Paul’s eating all things, etc. I think if the passage be examined, it will be found that it gives no license to men with weak stomachs, or those who are too fond of ‘the things that profit the belly.’ It is very clear to me, if such would work as Paul worked, and be as *temperate* as he was, this said sentence would not prove a fatal man-trap to them.

“The subject of *diet* was not discussed in the address, because

It is one of the distinguishing features of the Bible, that all the truths which it utters are in perfect harmony with the book of nature. The mighty mass of accumulated facts, which the history of the world and the history of man have developed, all serve to augment the evidence of its truths, and prove it to be the product of an omniscient mind. This is strikingly true of the decree requiring labour of man as the price of health. The more it is compared with the result of pathological and physiological researches, the stronger will be the conviction of the necessity of exercise to man.

The ancient philosophers, by the simple light of the book of nature, clearly recognized this law; and by obedience to its precepts, attained a strength of body and a vigour of mind, which have rarely been equalled, and never surpassed. But the moderns, with the strong light which the book of grace has concentrated upon the book of nature, have overlooked it; and body and mind exhibit too plainly the consequences of this neglect.

In the schools of the ancients, exercise was considered an object of such paramount importance, that it became elevated to the rank of a science; and was taught with the utmost care. So manifest were its beneficial tendencies upon the body and the mind, that a distinguished physician established an institution, the avowed object of which was, by exercise of various kinds, and diet, to brighten the wit, and strengthen the intellect of the dull scholars of the schools. With the same view, (and doubtless it was the result of observation,) some of the philosophers strongly recommended the study of medicine to the learned; so firmly did they believe in the important connexion between the health of the body, and the soundness of the mind.

Here then was the true source of the health of the ancient phi-

it was impossible to do any justice to it in the short time allotted to me on that occasion; and because I felt that correct ideas on the subject of *exercise* were of equal and perhaps greater importance to my hearers. The allusion here made to it, at the same time that it allows no undue license to invalids, points distinctly at the rule which must form the corner-stone of all correct dietetics. It is **TEMPERANCE**. As a general rule it is doubtless true, that the quantity of food consumed is a more frequent cause of disease, than the quality; and most men, by proper attention to the one, will with a moderate degree of observation of the peculiarities and habits of their own systems, suffer little or no injury from the other."

losophers. They devoted as many hours to hard study and severe thought, as the scholars of the present day. But there was no dyspepsia among them, because their habits of life were conformable to nature. They lived and studied and thought in the open air. The wants of the mind never tempted them to neglect those of the body. They saw that exercise was necessary to both, and they exercised both. Will not the same cause explain the remarkable difference in the health of physicians and clergymen? The pains of the medical profession are as great; its toils are perhaps greater than those of the clerical profession. It presents one continued series of harassing cares and distressing anxieties. It demands also much mental labour. The irregularities of the physician's life often set all prudential attention to his own health at defiance. He can neither eat, drink, nor sleep like other men. No class of the community take less medicine than physicians; and yet notwithstanding the manifold evils of the profession, all tending directly to wear down and exhaust the vital powers, the physician, compelled to keep the body in constant action, is seldom an invalid.

During the first five hundred years of the Roman empire, there was no professed physician in Rome. Why, I know not, unless it was because the Romans were, during that period, so strengthened by temperance and exercise, that they needed none.

Whenever the Bible produces its legitimate influence on mankind, and men eat and drink and sleep and *work* according to its dictates, which, the more they are examined, will be found to be the dictates of nature and common sense, the school of the prophets will doubtless greatly out-number that of the physicians. When the millennial glory shall have covered the earth, diseases will be few and simple. All those which are the result of luxury, corruption of morals, and unnatural modes of living, and especially the diseases of literary men, which are the legitimate progeny of too much use of the mind, and too little use of the body, will be found only on the pages of history.

Since the introduction of Christianity, and the consequent changes in the art of war, the national necessities which introduced gymnastic science into the world, have passed away; and unfortunately for the cause of literature and religion, the science itself has disappeared also. But the relation between the body and the mind still subsists. The same necessity which sent Plato and Aristotle to the gymnasium after severe mental labour, still

exists with the hard students of our day. Would it not be well, while we glory in forming our *minds* upon the noble models of the ancients, to imitate their praiseworthy efforts to form the *body* to healthy habits? Is it not humiliating, that the laws of nature should have called forth a spirit of obedience from the pagan, which the laws of God fail to obtain from the christian philosopher? The path of nature is plain. The Bible sheds its bright light upon it, so that it need not be mistaken. Let us walk in it. Then will dyspepsia cease to be the terror and reproach of literature and religion. Then will be seen more true manliness and vigour of mind; and more of that cheerful, active, confiding piety, which the religion of Jesus, when unobstructed, always produces.

Every fact presented by the pathology of the diseases of literary men, confirms the opinion that the neglect of physical culture lies at their foundation. The investigation of this subject would be an interesting and useful study; and lead to a knowledge of important facts, which could not fail to call forth that practical attention to it, which its vital importance demands. Every man, whose situation exposes him to suffer from ignorance or inattention to this subject, would be amply repaid by its thorough investigation. Perhaps the peculiar character of the age in which we live, renders an inquiry with which the interests of the church are so much connected, an imperious duty. The present occasion only permits us to notice very briefly one of these facts.

It is a law of the corporeal system, that whenever any organ is brought into inordinate action, a determination of blood takes place in it, by which it becomes oppressed, and its functions impaired; and in exact proportion to its degree of vitality or relative importance in the system, all other organs connected with it by intimate sympathy, will be injured. Hence the diseases of the lungs in musicians and public speakers; and the disorders of the eyes in men whose profession brings these organs into continual use. A knowledge of this simple principle will direct us to the origin of some of the various maladies, which are the result of sedentary habits and unintermitted study.

The brain is the immediate organ of thought; the instrument with which the soul, during its abode in the body, performs all its functions. It is also the great source from whence vitality flows out to all the various parts of the body, supplying them with that living energy which is necessary to healthy action.

Weaken the nervous connexion between the brain and these organs, and their functions immediately begin to languish ; destroy it, and they instantly cease. But a most remarkable sympathy exists between the brain and the stomach. It is so reciprocally shown in a great variety of ways, in health and disease, as to have become a subject of daily notoriety to the most careless observer. How does grief, fear, and sometimes even joy, wither the energies of the latter, and not unfrequently lay the foundation of irremediable diseases ! These are the effects produced on the stomach, by the overaction excited by the passions upon the brain. They are so common, and sometimes so striking, that any person who examines them with accuracy, will cease to wonder that the ancients considered the stomach to be the seat of the passions.

Every man of letters must have witnessed the reciprocal sympathies of these two organs. Who has been uniformly so temperate as not to have ascertained, that repletion of the stomach indisposes the mind for intense thought ? And who that has ever thought intensely, has not found that it impaired the action, and diminished the wants of the stomach ?

Whoever looks with the eye of a physiologist upon this subject, will not be surprised that Sir Isaac Newton, while engaged in the deep thinking which enlightened mankind with his splendid discoveries, often forgot his dinner ; nor can he fail to see the reason, why his simple cracker and cup of cold water enabled him to pass whole days, in deep abstraction upon the sublime subjects of his labours. The fall of an apple is said to have led his great mind to the detection of the principle, by which the material universe is retained in harmonious movement. Who shall declare the mighty influence, which these two simple articles of diet exerted upon his wonderful discoveries ?

When the close dependance of every part of the body upon the brain is considered, and especially the intimate sympathies between it and the digestive organs, is it surprising that long continued and intense occupation of the mind—in other words, action of the brain, should occasion disease in these parts ? Such occupation excites an increased action of its blood vessels ; an unnatural quantity of blood is thrown upon it ; it is wearied ; and undue pressure upon its tender substance is the inevitable consequence. This is proved by the pain, sense of heat, and confusion of head, which is experienced after a season of severe mental labour. Can all this happen, can it happen day after

day, and year after year, and the health suffer no material injury? The records of the profession present a multitude of cases, in which the physician perceives at a glance, that pressure on the brain is the evident cause of many of the diseases with which deep thinking men have been afflicted. Sometimes, it has been so great as to occasion vomiting, convulsions, apoplexy, and death; which, though extreme cases, afford a ready explanation of the long train of less striking, but not less important affections, daily appearing under the name of dyspeptic complaints. Many of them are the result of the same cause, overaction of the brain, debilitating the stomach and other digestive organs.

One of the inevitable consequences of this condition of the brain, if not remedied by proper management, is debility of the organs that derive their energy from the nervous influence imparted to them by its healthy action. Tissott, who has written very instructively upon this subject, illustrates the manner in which this happens, by a very striking thought. "Deep thinking," says he, "may be considered as a ligature applied to all the nerves coming from the brain; which, putting a stop to their action, brings on the same consequences to the whole machine, as a ligature applied more or less tight to the branch of a nerve, would induce on the parts to which that branch was distributed."

The stomach, so intimately allied by nervous sympathy to the brain, will always, as would be expected, be the first to feel the injury. This organ, whose office is to prepare and assimilate the materials which build up and strengthen the body, oppressed by the burthened brain, comes to its daily task with weakened energy; in which, after ineffectual efforts, it fails, or performs it so imperfectly, that the object is not obtained. And now a second source of close and extensive sympathies, existing between the stomach and every part of the body, is thrown open. It is impossible, when this organ, which Lord Bacon emphatically calls the father of the family, is disordered, that every other should not participate in its woes. And such, as the melancholy experience of many a votary of science has taught, is the fact. All the abdominal viscera languish in inactivity and disease; the heart feels deeply the evil; and the whole arterial system is weakened, and irregular in its actions; the skin becomes pale, dry, sallow, and debilitated; the muscular system flags; 'the strong men bow themselves;' the nerves are unstrung; and unless the cause be removed, and the remedy applied, the protean disease continues, until the health is destroyed beyond the power of recovery.

Would we could stop here ! But no ; while the body and mind are united, according to the immutable laws of nature, they must reciprocate each other's infirmities. There is a more intimate relation between the powers of the mind and the morals, and the health of the body, than is commonly supposed. The body, when injured to a certain extent by mental exercises, begins to react upon the mind ; and produces the most deplorable consequences. The memory becomes impaired, the ideas confused, and the power of thought is broken. The elastic spring of the soul is weakened. Pusillanimity usurps the place of that moral courage in a man, which could meet every trial with firmness ; the cheerfulness which shed its sunshine over his path, is no longer seen ; the spirits are dejected ; every difficulty appears insurmountable ; every effort depresses. Overcome with the common duties of the day, he lies down at night, but not to repose. Extreme irritability of the nervous system drives sleep from his pillow, and happiness from his heart. The voice of friendship falls powerless upon the ear ; the love of God kindles but a momentary feeling in the palsied soul. Is this the man who shall lead on the armies of the cross, and successfully repel the machinations of its great enemy, when, preparing for a last desperate effort, he has arrayed himself as an angel of light ? With how much reason did the ancients, when they beheld such a picture, also conclude that the stomach was the seat of the soul ! In giving it that location, they, at all events, discovered habits of accurate observation, which it would be the part of wisdom in us to imitate. The man who bestows all his care upon the brain, and leaves the stomach to chance, may find, when too late, that he has neglected a friend, whose place no other can supply.

But while pathology leads us to the cause of this alarming evil, which has so often beset learned men, and especially the clergy, physiology points with unerring truth to the remedy. Time only permits us to take a very superficial view of this subject. "Whoever examines the body will be struck with the fact, that a process of alternate waste and renewal is perpetually taking place in it ; that life itself is nothing else than an incessant ceasing and being ; a continual change of restoration and destruction ; an everlasting contest of the chemical decomposing powers, with all the combining and creative vital powers. The body never remains the same ; it never stands still for a single moment of time ; one part after another, as it becomes

useless, is dissolved, absorbed and removed out of the body ; while new component parts from without, are received into the body, converted, animalised, and deposited to supply their place. Life, therefore, is a continued receiving, appropriation, and giving back ; an incessant mixture of life and death.”*

“The blood, the fountain whence the spirits flow,
The generous stream, that waters every part,
And motion, vigour, and warm life conveys,
To every particle that lives and moves ;
This vital fluid, through unnumbered tubes,
Poured by the heart, and to the heart again
Refunded, scourged forever round and round,
Enraged with heat and toil, at last forgets
Its balmy nature ; virulent and thin
It grows ; and now, but that a thousand gates
Are open for its flight, it would destroy
The parts it cherished and repaired before.
Besides, the flexible and tender tubes,
Melt in the mildest, most nectareous tide,
That ripening nature rolls ; as in the stream,
Its crumbling banks ; but what the vital force
Of plastic fluids hourly batters down,
That very force those plastic particles
Rebuild ; so mutable the state of man.”†

It is upon this continual alternate waste and repair, that health depends ; and by this the various organs of the body are enabled to perform their functions. Motion seems to be the very element of all this curious and mighty process. Vigorous motion indicates health and strength ; feeble motion denotes debility and decay ; a cessation of motion is death. A striking indication this, from the very structure of the body, that inactivity is not the natural condition of man !

This wonderful operation, constituting what is called life, is carried on by the arteries, veins, the absorbent and exhalent vessels. The first, or absorbent vessels may be called the builders up of the body ; they are continually bringing the materials necessary to keep it in repair. The second are as incessantly occupied in carrying away those, which, by use, are no longer serviceable.‡

* Hufeland on Longevity.

† Armstrong's Poem on Health.

Besides this, the vessels perform another very important office. They communicate to every organ, by their movements, that mechanical impulse, which is necessary to the healthy, vigorous performance of its functions. If the very remarkable motion which they thus impart to the brain, is considered, one will not wonder at the exclamation of Pliny : "Mirum est ut animus agitatione motuque corporis excitetur."

Let us now examine very briefly the effects of exercise upon the circulation, the respiration, the skin, the muscular system, the nerves, and the digestive organs.

1. An examination of the structure and arrangement of every part of the arterial and venous system, exhibits numerous contrivances of its great Author, arranged upon the strictest mechanical principles, the manifest intention of which is to prevent a retardation of blood in the extreme vessels. They are very remarkable in the veins, whose office it is to return the blood replenished with new materials to the heart, in order that these may undergo the great chemical change in the lungs so necessary to health. We learn from these contrivances and many phenomena of disease, that there is a constant tendency to this retardation. Indeed, so great is the tendency, that these designs, however perfect and wonderful, are not sufficient to counteract it, without some other aid. This aid is exercise.

The heart sits in the centre of this system ; and in the sedentary man, is compelled to perform the whole of the arduous labour of the circulation. But not so with the child of nature, and the man who exercises the body according to the principles of nature. It was evidently never intended that the heart should carry on this work unassisted ; and where it does so for a long time, diseases, the result of weakness of the extreme vessels, will be the inevitable consequence. The strength of the heart and arteries alone, in a sedentary course of life, is not sufficient to keep up and perpetuate the circulation through the smaller blood vessels. The assistance and united force of all the muscles of the body, are required for that purpose.

It is one manifest design of the muscles, to aid the perpetual efforts of the heart to send the vital stream of life to every part of the frame. So extensive, so numerous, and so infinitely diversified are the ramifications of the vessels among the muscles, that a single contraction cannot take place without diminishing the labour of the heart ; which it does by increasing the action of the extreme vessels, where the circulation is most liable to flag. When-

ever they are all brought into steady and vigorous action, as is the case in manual labour, and all proper modes of exercise, new power is imparted to the capillary vessels; the heart acts with increased vigour; the circulation is rendered more free and easy; there is an augmentation of animal heat; in a word, the whole arterial and venous system acquires an actual increase of strength, and the body is unaffected by the numerous chronic diseases to which sedentary men are subject. The foundation of most of these complaints, is an obstructed condition of the smaller vessels; because the heart, unassisted by the muscles, has not sufficient power to keep up a steady, uniform, vigorous action in them.

2. Exercise exerts an extremely important influence upon the health, through the medium of the lungs. The action of the muscles not only facilitates the circulation, by counteracting the causes that constantly tend to impede its freedom; but by increasing respiration, it improves the quality of the circulating fluid. The man who allows himself a due proportion of exercise, consumes in the more rapid respiration it occasions, a greater quantity of atmospheric air. And what is the consequence? His blood becomes more highly oxygenated; and is also freed from a greater proportion of the deleterious principle, with which it is charged, and which is destined to pass off so abundantly, by uniting with the air in this function. The vessels of such an individual, therefore, not only possess greater vigour of action, but actually contain a more vital fluid. A fluid capable of producing a more healthy excitement, circulates to every part of the system, and imparts a tone to it, which amply repays all the toil by which it is acquired. It is this which paints the skin of the child with its healthy, florid hue; and gives to the labouring man the strength for which you look in vain to the sedentary student, who sickens over his books, slowly respiring the corrupted air of his chamber, and too indolent or too unwise to avail himself of the best of nature's tonics.

3. Exercise produces a most salutary effect upon the system, by its beneficial action on the skin. This is the most extensive secreting surface of the body. The exhalent vessels open upon it with their million mouths, and are incessantly pouring out in sensible and insensible perspiration, the useless, corrupted, and worn out particles, which, by longer continuance, would be injurious to health. Health would decay, and life itself be destroyed, without the continued active condition of this organ. It is calculated that between three and five pounds are carried off in a healthy man, every twenty four hours, by insensible per-

spiration ; a greater quantity, than is removed by all the other secretions combined. Besides this, it possesses very intimate sympathies with the lungs, stomach, and other abdominal viscera. Daily observation affords innumerable instances, which show that obstructions of the skin are capable of calling these sympathies into diseased action, and occasioning fatal disorders of these organs. Nothing maintains the just equilibrium of the circulation, so necessary to the preservation of health, so much as an active condition of the surface. This is so true, that disease seldom or never exists, when the skin is in a healthy state. A restoration of its functions is also one of the first evidences of returning convalescence to the invalid.

Nothing promotes insensible perspiration so much as regular exercise. Of what vital importance is the free circulation of the extreme vessels, opening upon this extensive surface ! They are continually liable to become debilitated in their functions, by their distance from the heart. Of what immense consequence, then, is it, that they should be assisted by muscular action ! What seeds of disease does the sedentary man accumulate in his system, when, from unholy ambition, misdirected zeal, or unpardonable sloth, he neglects exercise, by far the most effectual of all the means which the Creator has provided for the healthy condition of the skin !

4. Exercise exerts a most wonderful power in imparting strength to the great muscular system. Compare the labourer's arm and the porter's leg, with the student's ill expressed and puny limbs. If we would see the most beautiful models of the human form, we must go to Greece ; the land where gymnastic exercises were brought to the fullest perfection. Let us not forget, that there also were found specimens of mental beauty, which never have been surpassed.

5. It is by exercise alone that we can ever hope to expel that cruel enemy of literature and religion, which the sentimentalism of modern days has cherished under the name of weakness of the nerves. Weakness of the nerves ! Shame on the shortsightedness of our intellectual eye ! It is disorder of the stomach and its dependent organs, debility of the muscles, weakness of the brain rather ! And this weakness of the nerves, is but the voice of these faithful sentinels of nature, uttering their plaintive tones, and praying for relief. They point us to

“ The labourer of the glebe, who toils,
In dust and rain, in cold and sultry skies ;
Who knows no laws by *Æsculapius* given,
And studies none.”

Armstrong.

And pointing to him, they show us the true and only effectual means of cure. It is exercise,—labour. Let this remain, and all other antinervines may be blotted from our *Materia Medica*.

“Toil and be strong; by toil, the flaccid nerves

Grow firm, and gain a more compacted tone.” *Ibid.*

6. But above all, the beneficial effects of exercise are visible on the contents of the abdominal cavity. Here are situated all the most important organs of the body; those parts which the observing Plato called, the “props of the soul.” Who that ever saw a sickly, learned man, will dispute the propriety of the term? In the midst of them all is the stomach; the dignity and importance of whose office, Livy has immortalised in the following pleasant, but striking manner. “In times of old, when every part of the body could think for itself, and each had a separate will of its own, they all, with common consent, resolved to revolt against the stomach. They knew no reason, they said, why they should toil from morning till night in its service, while it, in the mean time, lay at its ease in the midst of them all, and indolently grew fat upon their labours. Accordingly, one and all, they agreed to befriend it no more. The feet vowed they would carry it no longer; the hands vowed they would feed it no longer; and the teeth averred, they would not chew a morsel of meat, though it were placed between them. Thus resolved, they all, for some time, showed their spirit, and kept their word. But soon they found that instead of mortifying the stomach by these means, they only undid themselves. They languished for a while; and perceived, when too late, that it was owing to the stomach that they had strength to work, or courage to mutiny.” But nowadays, things are somewhat changed. There is no longer a spirit of union among the members; the hands and teeth have left the conspiracy, and the legs alone are found among the traitors. The consequences however are quite as sad; and death, though more lingering and painful, is equally sure. How many men can respond in bitterness of soul to the simple truth conveyed in this narration! Of all the parts of the body, none are so apt to be injured by inactivity as the stomach and other abdominal organs. No others have so little independent motion of their own; and no others depend so much as they do, upon exercise of the whole body, for those impulses, which can alone enable them to overcome the natural sluggishness of their movements, and the various injurious obstructions to which this predisposes them; and

which lie at the foundation of many of the diseases of literary men. The body cannot be brought into vigorous exercise without communicating, at each muscular contraction, a movement to all the internal organs. To be fully impressed with the extent of this, it is only necessary to look at a person, when affected with a slight inflammation of any of the abdominal viscera. Why does he move about with such extreme caution, and take such pains that every step should be slow, and light, and measured? No other proof is necessary to shew, how much these organs feel the influence of muscular motion in other parts of the body.

By these motions, their action and secretion is increased; the sensibility becomes elevated; obstructions are prevented; and they are endowed with strength sufficient for the vigorous performance of their functions. The best evidence, however, of the salutary effect of exercise on these important parts, is to be found in the fact, that they are uniformly healthy in the labouring and temperate classes of society; and almost always, more or less debilitated among sedentary, inactive men.

These pathological and physiological remarks are necessarily very imperfect; and to be considered only as a passing glance at a few important facts. They are sufficient, however, to show that labour and temperance, such as are taught by nature and confirmed in the Bible, and perfectly adapted to the constitution and wants of man, are at the same time, the prevention and cure of these diseases. But be it ever remembered, that the Scriptures are to be obeyed fully. "He that offendeth against this law in one point, is guilty of all;" and must suffer the consequences. Health and strength are the reward of that labour only, which bringeth out the sweat upon the brow. It is not the measured, ministerial walk, which scarcely increases the action of the heart and arteries, and leaves the skin as dry and pallid as before it was taken; not the peripatetic walk, which, while the limbs move along the earth, permits the brain to continue its learned contemplations. This is like the palliative medicine which soothes some of the symptoms, but reaches not to the cause of disease that is undermining the constitution. Cicero would never have been cured of the dyspepsia by such exercise. He doubtless took his morning and evening walk about the seven-hilled city; but his nerves were not braced by it, nor his muscles made strong. The disease still clung to him notwithstanding; the stomach still laboured at its daily task; and at last the

brain refused to play its accustomed part in the system. And how was he restored? Not by medicine. He travelled to Greece; and entering the Gymnasium, he began with the lighter exercises, such as were adapted to his strength; and gradually progressed to the higher and more difficult, until at the end of two years, he acquired a degree of strength and agility, which would doubtless astonish the feeble men of our generation.

The true secret consists in adopting such a system of exercise, as calls upon the muscles for that amount of action, which, for the time, will suspend the work of the mind. The arrangement should be such, as will cause the labours of the body and mind to alternate each other. By this, the body is invigorated; and the brain obtains that repose, which enables it to bring new strength and activity to its task.

Such were the gymnastic exercises of the ancients. Such are the plays and games of youth. The system of manual labour adopted by the Mechanical Association of this Seminary, recognises this great principle. The mind will be effectually closed against the entrance of Greek and Hebrew, and attempt in vain the arrangement of a sermon or learned essay, while the hands are vigorously moving the saw and the plane, or actively occupied in turning the great wheel. We would earnestly recommend it to all, who are able to avail themselves of its advantages. Among others, it is regular, which is one half of the benefit of exercise to a student. It may be pursued in winter and on the most inclement days, when every thing, within and without, presents strong temptations to the neglect of this duty.*

* The Mechanical Association of Andover Theological Seminary, was first established in 1827. The object of it, as stated in the constitution, is "the promotion of health and vigour both of body and mind, by a regular system of mechanical exercise." The plan was viewed with so much favour by the Trustees of the Seminary, that in the following year they caused a large four story building of rough granite to be erected, of which the Association have the use free of rent. This affords room for about seventy work-benches, which are usually all occupied. The work done is for the most part joiner's and cabinet-maker's work. The shop is furnished with the necessary tools to the value of about one thousand dollars; which was contributed by friends of the Seminary, and for three fourths of which the Association is indebted to the munificence of the Hon. Wm. Bartlet, one of the venerable founders of the Seminary.

The Association stands under the direct supervision of the Trus-

But in urging this, let me not be understood to exclude other modes of exercise ; especially walking, which is the most natural and the most perfect exercise. It brings all the muscles of the body into action, especially those of the lower limbs ; it aids materially in promoting the circulation of the blood in the minute vessels ; and besides this, it affords the advantage of pure air, which is indispensable to health.

Every man whose profession subjects him to sedentary habits, should devote daily, at least *an hour and a half* to manual labour, and *an hour* to exercise in the open air. This will be sufficient for the purposes of health ; and there are few men, who, with a proper economy of time, will not be able to deduct it from the hours of study. This is a general rule, however, which must be varied according to the circumstances of each individual. Every man cannot effect as much at first, especially if he has been unaccustomed to labour. But there are very few, perhaps none, who may not gradually habituate themselves

tees of the Seminary ; no alteration can be made in the constitution without their assent ; and should the Association ever be dissolved, all the property then in its possession reverts to the Trustees. The Association has no funds ; all the expenses of stock etc. being paid out of the avails of the labour. Whatever there may be of profits at the close of the year, is divided among the members ; but hitherto no dividend has been larger than between three and four dollars.

A superintendent of the workshop is employed, a practical mechanic, whose duty it is to make all purchases of stock and sales of the work. But his chief business is, to plan and prepare work for the shop ; so that every student, on arriving at his place, may find his task before him, and be able to begin his labour at once, without loss of time. It is regarded as a very important principle in the management of the institution, in order to secure the highest utility of it, that every student, when in the shop, shall be fully and actively occupied ; and when out of the shop, shall have no further care nor thought about it. At present, the time spent in labour is daily three quarters of an hour before dinner, and the same interval before evening prayers. There are a number of monitors ; and every person who is absent or comes in late, is subjected to a small fine. The Association is open to all members of the Seminary, so far as there is room ; and any member may leave it at pleasure.

The effect of this institution upon the general health of those who have been connected with it, has hitherto realized the highest expectations of its patrons.

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to do this and more with perfect ease. Exercise should always be proportioned to the powers of the individual, and never carried to such excess as to occasion pain and extreme fatigue ; otherwise, instead of being salutary, it may prove injurious. Many persons, through injudicious management, fall into serious error upon this subject. Unaccustomed to manual labour, they commence too violently ; and attempting too much at once, they weary the muscles and render them painful. Deceived by this transgression against the laws of the system, they conclude that they are exceptions to the general rule ; that exercise, however important to others, is not only unnecessary, but even injurious to them. The true principle is, to accommodate the efforts exactly to the existing power at the time ; to begin moderately, stopping at fatigue ; and to renew the trial daily and regularly, until the muscles acquire that degree of vigour, which enables them to perform the full task with facility. Lynch has given a rule upon this subject, which will always come within the bounds of health and safety : “ The lean should exercise *ad ruborem*, and the fat, *ad sudorem*.

The most favourable time for exercise is when the stomach is neither too full nor too empty, as in the middle of the forenoon and afternoon. Violent exercise is injurious when the process of digestion is commencing, by diverting to the surface the action of the vessels, which at that time seems to be concentrated upon the stomach. Moderate exercise is useful towards the end of the process, by exciting those gentle impulses, which increase action and secretion in the organs, and thereby accelerate the process of digestion at the time when it is most liable to be sluggish.

The above remarks make it manifest, that it is improper, immediately after exercise, when the body is heated and fatigued, to fill the stomach with food. An individual thus affected, should always rest awhile, until fatigue passes off, before he eats ; otherwise, the digestive function may be essentially weakened. Intense use of the mind is also very injurious when the stomach is full. So important is the function of the stomach, that nature utters a voice here, which cannot be misunderstood. Her friendly warnings are seldom disregarded with impunity. The feeling of languor which comes over the system at this time, and indisposes both body and mind for action, should teach us to lay aside our labours and books ; and give to the body and the mind the repose which they require ; or, what is the same thing

so far as the mind is concerned, to engage in light reading, or such occupations as demand from it no effort. The student should ever remember that man is a compound being. Elevate him as high as you will, he is, after all, only half angel, half animal. He has a brain which lifts him above the brutes; but he has, at the same time, a stomach like them. The wants of both are imperious; and whoever, through pride, false reasoning, or sentimentalism, attempts to render one wholly independent of the other, transgresses the laws of nature; and will be fortunate, if disease is not the schoolmaster that makes him acquainted with his folly.

It is a well known fact, that many studious, sedentary, deep thinking men have uniformly enjoyed good health, and lived to a very great age. This is true of a number of the most distinguished philosophers of ancient and modern times. Their names are often quoted triumphantly by the indolent, and brought forward as proofs that exercise is not necessary to studious men. A closer acquaintance, however, with the habits and circumstances of these individuals, will be sufficient to show, that the conclusion is incorrect. They are to be considered rather as exceptions to a general rule, than examples for the encouragement of indolence and neglect of duty. It is, to say no more, as unwise to regulate our conduct by an exception in this, as in other cases. Most of these men owe their fame to uncommon talent, such as falls to the lot of few. Besides, who shall say that they were not possessed of an uncommon structure of body and mind, which peculiarly fitted them for great mental labour, and the elevated station they occupied in the scientific world? The failure of other men in these same pursuits, proves that they did possess a superior structure either of body or mind. And who shall say that they would not have lived longer, and done still more good in their day and generation, if they had lived more conformably to the laws of nature?

But be it remembered, that the very circumstances into which the genius of these men unavoidably brought them, gave to the mind, in a certain sense, that alternate labour and repose, upon which we have insisted. The objects of universal admiration, they were compelled, more frequently than most men of letters, to mingle with the world, and partake of its social amusements and occupations; by which they obtained the very rest, which less favoured individuals must procure from other sources. They were also constantly buoyed up by the cheering

stimulus of success; the natural consequence of which, is freedom and elasticity of mind. They were distinguished, also, for cheerfulness and contentment; the result in part, no doubt, of the pure pleasures of philosophy and religion; but still more of a peculiar natural temperament of body and mind. The testimony of the venerable Holyoke, and many other aged men, teaches us, that nothing contributes so much to health and long life, as contentedness of disposition, and a subdued state of the passions. They constitute an almost never failing evidence of a sound stomach and easy digestion.

No man is authorized to neglect physical education, and quote Newton as an excuse for it, unless he has first well ascertained that the Creator has given him equal talents, and endowed him with the same temperament of body and mind. Above all, before he comes to such a conclusion, let the clergyman call to mind the story of little Diamond; and substituting a bundle of sermons for the mathematical problems, ascertain whether his spirit could endure the same cruel test, and remain equally unruffled. Whoever contemplates the injurious action of the passions upon the stomach, and remembers the kind exclamation of the distinguished 'Prince of Philosophers' on this memorable occasion, will find, if I mistake not, a fact conducing to health and long life, more safe to imitate, than his neglect of exercise and his literary watchings.

It appears from what has been said, that the eventful period in which our lot is cast, requires of every man who would be faithful in his day and generation, unusual mental exertion, and consequently, is attended with peculiar dangers. That this high duty cannot be fulfilled, and these dangers averted, without adopting such a course of life as will produce health of body and strength of mind. That the word of God, amply confirmed by the structure and uses of the body and a knowledge of its diseases, by the history of ancient and the mournful experience of modern times, teaches us, that this desirable state cannot be obtained, without the adoption of habits of daily, regular, systematic exercise, upon such principles as are consistent with, and conformable to, the laws of the animal economy. That the neglect of this is one of the principal causes of the disorders which commonly afflict sedentary men; and that a strict observance of it, is one of the principal means, both of prevention and cure. It appears also, that the apparent exceptions to this rule, will be found, on accurate examination, to be clear, though indirect confirmations of its truth.

In conclusion, let me solemnly urge upon you, individually, the duty of a faithful investigation of this, and all the branches connected with the subject of physical education. It is a subject of vital importance to the church; and cannot be neglected by those to whom its interests are confided, without incurring a responsibility for all the evils which may follow such neglect. The body, as well as the mind, was given to be cultivated for the glory of the Creator. 'Know ye not, brethren, that your bodies are the temples of the living God?' And shall the temples of God be permitted to decay through negligence or sloth, and no guilt be incurred? Health is a talent intrusted to our care, which cannot with impunity be buried in the earth. He who squanders it, throws away a treasure of inestimable value, and will be answerable for the consequences. For every opportunity of doing good which is thus lost, for every degree of activity of which it deprives him, and for years of usefulness of which the church is thus deprived, he must be called to give a solemn account. How much sin does he accumulate, who, having enlisted as a soldier or leader in the cause of Christ, renders himself, by neglect, wholly or in part unfit for duty! Who can calculate his guilt, or estimate the vast amount of good, which he might otherwise have effected. At the day of judgment, I fear it will appear, that many who thought they were doing God service, were robbing the church, and defeating the purposes of Heaven, by shortening the life, and impairing the powers, which had been bestowed for their advancement.

The clergy often reprove their hearers for indifference and neglect, while listening to the most solemn truths. The principles which I have attempted to set forth in this discourse, when considered in all their possible relations to the great [cause of christian benevolence, are very solemn truths. May I not then call upon them, on this occasion, to practise as well as hear; and to beware lest they also fall into the condemnation of those, who are 'hearers only and not doers of the Word!'

It is a favourite habit of the preacher, after having declared the words of truth and soberness, to throw off the responsibility from himself to the sinner. Perhaps the momentous consequences depending upon the neglect of this subject, may authorise me to do the same. I have declared to you the words of truth and soberness. 'I speak as unto wise men; judge ye what I say.'

ART. VII. FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

1. *Extract from a Letter to Prof. Stuart from the REV. ELI SMITH, American Missionary to Palestine, written while on an exploring tour to Persia and Armenia.*

TEBREEZ, PERSIA, FEB. 18, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,

* * *

I need not inform you that I have not yet undertaken the task you assigned me, of translating the Arabic grammar mentioned to you by Mr Temple, when pressure of labour and other circumstances have hindered me so long from even replying to your letter. That grammar was, I suppose the *Bahth El Muta-lib* of Ibn Ferhat, former Greek Catholic Bishop of Aleppo. The Arabic language contains many more erudite and copious works on grammar, a few of which are in my possession ; but I recommended that for the excellence of its arrangement, the clearness and brevity of its explanations, and also perhaps from some partiality to it, for its being the first work that gave me any clear insight into the true genius of the Arabic language. I was far from wishing to disparage the work of De Sacy, which I think justly entitled to high estimation. But, even in the philosophy of grammar, for which you know it has been highly praised, it is after all little more than a compilation from Arabic authors, just sufficiently accommodated to European ideas and technical terms, to throw some degree of obscurity over the clearness of the pure Arabic originals. So that after dipping into the latter, I felt little inclination to make any other use of the learned Parisian, than as a glossary for the explanation of terms not found in Golius.

You are aware that the Arabians have cultivated the grammar of their language more, and more philosophically, than perhaps any other nation has its vernacular tongue ; and such is the peculiar construction of their admirable dialect, itself reaching back perhaps to the very origin of speech, that in doing this they have unconsciously developed, with great simplicity and clearness, the first principles of the philosophy of general grammar. All their technical words, which the nature of their language enabled them to make for every occasion, are founded upon, and in fact explanatory of, this philosophy. The grammars of European

languages unfortunately afford few terms exactly corresponding with these, so that literally to translate an Arabic grammar is impossible, or if attempted must occasion both error and obscurity. The technical terms of the original must be left unchanged, or must be formally explained. In any attempt at the latter, perhaps no one would succeed better than De Sacy has done. In short, my opinion is, that the student, in order to drink deeply into the spirit of the Arabic tongue, should withdraw himself as far from the theories and technicalities of the grammars of European languages, as the language he is studying is different from them; and should plunge deeply into the native authors in their native tongue. You will therefore perceive, that besides thinking the task you impose not easily accomplished, I should deem the work of the Bishop deprived of a very large part of its intrinsic merit, when stripped of its original language.—One thing I should like very much to do with it, and that is, to print an edition to be used in native christian schools, as an elementary work.

The most interesting questions of a Biblical nature connected with Armenia, are the position of the mountains on which the ark rested, and the location of the Ten Tribes. The name of Ararat occurs, so far as I recollect, (for unfortunately I have neither Concordance nor Hebrew Bible with me,) but twice in the Old Testament, Gen. 8: 4, and Jerem. 51: 27; and both times as the name of a country, which in the last passage is said to have a king. It is well known that this was the name of one of the fifteen provinces of Armenia. It was situated nearly in the centre of the kingdom; was very extensive, reaching from a point above seven or eight miles east of the modern Erzroom, to within thirty or forty miles of Nakhchewan; yielded to none in fertility, being watered from one extremity to the other by the Araxes which divided it into two nearly equal parts; and contained some eight or ten cities, which were successively the residences of the kings, princes, or governors of Armenia, from the commencement of its political existence about 2000 years B. C. according to Armenian tradition, until the extinction of the Pagratian dynasty about the middle of the 11th century, with the exception of about 230 years at the commencement of the Arsacian dynasty, when Nisibis and Orfa were the capitals. It is therefore not unnatural that this name should be substituted for that of the whole kingdom, and thus become known to foreign nations, and that the king of Armenia should be called the king of Ara-

rat. This province we have seen almost in its whole extent, first entering it at the western and then at its eastern extremity.

On the last occasion we passed very near the base of that noble mountain, which is called by the Armenians, Masis, and by Europeans generally Ararat, and for more than twenty days had it constantly in sight, except when obscured by clouds. It consists of two peaks, one considerably higher than the other, and is connected with a chain of mountains running off to the N. W. and W. which though high are not of sufficient elevation to detract at all from the lonely dignity of this stupendous mass. From Nakhchewan, at the distance of at least 100 miles to the S. E. it appeared like an immense isolated cone of extreme regularity, rising out of the valley of the Araxes. Its height is said to be 16,000 feet, but I do not know by whom the measurement was taken. The eternal snows upon its summit occasionally form vast avalanches, which precipitate themselves down its sides with a sound not unlike that of an earthquake. When we saw it, it was white to its very base with snow. And certainly not among the mountains of Ararat or of Armenia generally, nor those of any part of the world where I have been, have I ever seen one, whose majesty could plead half so powerfully its claims, to the honour of having once been the stepping stone between the old world and the new. I gave myself up to the feeling that on its summit were once congregated all the inhabitants of the earth, and that, while in the valley of the Araxes, I was paying a visit to the second cradle of the human race. Nor can I allow my opinion to be at all shaken by the Chaldee paraphrasts, the Syrian translators and commentators, and the traditions of the whole family of Syrian churches, which translate the passage in question *mountains of the Kurds*. The Septuagint and Josephus, who support the Hebrew original, certainly speak the language of a tradition quite as ancient. Not to urge the names of places around Mount Masis in favour of its claims, as I think in the case of Nakhchewan might be done with some force, there is one passage of Scripture of some importance, which I do not recollect to have ever seen applied to elucidate this subject. In Gen. 11: 2, where the movements of the descendants of Noah are first alluded to, it is said that they journeyed from the *east* and came into the land of Shinar. Now had the ark rested upon the mountains of Kurdistan, they would naturally have issued at once into Mesopotamia, and have made their way down to Babylon from the north; nor would they have been obliged

to go so far to find a *plain*. But in migrating from the valley of the Araxes, they would of course keep on the eastern side of the Median mountains until they almost reached the parallel of Babylon, before they would find a convenient place for crossing them. Such is now the daily route of caravans going from this city to Bagdad. They go south as far as Kermanshah, and then making almost a right angle take a western direction to Bagdad ; thus making their journey some ten or twelve days longer than it would be, were they to take the more mountainous and difficult road by Soleymania. It has been objected to this location of Mount Ararat, that there are now no olive trees near enough for Noah's dove to have plucked her leaf from ; and perhaps this opinion gave rise to the tradition in favour of the Kurdish mountains, which are so near to the warm regions of Mesopotamia. In fact, there are no olive trees in the valley of the Araxes, nor of the Cyrus, nor in any part of Armenia we have seen, nor yet, as we have been told, on the shores of the Caspian. They are to be found no nearer than some of the warm valleys of the province of Akhaltzikhi and the basin of the ancient Colchis. We mentioned this objection in a circle of learned monks at Etchmiazin. They shrewdly replied, by asking if it would be very hard work for a pigeon to fly to Akhaltzikhi and back again. Their explanation was in fact satisfactory. The distance, in the direction taken by caravans, is about 130 miles, and in a straight line must be less ; a distance which, according to some recent experiments made upon the flight of carrier pigeons between London and Antwerp, might be easily passed over twice in a day by that bird.

* * *

Yours very truly,

ELI SMITH.

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2. *Extracts from a letter to the Editor from* PROFESSOR THO-
LUCK *of the University of Halle. Translated from the Ger-*
man.

HALLE, JULY 5, 1831.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

The reception of the second Number of your Biblical Repository, which has this day come to me from Leipsic, reminds me of the debt of friendship which I owe you ; and I will tear myself away from business and seize a moment in order to hold converse with you.

* * *

In regard to the public [theological] affairs in Halle, the storm has become quite still, and the fruits have been beyond all expectation. I have in my *auditorium* no longer room, and must read my private course on exegesis of the N. T. in the large public lecture room; and inasmuch as Wegscheider and Thilo both read exegesis at the same time, this is certainly a great deal. In like manner my private rooms no longer suffice for those who attend our evening religious exercises; I have had to transfer these to my *auditorium*, and even here there is no longer place to sit down. I know also several instances, where those who were deeply sunk in rationalism, have not only become supernaturalists, but, so far as human eye can see, are really converted from darkness to light, and adorn their profession by their lives and conduct. And generally speaking, although I for myself would not wish such another explosion, yet it cannot be denied that the impression made has in many respects been highly salutary. As to myself, the increased interest manifested by the students has given me so much more to do, that at present I am so lost in University labours, as not to be able to attend to any thing else; I read no periodical, and go still less than formerly into society. Activity in behalf of the kingdom of the Lord is my only, but also my sufficient delight.

In respect to our theological literature, a very welcome appearance to me is Olshausen's Commentary on the three Evangelists in a synopsis or harmony. I have also procured the printing of Calvin's Commentary on the Epistles of Paul; and hope it will bring with it a very important blessing. Very many students purchase it. I think it would also find friends in America. The price is very low; two volumes of about 400 pages each for 1 rth. 16 gg. i. e. about \$1,25.—Another welcome work to me is Schubert's "*Geschichte der Seele*," a system of Psychology, a work of rich and various matter.—On the Old Testament, Hengstenberg's *Daniel* stands foremost, a very learned work, and more full and rich than even his Christology.—A commentary on *Daniel* by Havernik will also be an important appearance, when it shall leave the press.

The first number of your work has not yet reached me. My special wish is, that you may make known in America more of our ideal tendency in theology. I cannot feel at all satisfied with Knapp's System; for me it has not sufficient depth. Your countrymen ought to become acquainted with the works of Twes-

ten and Nitzsch.*—Your account of Halle, which was extracted in the New York Observer, has naturally interested us much. The facts stated are all historically true. I pass over what relates to myself, in all of which you judge so kindly ; but must tell you the judgment of our friend von G. who is greatly troubled on account of what he calls your “neutrality in respect to Gesenius,” because no hint is given as to the unhappy influence which he exerts upon theology. It is true, that it has been a source of mortification to me in several instances, that an English or American Christian should feel satisfied with only describing such a man as Gesenius merely in a scientific point of view, without any regard to his theological influence. In your case, you might properly have respect to the relations in which you so long lived with him ; but in other instances, this circumstance did not exist. In the mean while, it might still be a question, whether even here this circumstance ought to prevent all expression of an opinion, if mildly and affectionately uttered.†

* * *

We can then hardly expect to see each other again ; at least not on your side of the ocean ; whether on this side,—that hope I will not give up.

So then, let this silent and unsatisfying messenger speed its way across the ocean, and remind you of your home in Halle, and of all the joys and tears that cleave to this recollection !

With faithful remembrance, yours,

A. THOLUCK.

3. *From the same to the same.*

LEIPSIC, SEPT. 20, 1831.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Here from Leipsic, whither I have come for a few days for the sake of recreation, I direct my view towards America ; in

* Twesten, Vorlesungen über die Dogmatik.—Nitzsch, System der christlichen Lehre.

† I have here preferred to give in full this christian reproof of a friend ; and hope it was received in the spirit in which it was written. Meanwhile it will be seen from the subsequent letter, that the remarks were founded on the perusal of a mere extract ; and that the impression which caused them, was removed on reading the whole of the articles alluded to.

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order that in the midst of all the troubles by which we here on this side of the ocean are encompassed, I may find relief and refreshment in turning away from them all and looking upon your peaceful continent.—There is a solemn divine judgment broken out upon us. In Halle we daily await the Cholera. In Berlin, in twelve days, sixty two have died, and only two recovered. All the students have dispersed. Still the nations do not look to him who smites them. The spirit of insubordination still glimmers, and we have yet stronger explosions of it to expect.—The time may come indeed, when I could make use of your friendly invitation to your shores; but now, every man must keep his station in the combat, until he can be no longer useful.

That I am here reminded of you so strongly, has its reason in the circumstance, that I have here received the third number of your journal, and read it immediately through *en masse*. I own to you that I regard the plan of these three numbers as excellent. Your articles on Germany are so very candid, and the christian warmth which they exhibit is such, that they have been highly gratifying both to Hahn and myself. In a scientific respect also, I find that the articles which have sprung up on American ground, are of great value (*vorzüglich*), and the selections from the German, very appropriate; only I could wish, as I mentioned in my former letter, that the more modern German *Dogmatik* and christian philosophy might also find a place in your work. Should you succeed in making the contents of your Repository hereafter as rich and valuable as hitherto, it will become a classical book for the study of theology in America, and will be the commencement of a new era.—It must have cost you much labour already, along with your other exercises, to carry on this Journal and furnish the many translations.

In the article on Germany in the third number, the description given of our “love of novelty,” struck me as not being entirely well grounded. I think in order to comprehend this fully, one must have regard to the very great revolution which has been taking place in theology since 1750; and then again since 1817 the reaction,—while that rationalistic critical tendency and effort which had been begun, has been still going on. That this inquiry after the *καινότητόν τι*, does not lie altogether in the German national character alone, is shown by the history of theology in the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. Then the German theologians held as much to standard works as the English; and for the very reason, that there really was no pro-

gress made. But what a revolution has taken place, e. g. in the critical department of theology and in philosophy, since 1750 ; while in England every one continued to pray on the rosary of Locke!—With all this too, we have retained more standard works than you mention ; as Grotius, Beza, Le Clerc, for the modern school ; Calvin in exegesis ; in ecclesiastical history several works of Mosheim ; in dogmatics Gerhard's *Loci Theologici*—a work which men like Twisten, Heubner, and others regard as immortal ; in ascetics, Arndt, John Gerhard's *Meditations*, Thomas a Kempis, etc. It is true, you must not look here merely for what people like Henke, Wegscheider, and Röhr estimate highly ; since for them all wisdom has come into the world since 1780. The modern christian school also prize highly the works of the scholastic divines, as of Thomas Aquinas ; and among the church fathers, Augustine.

As to my article on Wahl and Bretschneider, it is in itself too unimportant for America ; and so much the more, because their errors and extravagances are remote from the taste and character of your countrymen. In Germany, however, the article was so far of importance, as the good people are really so blind and over-wise. But what will you say, if I recommend to you again *καινότερόν τι*, viz. the smaller *Clavis* of Wahl ? This is very well done ; although viewed in the light of a truly christian theology, it leaves much to be desired. The Spirit of God moves not upon the waters.—For America, I think there would be something of interest and value in an article in the July number of the *Literarischer Anzeiger*, on 'the merits of Calvin as an interpreter of Scripture.'—I intend also to give in this journal a notice of your work ; in which it will receive the merited praise of extensive learning and great judiciousness. I think also to characterize Prof. Stuart's article on the 16th Psalm.

Shall I tell you what you should do for the Hebrew ? (1.) Make known to your countrymen Hengstenberg's *Christologie* and *Daniel* ; also Kleinert's *Isaiah*. (2.) Give a character of Ewald's *Hebrew Grammar* ; and point out wherein he differs from Gesenius, and in what respects he is preferable.—Among the recent publications I would call your attention to Hartmann's *Pentateuch*, Hitzig *Kritik des A. Test.* Maurer's *Josua*, Rückert's *Römerbrief*, Kuinoel in *Ep. ad Heb.* Stein's *Lucas*, Baumgarten-Crusius' *Dogmengeschichte*, Schwarz's *Pedagogik*, Lindner's *Abendmahllehre*. Have you seen Stier's *Beiträge zu gläubigem Schriftverständniss* ?

For the coming winter, it is very doubtful whether we shall be able to deliver lectures. In Berlin, Halle, and Leipsic, almost the whole of the students have left, who alone would make it possible to read. They are mostly gone to Bonn, which will be very full. It is not impossible also, that Neander and Hengstenberg will spend the winter at Bonn. I remain at Halle; although it is, on rational grounds, not otherwise than probable, that I shall not escape the ravages of the Cholera. Should it be the Lord's will to keep me longer here, the coming winter will be devoted to literary labour. At the present moment, the third edition of my Commentary on John has just left the press; it has been almost wholly rewritten. If I can find time for private labour,—which has been impossible all the past summer, on account of the abundant and delightful labour among the pious and inquiring students,—I intend to publish next a commentary on the Sermon on the Mount.

Would that a countryman of yours might soon again appear in Halle; what a gratification would that be to me! While perusing your articles upon my country, I thought so often on our conversations. You have in them depicted the dark, as well as the bright side, fully to my satisfaction and delight. Some passages, and especially the complaint, that in our theological examinations no regard whatever is had to the religious views and feelings of the candidate, I shall translate and cause to be printed in capital letters.

* * *

With kind remembrance, yours,
A. THOLUCK.

NOTE. It would be mere affectation in the Editor, not to acknowledge here the gratification he felt on the reception of the preceding letter; not only as it respects the estimation in which the Biblical Repository is held abroad; but more particularly in reference to his own articles on Germany. There has of late years been so much published in our country respecting Germany, that was either only half true; or if true, yet so distorted by false colouring as to make an erroneous impression; that it was only with hesitancy and self distrust that the Editor undertook to give, to some extent, the results of his own observation. In a country like Germany, with the best intentions and the nicest observation, it is next to impossible always to form an entirely correct judgment; even if one abstains from

the usual fault of travellers, of drawing general and sweeping conclusions in regard to national manners and character, from a few isolated facts. It is therefore so much the more gratifying, to find that the delineations given meet the full approbation of intelligent and distinguished men like Hahn and Tholuck ; than whom there are none better qualified to judge.

EDITOR.

ART. VIII. LITERARY NOTICES.

I.

ROSENMUELLERI *Scholia in Vet. Testamentum, in Compendium redacta.* Vol. I. Pentateuchus. Vol. III. Psalmi.

By Prof. Stuart.

In a brief preface to the first volume, the author states that he had frequently been solicited to publish an abridged edition of his copious original work ; which now amounts to twenty volumes, and several others are yet to be added, in order to complete his design. The price of this is so high, even in Germany, that many who wish for the work are unable to purchase it. It is principally with a view to accommodate persons of this class, that the author has undertaken to publish a Compendium of his original work. This labour he performs in the main by proxy. The gentleman who actually executes the task, is named J. C. S. Lechner, and is evening preacher at St. Paul's church in Leipsic. Probably he is one of Rosenmüller's pupils and particular friends. The Professor speaks of him as "vir clarissimus, in sacrarum literarum studio dextre versato." His commission is, to select from the larger Commentary, whatever pertains to the explanation of the meaning and forms of words in which there is any difficulty ; also whatever is requisite in order to give a correct understanding of facts and events, ancient rites, the names of persons and places, and other things of a similar nature. In passages of special difficulty, some account of the views of other critics is given. Various readings that are important, are also noticed.

The commission being executed, the whole is reviewed by Rosenmüller himself ; corrections are made of his former opin-

ions, where he deems them necessary ; now and then new matter is added ; and a reference is made to important works on various subjects pertaining to sacred criticism, which have been published since the last edition of the larger Commentary.

Such is the plan of the Compendium ; a work which will, in many respects, be welcome to all the friends of Sacred Literature. Mr Lechner appears to have executed his task with great diligence and care. He remains true to his original throughout ; so far as I have been able to make the comparison. The slight differences that now and then occur, between the abridgement and the original, I presume are to be attributed to the author himself, and not to the writer of the Compend.

One cannot help being filled with astonishment at the number and magnitude of Prof. Rosenmüller's works. How he can find time to revise, correct, and add to, the present abridgement of his great work, is a problem that can be solved only by those, who, like him, have "iron diligence" and an appetite for study that never can be satiated.

The Compendium seems to be going on with commendable progress ; yet not as rapidly as the public must desire. The first volume is dated 1828 ; the second, 1831 ; so that probably about two years and a half intervened between them. If Mr Lechner truly possesses the character which Prof. Rosenmüller has given him, one year would surely be time sufficient to complete enough of the abridgement to make one volume.

The proportion which the Compendium bears to the original work, will give a fair view of the nature of the undertaking. The three volumes on the Pentateuch, making 1936 pages, have been compressed into one volume of 818 pages. The three volumes on the Psalms, making 1964 pages, have been compressed into one of 711 pages.

On almost every account, the public in general will be a great gainer by this process. Most readers, I mean most critical readers, who have the ability to profit by such a commentary as that of Rosenmüller, have but little occasion for much that is said in the larger work. Indeed, for all beginners in the study of sacred criticism, the larger work is exceedingly ill-adapted. The student loses his way, in a short time, amidst the almost boundless *sylva critica* which it exhibits. Two thirds of the work, or nearly this proportion, is a history of commentary, i. e. a narrative of what others have said and written, rather than a commentary in itself. In a multitude of cases, it

is next to impossible for the learner, (and difficult enough for the experienced critic,) to find the author's own opinion; much less is he able to find the distinct grounds and reasons for it. It is inserted, now and then, amid an immense mass of rubbish, by a *bene*, or a *recte*, or a *haud male*, or some such little words, which the tired reader scarcely observes; and when he does, it excites but little interest. He has been obliged to go over and around, and through the top of an immense tree, in order to find a single specimen of fruit; and by the time it is found, the vexation of looking so long for it, mars the pleasure of eating it. Nothing can be more illy adapted, therefore, to beginners in critical study, than the great work of Rosenmüller. The tyro becomes disheartened. He cannot find what he wants, without long and painful search; and when he does find it, oftentimes it is not such in manner or matter as he needs.

All this has been most abundantly confirmed by the experience of fifteen years past, in respect to many young beginners in the study of sacred criticism. They are prepared, therefore, to welcome the appearance of the Compendium. This leads them at once to the author's opinion, and places before them the grounds of it. Differing opinions are merely secondary, and are a matter of subsequent consideration. This commentary has become then, at last, what it should be in these respects; and it is matter of congratulation, that Prof. Rosenmüller has given the present form to his abridged volumes.

For most purposes, the present Compendium is abundantly sufficient. Readers in general, I mean critical readers, will need nothing more, as it respects most of the difficulties of the Hebrew text. In regard to such texts as are really doubtful, and of a very difficult nature, it is always to be taken for granted, that no scholar who knows his business in any measure as he should do, will content himself with any one single commentary.

It is well judged on the part of Prof. Rosenmüller, to publish his abridgement on the Pentateuch and Psalms first, inasmuch as these books are generally the objects of initiatory study. The student cannot ask for a cheaper work, than the two volumes under consideration are, on such important portions of the Scriptures.

Our public are, by this time, acquainted in some good degree with the sentiments of Prof. Rosenmüller. A rumour, however, has gone abroad somewhat extensively, that he differs

from the sentiments disclosed in his earliest works, and that he is approaching much nearer to the sentiments usually entertained by those who believe in the divine origin and authority of the Scriptures. When he first began to publish, he was a neologist of the lowest class. According to him, the Pentateuch was written late down in the times of the Jewish commonwealth, or during the captivity; one half of Isaiah was spurious; and so of many other parts of the Old Testament; Christ was to be found no where; and Jewish conceit and ignorance only found him in their Scriptures. These and other opinions of the like tenor, were often more or less openly avowed and advocated.

In respect to some of these things, there has been a great change in his sentiments. He strongly contends now for the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. He finds prophecies relating to the Messiah, almost as often as one could desire. What he thinks of the Pseudo-Isaiah, he has not recently told us. His critical maxims and opinions have, in very many respects, greatly changed from what they once were; and he seems to be making yearly progress toward the views of the more serious and judicious critics. In all this, there is reason for rejoicing. His works from their high critical value and importance, have, and must long continue to have, great circulation. It is a matter of importance, then, that they should be the advocates of sober and solid principles of criticism.

In Christology, his views appear to be unsettled and vague. For example; on Ps. 16 he says (in the Argumentum) that he cannot construe this Psalm of the Messiah, because it represents him in the attitude of suffering, while the Jews believed that he would be merely a hero, a victorious and powerful king. He avers also, that such a view of the Messiah, "*ab orationis poeticae, Ebraeorum imprimis, indole et natura abhorret.*" Why *suffering* is any more abhorrent from the nature of Hebrew poetry, than *triumph*, we have yet to learn; as Prof. Rosenmüller has not told us. It would indeed be somewhat of a difficult task to tell us; inasmuch as almost one half of the book of Psalms is made up of poetry of this nature. Or if the Professor means only, that such representations respecting the Messiah are "*abhorrent from the nature of Hebrew poetry,*" then this is simply a *petitio principii* in regard to the sixteenth Psalm.

The author confesses, at the same time, that Peter (Acts 2:

25 seq.) and Paul (Acts 13: 34 seq.) apply the 16th Psalm to the Messiah; and this because they really believed in such an application, not because they accommodated their interpretation to Jewish views. Yet this is with him no reason for applying it to Christ.

But Psalms 2, 45, and 110, the author applies to the Messiah; and he vindicates this application in a brief but satisfactory manner. The unpractised reader would not once imagine, when reading what Prof. Rosenmüller has said in reference to such an application, that after all he does not believe either in prophecy, or in the character which the Scriptures (according to his own exegesis) present of the Messiah. That such is the case, we have unhappily but too certain evidence. In vindicating the sense of אֱלֹהִים, in Ps. 45: 7, and after translating the verse thus: "Thy throne, O God! is eternal," he says: "Nor is there any reason why we should doubt that the ancient Hebrews believed, that the King, whom they expected to re-introduce the golden age, would be something more than human; for we find opinions like this, among the most ancient nations of Asia; and [mark well reader] *hopes of this kind, respecting some future deliverer of the human race, would much better accord with the opinions of early ages, respecting the gods being conversant with men, than with the sober method of thinking respecting such matters, which prevails in later ages.*" p. 299.

So then, later ages have grown too wise to believe in a Deliverer that is super-human, and sober reason rejects this. The fabulous ages only could devise such a fiction, and believe in it. Alas! how true it is, that "the world by wisdom know not God," nor "him whom God hath sent."

In regard to *prediction*, the student will be induced to believe, at least by most of what the author says he will be induced to believe, that his views are like those of supernaturalists in general. But now and then the wary reader will see plainly, that Prof. Rosenmüller is a rationalist, a thorough-going one too, as to any belief in inspiration. Prophecy is, with him, *shrewd conjecture of shrewd men*—and nothing more.

One can scarcely refrain from weeping, while he thinks on this. That a man of such extensive philological learning as Rosenmüller; that one who is, in general, so candid, so impartial, so unprejudiced; that one who has spent almost half a century in studying and explaining the divine word; should,

after all, place it on the same basis with the effusions of the Pythian priestess, and with the Sibylline oracles, is too grievous to think of. In the name of all that is sacred, what can be the object of a man's life, in writing commentaries on such a book? Is it merely to make money? The thought is too derogatory to be indulged, and too opprobrious to be asserted, respecting such a man. Is it then the mere love of study, which carries such a man through the most intense and immeasurable toil? I dare not answer the question. I can only say, that most of what Prof. Rosenmüller has lately written, contains a great deal of solid criticism, and is worthy of strong commendation. It is quite clear, that the student will find in most of his works very important treasures, if he knows how to make a right use of them. Finally, I cannot help adding the expression of my most earnest desire and prayer to God, that one who has done so much to illustrate the Bible, and to make its light conspicuous, may not shut his own eyes on the glory which he has so earnestly laboured to diffuse over the path of others.

II. *Recent Publications.*

I. *Literature of the Old Testament.*

1. HARTMANN, Prof. A. T. H. Historisch-kritische Forschungen über die Bildung, das Zeitalter, und den Plan der fünf Bücher Mose's, nebst einer beurtheil. Einleitung u. einer genauen Characteristic der hebräischen Sagen u. Mythen. 8vo. Rostock. Price 4 rth.

———— Die enge Verbindung des Alten Testaments mit dem Neuen, aus rein biblischem Standpuncte entwickelt. 8vo. Hamb. Perthes. Price 4½ rth.

2. HENGSTENBERG, Prof. Dr E. Beiträge zur Einleitung ins Alte Testament.—Also under the title: Die Authentie des Daniel und die Integrität des Sacharjah erwiesen. Berlin. 8vo. Price 1¾ rth. (See p. 205 above.)

3. CREDNER, Prof. K. A. Joel der Prophet übersetzt u. erklärt. Halle. 8vo. Price 1½ rth.

4. MAURER, Dr F. J. N. D. Commentar über das Alte Testament. 2ter Band. 1ste Lief.—Also under the title: Commentar über das Buch Josua. 8vo. Stuttgart. Price 1 rth.

5. KAISERI, Prof. Dr Theoph. Phil. Chr. Commentarius quo linguæ Aramaeae usus ad judicanda et interpretanda plura

N. T. loca, et maxime quae parallela sunt, novis exemplis defenditur. 8vo. Norimb. $\frac{5}{6}$ rth.

II. Literature of the New Testament.

1. WAHL, Dr Chr. Abr. Clavis N. T. philologica, usibus scholarum et juvenum theologiae studiosorum accommodata. Editio minor. 4to. Lips. Price $3\frac{2}{3}$ rth.—This is the smaller work of Wahl, mentioned with commendation by Prof. Tholuck on p. 208 above.

2. GUERIKE, Prof. H. E. Ferd. Fortgesetzte Beiträge zur historisch-kritischen Einleitung ins N. T.—Also under the title: Die Hypothese von dem Presbyter Johannes als Verfasser der Offenbarung geprüft. Nebst Excursen über die Abfassungszeit u. Aechtheit der Apocalypse. Ein Beitrag zur Vertheidigung der Authentie der Offenbarung des Apostels Johannes. 8vo. Halle. $\frac{1}{2}$ rth.

3. OLSHAUSEN, Prof. Herm. Biblischer Commentar über sämtliche Schriften des N. T. zunächst für Prediger u. Studierende. 1ster Band, die drei ersten Evangelien bis zur Leidensgeschichte enthaltend. 8vo. pp. 960. Price $4\frac{1}{2}$ rth.

4. CALVINI, Joh. In omnes Pauli Apost. Epistolas atque etiam in Epistolam ad Hebraeos Commentarii, ad ed. R. Steph. accuratiss. exscripti. II Vol. 8vo. Halle. Price $1\frac{2}{3}$ rth.—This work is published under the superintendence of Prof. Tholuck. See p. 205 above.

5. BENECKE W. Der Brief Pauli an die Römer erläutert. 8vo. Heidelb. $1\frac{3}{4}$ rth.

6. FLATT, Prof. J. C. Vorlesungen über die Briefe Pauli an den Timotheus u. Titus nebst einer allgemeinen Einleitung über die Briefe Pauli. Nach seinem Tode herausgegeben von M. C. F. Kling. 8vo. Tüb. Price $2\frac{1}{4}$ rth.

7. KUINOEL, Prof. Dr Chr. Theopl. Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebraeos. 8vo. pp. 580. Price $2\frac{1}{2}$ rth.

III. Greek Lexicography.

1. PASSOW, Prof. Franz, Handwörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache. 2 Bände. 4te durchgangig verbess. und vermehrte Ausgabe. Leipz. 1831. $7\frac{1}{3}$ rth.

2. Thesaurus Graecae Linguae, ab H. STEPHANO constructus. Post ed. Angl. novis add. auctum, ordineque alphabet. digestum tertio ediderunt C. B. HASE, G. R. L. DE SINNER, et T. FIX. Vol. I. Fasc. 1. pp. 168. Fol. Parisiis apud Didot, 1831. Price 12 frcs.

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ART. I. ON THE ALLEGED OBSCURITY OF PROPHECY.

By M. Stuart, Prof. of Sac. Lit. in Theol. Sem. Andover.

[DESIGNED AS A FURTHER INVESTIGATION OF SOME TOPICS DISCUSSED IN THE
DISSERTATION OF PROF. HENGSTENBERG, CONTAINED IN THE PRECEDING
NUMBER OF THIS WORK.]

WERE I to select a motto for the following remarks, from the quotations which Prof. Hengstenberg has so happily made from several of the ancient fathers, I could choose none more accordant with my own views, or more appropriate to my design, than the words of Jerome: *Neque vero . . . prophetæ in ecstasi loquuti sunt, ut nescirent quid loquerenter, et cum alios erudirent, ipsi ignorarent quid dicerent.** After all that Prof. Hengstenberg has said in so able and ingenious a manner, and all which I have found in other excellent writers relative to this subject, I feel compelled still to say, with Chrysostom: "The prophet is not in such a state, [i. e. like that of the heathen *μάντις*,] but utters his communications with sober intelligence, and in a sound state of mind, understanding what he says."†

I acknowledge that my views of the nature and design of prophecy and of inspiration, lead me unavoidably to the same conclusion with that of the fathers just named. What is prophecy? That part of it with which we are now concerned is *prediction*. And what is prediction? It is the foretelling of certain things which are to happen; it is a revelation made through men, to

* Comp. p. 140.

† P. 140, 141.

men, respecting future things ; a declaration that certain events will take place. Now what is a declaration or *revelation* ? If this be unintelligible, both to him who utters it, and to those who are addressed by him ; if neither he, nor they, nor any one who comes after them, is able to explain the meaning of this revelation—and this because it is in itself obscure and unintelligible—in what tolerable sense can this be called a *revelation* ?

I admit that a multitude of causes might hinder wicked and carnal and ignorant men, from understanding what the prophets uttered. Prejudice, want of being conversant with spiritual things, passion, and many other causes might interpose, and effectually prevent the carnal Jews from rightly comprehending the oracles of their prophets. But to say that neither the prophets themselves, nor the intelligent and pious men of their times and of succeeding generations, were able to understand what God had given them for the very purpose of making a *revelation* to them—what is this but to say, that the purposes of the divine Spirit had been frustrated, for want of perspicuity in the language which he employed ?

And can we soberly maintain this ? Either God did design to reveal something to his people, when he inspired the prophets, or he did not. If he did ; then his design is frustrated, just so far as the prophecy is in itself unintelligible ; and how can we admit that the designs of the Holy Spirit should be frustrated ? If he did not ; then what is prophecy but illusion ; a seeming to make a revelation, while in fact none is made, or even intended to be made ?

But you will say : ‘ God did not intend that prophecy should be understood by the prophets, or by their cotemporaries. He intended merely that it should be understood, when it comes to be fulfilled.’ So Prof. Hengstenberg avers ;* and so others have often said. But this gives me no satisfaction. First, I ask, for what purpose was the prophecy given hundreds of years before its accomplishment, if no one understood it or could understand it ? Was it to quicken, to console, to rebuke, to instruct the people of God then living ? Certainly none of these ; for how should that, which no one did or could understand, accomplish any of these ends, or any other useful purpose ? For what end then was it given ? You will answer, perhaps : ‘ It

* P. 171.

was given, in order that when it should be fulfilled, all men might know that God is omniscient, and does foretel things before they come to pass.' But does this attribute of the God-head, (one which the very heathen themselves fully acknowledge,) need so much confirmation, as to have a large portion of the Bible devoted to this sole end? Has God, when he inspires his prophets, no present and immediate purposes to subserve? For myself, I must believe that he has; and that he always has; and if so, then an unintelligible prophecy can have nothing to do with the real accomplishment of such purposes.

But I have not done. I must repeat for substance here, what I have said on pp. 148 seq. of the first volume of this work, viz. that there is a real *ὑστερον πρότερον* lying at the basis of all such argumentation. "The prophecy is intelligible only after it is fulfilled." But how, I ask, does it become intelligible then? You will say: 'Because the events which constitute the fulfilment of it, serve to explain it.' Serve to explain what? How do you know, or how can you know, that any particular events have relation to a certain prophecy? Surely there is but one possible way to know this, (that by special divine inspiration excepted,) and this is, that you compare some particular event or events with a certain prediction, and from the agreement of the former with the latter, you judge that the former are a fulfilment of the latter. But in order to make such a comparison, you have first of all to give a meaning to the words of the prophecy; and then you compare the events with this meaning; and next, if you find a harmony between them, you name the events a fulfilment of the prediction. But what have you been doing all this while? Why, you have given a meaning, first of all, to the prediction; and this by some laws or other of exegesis; in other words, you have, after all, made out a meaning of that which (according to your own statement) was unintelligible; and all this, before the events said to be a fulfilment are compared with it. While the prophecy remained without a meaning, you certainly had no means of comparison; for a *fulfilment of what is unintelligible*, you will not contend for. If such a thing exists, by the very nature of the case it is out of your cognizance.

In order then to make out the fulfilment in question, you have certainly done one of two things: you have either applied the common laws of exegesis to the prophecy, and given it a meaning which you might compare with certain events, and thus have contradicted the assertion that the prophecy was unintelligible;

or else you have gathered a meaning from certain events, and put this upon the words of the prophecy, and then declared that there is a harmony between them. But suppose now, that another man takes another set of events, and makes a meaning for the prophecy (that is in itself unintelligible) different from your own, how are you going to shew that he is in the wrong, and you in the right? If you say that the events which he brings forward are not applicable to the prophecy, then, in order to support such a position, you must of course maintain, that the words of this prophecy forbid you to make the application that he has made. And what is this, but saying that the words have a meaning in themselves, and one which you do understand, and one which cannot properly be applied in this or that manner? And if all this be true, then again you assume the position, that the prophecy is not in itself unintelligible.

Go which way you please, then, you either admit the very thing which you deny, or else you argue in a circle. For what else but arguing in a circle is it, to say that certain events first give a meaning to a prophecy, and then to affirm that they are a fulfilment of that meaning, i. e. they are a fulfilment of themselves?

This whole matter seems so palpable to me, that I confess myself ready to wonder how men of intelligent and acute minds, like Prof. Hengstenberg, can overlook it. That those who live in the times when a prophecy is fulfilled, should have a more complete and satisfactory view of the *things* or *objects* treated of by such prophecy, than those who lived before its accomplishment, is, indeed, plain enough; just as plain, as that a man who has been at Constantinople will understand the topography of it better than a writer understood it, who has undertaken to describe that city and yet has never visited it. But how this will make the words of the writer in question to mean any more than the ideas which he himself attached to them, I do not see. I take the meaning of any language to be, *the idea which the speaker or writer himself attached to it*. Just this, and neither more nor less, all right interpretation will give as his meaning.

But I shall doubtless be told here: 'It was not the prophets who spoke themselves. It was God who spoke in them.' Prof. Hengstenberg goes so far here as to say, (as many others have done,) that a cessation of human agency and of intelligent consciousness are necessarily connected with prophetic *ἐκστασις*.*

* See p. 141 seq. above. Also p. 161.

It is no longer man, then, but God simply and solely who speaks, so far as the *agent* in speaking is concerned. In accordance with this, Prof. Hengstenberg labours to shew, that the prophets were in such a state of body and mind, that consciousness and reason and free agency of their own, were out of question, while they were under the influence of inspiration.

All this I must doubt. I feel bound, however, to give reasons for such a doubt; and now proceed to do it.

I grant that which Prof. Hengstenberg has laboured at some length to establish, viz. that in many cases, the physical system of the seers or prophets was greatly affected, while under the special influences of the Spirit of God. Why should not this be so? How could it be otherwise than that the amazing disclosures sometimes made to them, should affect the whole corporeal system? Often does this happen, when one and another scene opens upon us, in a natural way, and which has respect merely to things of the present world. But when the future glories of the Messiah's kingdom were disclosed to the mental eye of a prophet or seer; when the desolation of kingdoms, the slaughter of many thousands, the subjugation and massacre of God's chosen people, famine, pestilence, and other tremendous evils were disclosed to his view; what could be more natural, than that agitation, yea swooning, should follow in some cases?

But without attempting to canvass all which Prof. Hengstenberg has said on this subject, or making any objections to it, I may ask again, What proof has been, or can be brought, that prophetic ecstasy occasions a cessation of all voluntary agency on the part of the prophet, and of all intelligent consciousness? What proof is there, that (according to Philo, whose declarations Prof. Hengstenberg approves) "when the Divine Spirit comes into a man, his own soul goes out of him?"*

The necessity of supposing this, can never be made out. When Paul says of Christians, that they are the 'temple of God,' and that 'the Holy Spirit dwells in them,' is it necessary to suppose, that while he dwells there, the soul must be in exile? Just the contrary. For what, I ask, is so proper a temple of the Holy Ghost, as the soul itself which was formed in the image of its Maker? Is the body then, made of the dust, to be deemed

* Comp. p. 143.

a fitter residence for the Spirit of God who wrought in the prophets, than the soul? Believe this who can; I am unable to give credence to it.

Why then expel from a prophet his rational and immortal part, the very image of the God whom he adores, the moment that God comes to dwell in him? What is to be gained by all this? Is man, without his soul, his reason, his consciousness, his understanding, a fitter, a more probable subject of divine influence, than man possessed of all these and in the full exercise of them? This can be proved, when it shall be shewn that the body is a nobler work of God than the soul, and that a piece of clay is a fitter instrument of the Divine Spirit, than a substance which bears the celestial image of its glorious Maker.

A priori, then, one might say, the doctrine of Prof. Hengstenberg is altogether improbable. Let us see how it will appear, when examined in the light of Scripture and of fact.

It seems to me, that in arguing his case, Prof. Hengstenberg has introduced a *petitio principii*. He has laboured to shew that the inspired prophet was in a state of *ἐκστασις*; having shewn this, he takes it for granted that the prophet lost his own consciousness, understanding, and free agency. But admitting his proof of the first here, how will the conclusion follow? Jerome, we have seen, while he seems to admit the ecstasy of the prophets, denies that they spoke unintelligibly to themselves or others. Ecstasy may exist in very different gradations. Surely every degree of it does not imply a loss of consciousness and reason. What hinders our supposing, then, that prophetic ecstasy was of that gradation, which still implies the proper use of all the faculties of the human soul?

It should be remarked, however, that *ecstasy* is a word nowhere applied by the scriptural writers to the prophets. Is it proper, then, for us to select a word, which we may suppose to imply what we wish to prove, and then to apply it in such a way as in itself to make out the proof that we desire?

Before I proceed to examine some of the Scripture proofs relative to the subject before us, it will be proper to suggest a few considerations, which may serve as cautions with respect to the manner of making out our conclusions.

What is inspiration? What is prophetic ecstasy? Has the answer to these questions been made out, in all respects? I have not seen it. I admit the fact itself of inspiration or prophetic ecstasy. I believe it as firmly as I believe any thing con-

tained in the Bible. It is, to my mind, the voucher for the truth of Scripture. But the fact itself, that God did inspire the prophets, that he guided, illuminated, and aided them, and preserved them from all error, is one thing ; their physical or metaphysical state, while under his special influence—the *physiology* (so to speak) of inspiration—is a thing quite different from this, and one, so far as I know, that has never been made out.

Prof. Hengstenberg assumes the whole of this as a thing actually made out, when he proves, to his own satisfaction, that the prophets were in a state of ecstasy so often as they were under the influence of the Holy Ghost. But how this is made out, or in any measure determined, is more than I am able to see. I know of only two ways, in which it is possible that the physiology of inspiration can become a subject of definite knowledge to us ; the one is by experience, i. e. that we should ourselves be the subjects of inspiration ; the other is, that the sacred writers who were inspired, must give us a particular account of their feelings, state or condition, and the manner in which they were affected. I leave out of account here, any supernatural communication to us respecting this subject ; because this is not what we expect, or have any encouragement to hope for. Only the two ways above mentioned, then, are accessible, in order to gain the knowledge in question.

But of these, the first, it will be admitted, is closed up by the present dispensations of an all-wise Providence. The inspiration peculiar to prophets and apostles has ceased. Enthusiasts have pretended to it, and still do so ; but we reject their claims. Men of the present day do not, and cannot, understand the physiology of inspiration by their own experience.

Have the sacred writers, then, entered into particulars on this subject ? I know of no passage of this nature in the Bible. They have, indeed, not unfrequently told us that strong emotions were the result of inspiration ; they have disclosed to us facts which shew that the whole corporeal system was not unfrequently agitated to a high degree ; they have assured us, that the word of God which they were commissioned to deliver, was as “ a burning fire shut up in the bones” (Jer. 20: 9), until they had fulfilled their commission. That their state was such as to be distinctly recognized by them as an inspired one, and this without being liable to be deceived respecting it, seems to be essential to the credit or assurance which is to be attached to what they said and did, while under divine influence. For if

they themselves could not distinguish between an inspired and uninspired state, then may they have mistaken the latter for the former; and if so, then of course they would mislead us, in case we should follow them. But the assurance which the Saviour gave to his disciples, that "the *Παράκλητος* should guide them into all the truth," is sufficient to build our conclusion upon, that the apostles (for example) were not left in a state of doubt or uncertainty, whether or not they were acting and speaking under the influence of inspiration.

The manner in which the ancient prophets speak of this subject, and the apostles also, clearly shews that they were conscious of divine influence when it was upon them, and that they were well assured that it was divine influence and not something else. On this point I have no doubts; and all the security and certainty of the sacred writings are intimately and necessarily connected with this.

But does this establish the kind of ecstasy for which Prof. Hengstenberg so strongly contends? Are the prophets no longer free and conscious agents, because they are influenced by the Spirit of God? If so, whence the perfect consciousness of inspiration which they every where exhibit? Surely such a consciousness shews that the conscious soul still remains in the body, notwithstanding the ecstasy in which they are. If, as Philo says and Prof. Hengstenberg believes, "the soul goes out of the body, when the Spirit of God comes in," then how could the soul possess a consciousness of what was done in the body by the Spirit of God?

How now is it possible, we may further ask, for any man to tell what an inspired state is, in a physiological respect, when he has neither experience to guide him, nor any particular description of it from the sacred writers? How can such a matter be made out by any speculations *a priori*? Surely a man might better undertake to tell *a priori* how an electric or galvanic battery would affect his system, than to make out the physiology of inspiration without experience and without proof. By the very nature of philosophy and logic, this is impossible.

It is clear, then, that *a priori* reasoning on the subject of prophetic ecstasy, can never settle the question how it physiologically affects the soul. As to all this part, therefore, of the argument, we may be permitted to say, *Non omnibus satisfecit.*

But having gone thus far, I now venture to advance still farther, and aver, not only that such a position is *petitio principii*,

or at least *argumentum a priori*, and wanting as to scriptural support, but that it is contrary to the evident tenor of the Scriptures, both of the Old Testament and the New. Such a declaration of course should be followed by adequate support; and this I shall now attempt to offer.

For this purpose, I will take one of the most striking examples which Prof. Hengstenberg has brought forward, in order to shew that an inspired prophet was no longer a free and conscious agent. It is the case of Jeremiah, as related in c. 20 of his prophecy. In v. 7 the prophet says: "Thou hast persuaded me, [פָּרַחֲנִי, comp. Greek *πειθω*, *persuaded*, not *deceived*, as in our English version,] and I was persuaded; thou wast stronger than I, and hast prevailed." The prophet says this, in reference to his being persuaded to utter prophetic declarations, or to discharge the office of a prophet to the children of Israel. Prof. Hengstenberg brings this passage (p. 141) to shew that the influence of prophetic inspiration was irresistible, *das Unwiderstehliche dieser Besitznahme*. But had he gone on with the attentive reading of the sequel, he would have found reason for just the contrary conclusion. After uttering what is quoted above, the prophet proceeds immediately to state, that in consequence of his prophesying, he was subjected to daily derision and reproach. This wrought upon him so much, that he determined within himself no more to prophesy. He did forbear to speak to the people as usual. It was then that the word of the Lord which he was commissioned to speak, become as "a burning fire shut up in his bones," and he became "weary with his forbearing," and could no longer refrain from speaking as before.

Now, if from the moment Jeremiah was inspired to utter his message, he was no longer a free and conscious agent of himself, but merely and simply a passive instrument in the hands of the Spirit, how could he determine no more to prophesy? and more than all this, how could he actually carry this determination into execution, as he did for a while? The thing, on Prof. Hengstenberg's ground, is impossible. There was no soul in the prophet to resist the influence of the Spirit; there could have been no will of his own concerning the matter, certainly no resistance against the agency of inspiration.

The very appeal then which Prof. Hengstenberg makes to Jeremiah's case, I would also make. But he has appealed only to one part of it; while I have brought into view the whole.

And if this case does not decide, and that without any appeal, against his view of the subject, I must acknowledge myself incapable of understanding the sentiment which he has avowed and defended, or the nature of arguments which may be brought to oppose it.

In confirmation of Jeremiah's case, and as a final settlement of the question respecting the views of the sacred writers in regard to the topic under consideration, I must now appeal to the leading writer of the New Testament, the great apostle of the Gentiles. If ever man knew what inspiration is, he, who was caught up into the third heaven, and whom Christ himself by re-appearing on earth deigned in person to instruct,—he must certainly have known from abundant experience. What then were his views, relative to the free agency and consciousness of prophets, while under the influence of inspiration?

Happily we are enabled to give a very explicit answer to this question. To the Corinthian church, which Paul had planted and watered, the Spirit of God was pleased to impart many distinguished gifts of supernatural influence. But among all their diversities of gifts, there was, as the apostle Paul assures us, the *same Spirit*, 1 Cor. 12: 4, 11. After treating in chap. 12 and 13, of the importance of using all spiritual gifts and communications in such a manner as to promote the edification of the church, the apostle comes, in chap. 14, to reprove the members of the Corinthian church for *abusing* various miraculous gifts bestowed on them, such as prophesying, speaking with tongues, etc. He rebukes those who possessed such gifts for using them in the way of display, and so as to occasion disorder in the church. "God," says he, "is not the author of confusion, but of peace," 1 Cor. 14: 33. Why he says this, appears in the preceding context; from which it is plain, that in the Corinthian church it had not been uncommon, for several to speak at the same time, and in a foreign tongue, so that the church was all in confusion, and no one could receive any edification.

The apology which would be made for this, Paul well knew. The authors of such confusion would say, in the way of self defence, that 'they could not help speaking as they did; they were inspired by the Spirit of God, and had no more any will of their own; and therefore they were neither to be directed nor blamed in relation to the matter.' And on Prof. Hengstenberg's ground, they might surely have urged such an excuse; nay, it would have been an imperious duty for them to do this. Be-

ing no longer free agents, but influenced by a power which suppressed all consciousness and agency of their own, they were no longer accountable for their own actions. Nor could these actions be under the proper cognizance of Paul. How could he undertake to reprove and to chide other *inspired* prophets? Had they not the same claims as himself? Was it not the same Spirit who operated in both, who guided both, who compelled both to act as they did act?

This last question brings the whole matter to a point. The Spirit of God was in the Corinthian prophets; the same Spirit was in Paul; both (according to Prof. Hengstenberg) were led by irresistible impulse; both lost all consciousness and free agency, and became merely passive instruments; and yet, this same Spirit in Paul, reproves and chides what the self same Spirit did in the Corinthian prophets! Are we then to credit such a view of the subject? And yet such a view seems to be the necessary result of Prof. Hengstenberg's position.

How differently does the whole representation of Paul lead us to reason! Paul chides the irregular and disorderly prophets, for an abuse of their gifts—of their supernatural prophetic gifts, be it remembered. And what says he to justify his finding fault with them for occasioning disorder? Does he admit a plea on their part, that they have no power over themselves; no free agency; no control of their own actions and thoughts, and no accountability for them? Just the reverse. "The spirits of the prophets," says he, "are subject to the prophets;" i. e. the minds of the prophets, when in the exercise of their office, are under their own control. They can employ them in such a manner as would promote good order and edification, instead of disorder and vain glory.

How well this agrees with the actual experience of Jeremiah, must be altogether plain to every considerate person. From both of these passages compared together it seems quite evident, that while the word of God was in the souls of the prophets as "a burning fire," i. e. while an urgent motive was presented to the prophet for the faithful delivery of it to the people, yet still he was not subjected to an irresistible influence. Jeremiah did resist such influence; and the Corinthian prophets misapplied and abused the special gifts of the Spirit which they enjoyed.

I cannot help considering these examples from Scripture as settling the question under consideration; settling it finally and

fully. Certainly there is no need of supposing other prophets to act under a different kind of restraint from that of Jeremiah or the Corinthian prophets.

Prophetic ecstasy, then, is not an unconscious state, a state without a soul and without the proper use of its faculties. Why should it be deemed so? Is it not as proper that God should act through rational and free men, as through irrational ones destitute of all free agency? Is he less honored by using the *souls* of men as his instruments, than he is by using their *bodies*? I trust the answer to these questions need not be repeated.

When Saul of Tarsus fell down on the plains of Damascus, overpowered by the vision of his God and Saviour, and this was followed by deep and bitter penitence, was not this penitence his own free act? Was he less a free agent now, than when he was rushing on to Damascus, in order to shed innocent blood? And among the thousands of thousands, who "are born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God," are they all, while under the influence of a regenerating Spirit, deprived of consciousness, and understanding, and free agency? Or rather, is it not true, that never before the moment when they are born again were they so intelligent, so rational, so free as then?

I am willing to leave the question here, so far as *argument* is concerned. One word more by way of illustration, and I shall have done with this part of my subject.

Bishop Lowth, in speaking of the inspiration of the prophets, observes, that inspiration may be regarded not as suppressing or extinguishing for a time the faculties of the human mind, but of purifying, and strengthening, and elevating them above what they would otherwise reach. Can any thing be more rational than this? And is not this a more desirable method of contemplating the subject, than it is to suppose that the prophets were brought so near, as Prof. Hengstenberg supposes, to the *ἐκστασις* of the heathen *μάντις*? I am aware that he has endeavoured to draw a line of distinction between the two.* But can this distinction be physiologically designated, in the manner in which he has attempted to do it? I must believe the difference to be wider, more marked, more decisive, than he has made it. In respect to the *μανία*, the *furor* of the heathen *μάντις*, it seems to me that there is not only no evidence that it pertained to the

* P. 144 above.

sacred writers ; but I am unable to discover adequate proof of any approach to such a state of mind. Of all the men in the world, I must believe that an inspired one is the most rational, and intelligent, and free.

If the reader feel any inclination to doubt, whether the distinction between true and false prophets is adequately and satisfactorily made out by Prof. Hengstenberg, let him stop for a moment, and accompany me in a brief examination of it.

What is the distinction in question? It is this, viz. that "consciousness and the inferior qualities of the mind," in the true prophets, "were removed" during their inspiration. "Their capacity for perceiving divine objects was thus freed from its earthly fetters, and thus adapted, like a pure mirror, to receive the impressions of divine truth." Prof. Hengstenberg then goes on to state, that 'the prostrated physical condition of the true prophets, resulted from the struggle of their human frame with the divine influence ; and that this struggle finally issued in the entire subjection of the struggling body, and a state of perfect quietness.'

In what respects, now, did the heathen seer differ from the Hebrew one? He also, as Prof. Hengstenberg represents, lost his own consciousness. But this was brought about, by 'the inferior part of the soul being excited to a contest against the superior. The object [result?] of this contest was not quietness. In fact the more the agitation that could be occasioned, the higher was the proof of inspiration, etc.' "The condition of the [Hebrew] prophets was a *supernatural* one ; the condition of the heathen seers, an *unnatural* one, a momentary insanity."*

On the first of these representations, I have already said nearly all which I could wish to say. The sum is, that Scripture contradicts in the plainest manner the idea that the prophets were unconscious agents, and that their spirit forsook its abode while the Spirit of God exerted his influence upon them. Moreover, in no shape whatever can this be made creditable to the influence of the Spirit, or to the nature of his work ; or credible in a physiological or metaphysical point of view. In respect to this last point, let me ask : What can Prof. Hengstenberg possibly mean, by 'the removal of intelligent consciousness, and the emigration of the soul from the body, (for so, in a preceding part of his Dissertation, he has represented it,) and yet only

* P. 144 ubi sup.

“the inferior qualities of the mind” receding along with the soul? What then are the ‘superior qualities’ of mind which are left to the prophet, after his soul itself has emigrated from the body, and taken along with it the inferior qualities? What are the superior qualities left to be exercised, after consciousness has ceased to exist?

Let us proceed another step. ‘The struggle of the Hebrew prophets, is that of their bodies contending against the new Spirit who is about to occupy them.’ But why? When all *consciousness* is gone, what idea or purpose of resistance can the *body* form? I am again in the dark. If life could remain, after the soul of a man had emigrated, I could conceive it physiologically possible and even probable, that the occupancy of the body by the divine Spirit might affect the nervous system. But why an excitement of this nature, (which might be the effect of pleasurable sensation as easily as of painful,) should be represented as “struggling” with the Spirit of God, i. e. as I understand it, contending against his taking possession, I know not. I want more light here. Such a struggle would seem to be the effect of *reluctance*; and reluctance would of course imply *consciousness*.

But what is attained by the victory of the Spirit? A “condition of quietness?” Quietness of what? Not of mind; nor yet of body. Nothing is more certain than that the Hebrew prophets were often highly agitated in both, during the actual utterance of their oracles. It is unnecessary to prove this; it lies on the face of too many passages in the Scriptures, to make such a labour even expedient.

What have we, then, in such a state of a Hebrew prophet? (1) We have a state of unconsciousness and involuntary agency, which the Scriptures do most plainly contradict; as has, I trust, been shewn above. (2) We have a state that is a physiological contradiction and impossibility. (3) The result of all this is another state of “quietude,” which seems inconsistent with what is said in the Scriptures concerning the condition of the prophets. (4) The proof of ‘the receding of consciousness along with the inferior qualities of the mind,’ whilst superior qualities of the mind are left behind, (without any soul and without any consciousness,) if it be possible, must come from a source of evidence to which I have never attained, and to which, I must believe, my readers will labour in vain to get access.

Need I go on, then, in order to point out specific differences

between such a supposed condition, and that of a Roman *vates* or Grecian *μάντις*? I deem it unnecessary. I will only remark that when Prof. Hengstenberg states, that ‘the heathen seer lost his consciousness merely because the inferior part of the soul was excited to a contest against the superior part of it,’ (i. e. as I suppose, and may perhaps express it in our unphilosophical way, the baser passions and the imagination were excited until they predominated over reason and intelligence,) he states a fact in physiology or psychology, which is hardly capable of a proof that will give it so definite a shape. That the Pythian priestess *raved*, seems to have been caused by the vapour which issued from the fountain in her temple. That others did so, may have been from various causes. That much of it was dissimulation, we cannot rationally doubt. But be this as it may, I agree as to the fact, that the heathen seers were rightly named *μάντις*, from *μαίνομαι*, to rave; as Cicero has declared in his first book *De Divinatione*.

But what an immeasurable distance, now, between a raving man or woman, uttering incoherent sentences; or (which was more common) a dissimulating hypocrite, uttering cunningly and artfully and equivocally constructed sentences and poetic riddles; and a Hebrew prophet, animated by the strongest and deepest feelings of reverence for Jehovah, and a holy ardour in the cause of true piety! Is there ambiguity, flattery, self-seeking, enigmas, in the message of the latter? None. Are not all these stamped on more or less of the heathen oracles? They are. And such being the case, we would separate the Hebrew prophet from the heathen seer, not by discrepancies of a mere physiological or psychological nature, which lie beyond our ken in case they exist at all; or rather, which involve contradictions and impossibilities; but by a rational, enlightened, holy, excited, zealous state of mind, which raised the true seer unspeakably above all false ones, and did this by making him in a high degree like to the Author of his inspiration. Here is something palpable. The oracles speak for themselves. The ambiguities, enigmas, swelling words, polytheistic precepts, and other like things, contained in heathen oracles, are a palpable contrast to the Scriptures; but they are not more so, than the condition of their seers was discrepant from that of the Hebrew prophet.

That there is a broad distinction between true and false prophets, Prof. Hengstenberg recognizes as a fact, and seems highly to estimate its importance. But whether he has succeeded in

making this fact credible, by placing it on such a basis as has now been examined, must be left to the judgment of the reader.

I add but one more remark on a kindred topic. Believing as I do in relation to this whole subject, I cannot moreover recognize any solid basis for the physiological distinction which Prof. Hengstenberg makes between the ancient prophets and the apostles.* How can we determine such questions without more knowledge of the physiology of inspiration?

As little do I recognize any important distinction between *מראה* *sight* and *חזון* *vision*; nay, I may add, between either of these and a prophetic *חלום*, *dream*. That the prophets were sometimes instructed by objects and symbols presented to the prophetic eye, both when they were waking and sleeping, we can have no doubt, after reading the many things of this nature which the Scriptures present. That this was the manner in which all their prophetic illumination was given, we may well doubt. Indeed, we know this would not be possible; for what would be the visible image, for example, of 70 years, the time of the Babylonish captivity?

Who does not know, moreover, that *מראה* and *חזון* may apply as well to *mental* as to ocular vision. The word determines nothing as to the *modus* of inspiration; it merely decides that the prophets had a distinct perception of what they disclose, a perception which made it to appear as palpable to them, as any thing did which was an object of ocular vision.

We have examined the theory of Prof. Hengstenberg, as to the prophetic state or condition physiologically considered. We come now, to an examination of some of the consequences which he deduces from this.

"A necessary consequence," says he, "of the condition of the prophets as above represented, is, the *obscurity* of their prophecies in themselves and before their fulfilment."† He then goes on to shew that such obscurity naturally results from several causes. It is my intention to follow on, step by step, through each of these, and to examine the whole. But before I commence this labour, I must beg to be indulged in making a few general remarks on the subject of *obscurity in prophecy*.

1. I am not about to deny that there is more obscurity in the prophetic parts of the Scriptures, than in some other parts of them. But several things ought to be suggested, in order to

* P. 145.

† P. 166.

give a proper view of this. It should be remembered, that almost all the prophetic parts of the Scriptures are *poetry*, and poetry of the most animated and exalted nature. This kind of style is of course sententious, elliptical, often abrupt, full of rapid transitions from one object to another, elevated, figurative, remote in many respects from all that is common and trite, and therefore more difficult to be understood than ordinary prose. If this were all that is meant by the charge of obscurity, I should not hesitate to accede to the justness of the charge. The prophecies of the Scriptures would lose some of their essential features, did they not exhibit such characteristics as those which I have named.

But were the obscurity just described all which is laid to the account of the prophecies, it would be difficult indeed to support the charge against them in particular. The reason of this is, that other poetic parts of the Scriptures exhibit the very same features, e. g. the book of Job, very many of the Psalms, and the triumphal songs of Moses, of Deborah and Barak, etc. It would not be easy to find any thing in the prophecies, which is more obscure as to its diction than some of these are.

All the sources of obscurity named, then, are common to Hebrew poetry, and not peculiar to prophecy. Consequently we cannot justly draw the inference, so far as obscurity on account of the causes above named cleaves to the prophetic writings, that the very nature and object and condition of prophecy necessarily occasioned it to be peculiarly obscure.

Abating all the obscurity occasioned by these causes then, (and these give rise to a very large part of the darkness usually complained of,) abating it because the grounds of it are not peculiar to prophecy; we shall find that no small progress is made, toward repelling the charge of being enigmatical and unintelligible, which is so often put to the account of the prophetic parts of the Scriptures.

2. I may add a second remark, which seems to me of great practical importance to the interpreter. This is, that the obscurity so often charged upon prophecy, is *subjective* and not *objective*; I mean, it belongs to the prophecies merely as construed by the reader, and not to the prophecies as they are and were in themselves.

Let me illustrate, more fully, what I intend by the declaration just made.

One reader comes to the perusal of the prophecies, without

any of the important qualifications necessary to understand such poetry as that in which they are composed. To him of course they are dark.

Another reader looks back on an ancient prediction, from the region of light in which history has now placed him, and wonders that it was no plainer, no fuller, and no more definite. For example; he has before him the whole character, doctrines, actions, and sufferings of Christ, as portrayed in the New Testament; and all is plain and clear. A thousand things are placed in the light of noon-day, which patriarchs and prophets may have desired to see and understand, but respecting which little or nothing was revealed to them. For example; from the station in which the reader is now placed, amid the flood of light that is poured around him, he looks back, and reads the promise, that "the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head," Gen. 3: 15. But how? When? Where? Who is this seed? Is it to be merely and only human, or human and divine? Is it to be born the next year, or thousands of ages hence? Is it to be of noble or ignoble descent? Is it to be a temporal deliverer as well as a spiritual, or merely the latter? None of all these questions, or of a multitude more which he might easily raise, are answered by the prediction uttered to our first parents. And yet the answers to all these, were some of the first elements of religious instruction which he learned in childhood. 'How *obscure* then,' he exclaims, 'this ancient prediction! How little did it convey of what was to be known respecting the Messiah! It was only when the prophecy was fulfilled, that any one could be able fully to understand the import of the prediction.'

How natural it is to think and reason in this manner, experience most abundantly shews. From the region enlightened by the beams of noon-day, we look back and call to mind the faint beams of twilight, and ask: 'How could they be so obscure? Why was it not as light, the first moment it began to dawn, as it is at the present time?'

But are these rational and proper questions? And should we think it to be just reasoning to say, that it was actually as light, the moment when twilight began, as it is at mid-day? Clearly not; and as clearly would it not be reasonable to say, that the twilight of prophecy was the same thing as the full glory of its meridian sun.

If now we concede that prophecy did *gradually* develope the

person and character of the Messiah, (and who will deny this?) then why should we expect to find, in the first stages of this development, all the light which we can see from a stand where the whole subject is before us, in history as well as prediction?

To any allegation, then, that such declarations are obscure, as that "the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head," or that "the sceptre should not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh [Peace-maker] come," my answer of course would be, that these predictions did intelligibly convey just as much as they were intended to convey, at the very time when they were uttered. It is of no avail to say, that the whole subject to which they relate is now better understood than it could be by the study of such prophecies. Who will not concede this? But then we may well ask, How has it come to be better understood? By the historical facts which are before us, or by means of new discoveries as to the meaning of the words contained in the predictions? Clearly in the former way. We may ask again, then, whether evidence respecting the nature of a subject partially developed to Adam and Eve, or to Jacob's sons,—evidence gathered from the history of ages far remote from those in which these predictions were uttered, can be brought to shew that the words of these predictions mean any thing more in themselves than they have always meant, or than they were supposed to mean, at the time when they were uttered?

I do not see any mystery here, or any room for mistake relative to the nature of the thing in question. The light of the present day will not prove that the twilight of the world was equally resplendent.

It were easy to illustrate the nature of the principle which I am now endeavouring to establish, by a multitude of examples. Prophecies have been named dark and difficult, because they gave but a partial account of what we now fully understand. Our present views of the subject of them, we transfer back to the time when they were uttered; and then comparing their language with the views which we now have, we exclaim: 'How imperfectly was the prophecy understood, until after its fulfilment!' Thus we confound the *subject* to which the prophecy relates, with the *prophecy itself*; and because we now have abundance of light ourselves relative to the *subject*, we conclude that the *prophecy* itself was really intended, on the part of God, to communicate all that light, although this could not be fully seen until after its accomplishment.

I am fully persuaded, that a great part of the obscurity put to the account of prophecy, is charged upon it merely from such a cause as this. And what is this but to say, that *partial* revelations respecting any subject could not be made, and were not made; but that every prediction did in reality contain a *full* disclosure of the subject to which it related, although neither the prophet nor his cotemporaries could discern it?

I cannot view prophecy in such a light. It is not the true light. God has made a *gradual* development of himself, and of his designs, to the world. This will not be denied.

Apply now the principle just developed to all the prophetic writings of the Scriptures, and ask: How much of the obscurity laid to their charge, originates from such a source? The answer, I think, must be: A great part of what is left, after allowance is made for the first cause of obscurity which has been mentioned above.

Whenever we are asked, then, whether any particular prophecy is obscure, the proper answer always is, to ask, whether it does not communicate, in an intelligible manner, just as much as the author of it designed it should communicate? And this, of course, is its meaning—its full meaning. The sense of any words, is the idea which the author of them intended to convey. How much then did the author of any prophecy intend to convey by it? This is the fair question; and one which should be always asked by an interpreter. And when this is rightly answered, the full meaning of the prophecy is unfolded.

Prof. Hengstenberg himself admits something like this, in his first reason for the obscurity of prophecy. He says, that “the prophets had clear views only of individual parts of the great whole of the future.” Good; but just so much as they had *clear* views of, they described, I trust, intelligibly. They did what they intended to do, and were commissioned to do; and did it well; and then they ceased to do. Why should we imagine this to be otherwise?

‘But these parts must be united in one whole, and be rightly arranged, before the whole subject can be well understood; and this the prophets and their cotemporaries could not well do.’* I accede to the last assertion; but in respect to the other I ask: Was it the intention of the Spirit of God, that the prophets and their cotemporaries should understand the *whole* of the subjects

* P. 166.

in question? Clearly not. Did the prophecies then, I ask again, teach so much, and intelligibly teach so much, as they were designed to teach? I presume Prof. Hengstenberg himself will not directly deny this. And if they did, then is not that interpretation of them which presents all that they were designed to teach, a full, and just, and satisfactory interpretation? Can this now be well denied? And if not, then there is no reason here for complaining of obscurity.

3. I cannot close these remarks on the causes of the alleged obscurity of prophecy, without adding, in the third place, that many prophecies have respect to kingdoms, nations, and events, that for thousands of years have been buried in total darkness. In what manner they were fulfilled, we know not; when, we know not. We do not even know enough of the geography of many places and regions that are named in them, to be able to trace the scene of such fulfilment. Customs, manners, and many other things, alluded to by such prophecies, we have no present means of illustrating in an adequate manner. Of course and of necessity, then, there must be more or less, in all such prophecies, that is obscure to us.

But were these same compositions obscure to the men who were cotemporaries of the nations named, and neighbours to them? Surely we need not so conclude. And if not, then the obscurity alleged of these prophecies belongs not to the pieces themselves, but to us; in other words, it is not *objective*, but *subjective*.

I proceed to the second ground of obscurity; which is, that 'the prophets contemplated things as circumscribed by space, and not by time.* The meaning of this of course must be, that all which was presented to the mind of the prophet, must have been through the medium of ocular vision, by a מַרְאֵה in the literal, or nearly the literal sense of the word.

But what are we to say of those prophecies, where specific time is named; e. g. the 430 years of the slavery of Israel in Egypt, and their 70 years of exile in Babylonia? What could be the מַרְאֵה of these? The supposition of Prof. Hengstenberg, I acknowledge, is very ingenious; nor would I deny that in some cases it is well founded. After all, however, it assumes too much of the physiology of inspiration as known and certain to us, to be safely trusted in an argument. I can solve, to my own

satisfaction, all cases of this nature, in the more simple method of supposing that the *time* when many events predicted would take place, was not disclosed in prophetic vision ; and therefore the prophet himself in reasoning about it afterwards, might err in his own private judgment respecting it, as well as other men. Not that I suppose such errors are recorded, as part of the prophecies themselves. There is no evidence of this.

Prof. Hengstenberg refers to the apostles and to John the Baptist himself, as having been misled by uniting, in respect to *time*, events that had been joined only by *space* in prophetic vision.* As to the apostles, so far as their error was concerned, it was derived from their Jewish education, and not from their Christian theology. But in respect to John the Baptist, there would seem to be no satisfactory evidence that he had himself misconceived of the mission of Jesus. It is indeed related, in Matt. 11: 2—6, that he sent his disciples to Jesus, in order to ask him whether he was the true Messiah, or whether another was yet to come. That John did this in order to satisfy the minds of his disciples, and not his own, the whole account leads me fully to believe. And this is confirmed by the excellent testimony which the Saviour himself gives respecting John, in the sequel, Matt. 11: 7—14.

On the whole, it is always enough to say respecting any prophecy which makes no designation of time, that it was not intended to make any. God revealed *facts* to his people, but often he did not reveal the time or manner of these facts. What he did reveal, was plain and intelligible ; what he did not reveal, was of course not to be understood ; but then, how could, or why should it be ?

As a third reason for obscurity in the prophecies, Prof. Hengstenberg alleges that ‘the language in which they are conveyed, is figurative.’ On this I have already remarked above ; and while I admit the fact, to a certain extent, yet, as we have seen, this is not peculiar to prediction, but applies to all the other poetical parts of the Scriptures.

He says further, in confirmation of his views respecting the obscurity of the prophecies, that ‘the carnal part of the Jews did not understand them ;’ and he quotes passages to this purpose.† I admit the fact. But I ask, Do carnal men now understand many of the plainest parts of the Scriptures, which have refer-

* P. 167.

† P. 168.

ence to spiritual things? The answer must be negative. Shall we say, then, that these parts of Scripture are obscure?

‘But Daniel and Zechariah, in several places, declare that they did not understand the meaning of some visions shewn to them.’*

I assent. But what were these? Words spoken by others, and symbols presented to the prophetic eye. How easy now to suppose that the prophets might be in doubt, at first, in some cases of this nature! The angel that appeared to Daniel solemnly avers, in vision, that “a time, and times, and half a time” should pass away before the accomplishment of certain things which he had been predicting. Daniel tells us that “he heard, but understood not,” Dan. 12: 8. And what was it which he did not understand? The general import of the predictions that had been uttered, or the *time* when all should be fulfilled? Plainly the latter; for the prophet adds immediately: “O my Lord, what shall be the end of these things?” Dan. 12: 8. The question then, after all, is, Was a *definite* time intended to be designated by the words of the angel? In regard to this, Daniel was in doubt. Prof. Hengstenberg says, that ‘the command which he received to close and seal up the words of the prophecy, denotes that they were not intended to be understood until the time of their fulfilment.’ Supposing him rightly to interpret this circumstance, yet what is it which the prophet does not understand? Plainly the *definite period* of the accomplishment of the prophecy. But was it intended that he should understand this? Do the words themselves convey such a meaning? Were they ever intended to do so? Of both of these I must seriously doubt. Indeed, I am persuaded that neither question can be answered in the affirmative.

But is it the fact, that the *sealing up* was of course designed to hide from the prophet the meaning of his prophecy? In order to determine this, let us compare the case in Dan. 12: 9, with that in Is. 8: 16, where the same command is given, and where it is clear that security, *certainty*, is symbolized by the sealing up, and not an intention to conceal the meaning. Even so in Daniel. For what says the very next verse? “None of the wicked shall understand; *but the wise shall understand.*” Then, of course, what is said is not an inscrutable mystery, an unintelligible enigma. It is, after all, something which the wise

* P. 168.

may understand, and which, according to the divine promise, they shall understand.

And how is it in the case of Zechariah? In his prophecy, (chap. 1—6,) various instances are mentioned in which objects are presented to his eye, or rather to the eye of his mind, the nature and design of which (as symbols) he does not at first understand, and therefore makes inquiry of the angel who talked with him, what they are. How entirely different a thing this is, from not understanding one's own words which he utters, every reader will of course be able to see. The objects presented to the eye of the prophet are merely a *preparation* for prediction, not prediction itself. If any case can be presented in which the angel refused to explain the design of the objects in question, then may some proof be made out that prophecy is designedly left obscure.

But the main dependence of Prof. Hengstenberg is on 2 Pet. 1: 19—21. Nor is he alone in this. Knapp and many others have appealed to it, for the purpose of shewing that the prophets did not always understand, or could not always interpret, their own words. It becomes necessary, therefore, to examine this with some degree of particularity.

I have often perused and re-perused this passage, with all the attention which it is in my power to bestow upon it, both as it respects the object of it and the diction, and yet I have never been able to discover what these learned men find in it. My reasons for forming an opinion so widely different from theirs, I am of course now called upon to give, after making such a declaration.

First, I inquire, What is the object of the writer, in the passage before us? His object is to shew, that Christians "have not followed cunningly devised fables," but that the facts which they have believed in respect to the Lord Jesus Christ, are facts abundantly vouched for and established by adequate evidence, v. 16.

What now is the appeal made by the writer, in order to confirm this declaration? It is, first, to his own personal experience, inasmuch as he had, with his own eyes and ears, been a witness of the majesty and glory of the Saviour as displayed on the mount of transfiguration, vs. 16—18. It is, secondly, to the ancient Scriptures. "We have," says Peter, "*βεβαιότερον τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον*," i. e. prophecies in the Old Testament, that are even more to be relied on by others, than his own sin-

gle personal experience and testimony. That *βεβαιότερον* here has such a meaning, can hardly be doubted; and the sentiment itself, as thus explained, is congruous and consistent; for Christians had the united testimony of *all* the Old Testament prophets respecting the glory of Christ; which from the nature of the case must be *βεβαιότερον*, *stronger*, than the testimony of one individual, although this was perfectly credible.

But why does Peter exhort Christians to give special heed to the Old Testament prophecies, and to place particular reliance on them? Is it because they are dark, obscure, unintelligible, to be made out only by deep and attentive and painful study? Not at all; for all this would be a dissuasive from giving heed to them; it would detract from their being a *βεβαιότερος λόγος*.

What then is the ground of so much confidence in them? Why, that they are “as a light shining in a dark place.” Indeed? Then if they are a light, scattering the darkness of others, how is it that they themselves are dark and obscure and hitherto unintelligible? Can such writings be a *λόγος βεβαιότερος* for Christians at large?

And what is to be the effect of attentively contemplating this “light shining in a dark place?” The answer is, that “the day will dawn, and the day-star arise, in their own minds,” i. e. that they will become illuminated, instructed, fully satisfied, by means of the light which the prophetic Scriptures shed upon them.

So far all is plain. Not a word about the prophecies being unintelligible; or of their being capable of interpretation only because they had now been fulfilled. But let us examine the sequel.

The apostle exhorts the Christians whom he addresses to give heed to the light of ancient prophecy, because that every writing of a prophetic nature *ιδίας επιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται*. Why is it not so? “Because prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost,” v. 21.

The chief controversy turns on the interpretation of *ιδίας επιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται*. This then we must critically examine.

The whole difficulty lies in the word *επιλύσεως*. The verb *επιλύω* means originally and properly, *to loose, unbind, set at liberty, dismiss, let go*, etc. Hence, secondarily, it means, in reference to a discourse, *to explain, to unfold, to interpret*, etc. In this sense do we find *ἐπέλυσεν* in Mark 4: 34.

The substantive *ἐπίλυσις*, in classical usage, is employed in the sense of *freeing*, *loosing*, and also of *destroying*, i. e. loosing or dismissing from life. In the Septuagint the word does not occur. In the New Testament we find it only in the passage before us.

Prof. Hengstenberg and others maintain that it here means *interpretation*, viz. interpretation of the predictions uttered by the prophets. The assertion of Peter then would be, that no prophecy could be interpreted by the prophet who uttered it.

To this exposition there seem to be some weighty objections. First, this cannot possibly be true of *πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς*, in this sense. Some of these prophecies were certainly so plain, that the prophet himself, and all whom he addressed, could and did understand them.

Secondly, this sense does not accord with the logic or reasoning of the passage. 'Give heed,' says Peter, 'to the Old Testament prophecies, as to a light shining in a dark place.' Why should we do so? might naturally be asked by those whom he addressed. 'Because,' he replies, 'the prophecies are not of human foresight or disclosure, but they were prompted by the Spirit of God.' The answer viewed in this light, is a satisfactory one; for here is reason enough to conclude that the prophecies are "a light shining in a dark place." What the Spirit of God has revealed respecting the future, is plain, intelligible, and certain; because he knows all things past, present, and future, and can with equal ease and certainty cast light over all. Therefore give heed to the light which he has proffered. It comes not from the ability of men to explain or cast light on future things, but from the "Father of lights" above.

But suppose now that we adopt the other interpretation, how will the apostle's reasoning proceed? Of course in the following manner: 'Give heed to prophecy as a light shining in a dark place.' Why? 'Because no prophecy was understood or could be explained by the prophets, but they spake as moved by the influence of the Divine Spirit.'

If there be logic in this, I must confess myself unable to discover it. Just the contrary of what the apostle is thus made to assert, would seem to be true. For how can prophecy be like a light shining in a dark place, and yet be unintelligible even to the inspired man who uttered it? And how would it be any reason for giving heed to it, that the prophet did not understand it, and could not? Whereas, if it were so plain and clear that all

could see its light, then there would be some weighty reason, and some good encouragement, to give heed to it.

‘But the event explained the prophecy, so that it then became a light?’ Good; but I cannot see this in the text of Peter, nor any reference, direct or indirect, to any such consideration. The fact that the prophets were enlightened and instructed and moved by the Holy Ghost, so far from being a ground of their not understanding what they uttered, seems to me the most imperious and convincing of all possible reasons why they should understand it.

If now v. 21 be viewed as a simple explanation of *ιδίας ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται*, (and such it seems to me to be,) then *ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου κερόμενοι ἐλάλησαν ἅγιοι θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι*, is the antithesis of *ιδίας ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται*, and, as such, makes this clause altogether intelligible. Moreover the direct explanation of *ιδίας ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται*, is given by the clause *οὐ γὰρ θελήματι ἀνθρώπου ἤνέχθη ποτὲ προφητεία*, i. e. prophecy was not suggested, moved, caused, by the will of man,—but the prophets were under the influence of the Holy Spirit. Consequently, as we must conclude both from the nature of the reasoning and from the exegesis of the writer himself, *ιδίας ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται* must mean, that prophecy was not of the writer’s own disclosure, it proceeded not from the ability which he had in himself to disclose or unfold future things. But the Spirit of God who influenced him, made his disclosures to be a “light in a dark place,” and to be worthy of all acceptance and confidence. In this way, no violence is done either to the laws of language or the course of reasoning, and all seems to be plain.

‘But the passage in 1 Pet. 1: 10—12 serves to confirm the interpretation given to 2 Pet. 1: 19—21.’

Far from it, as I must think. ‘The Spirit that was in the prophets,’ the writer says, ‘testified of the sufferings of Christ, and of the glory which would ensue.’ But the prophets anxiously sought, as it was natural for them to do, to know something more of this deeply interesting subject; they sought to know “when, and what kind of time” it would be, in which all should be fulfilled that had been disclosed to them. And was there any answer to these inquiries? There was; for ‘it was revealed to them, that not for themselves, but for us [Christians] did they minister those things which pertain to the gospel day;’ i. e. it was revealed, that these things were not to take place in their day, but in ours; not *בְּיָמֵינוּ*, but *בְּיָמֵיהֶם*.

Such is the simple sentiment of this passage. And where is the proof from this of *obscurity* in prophecy? Here is proof, indeed, that every thing was not revealed at once, or even at all, respecting all the occurrences that would take place in gospel times; but how can this be a proof that what was revealed was not clear and intelligible?

Prof. Hengstenberg next proceeds to assign various important ends to be accomplished, by the obscurity of prophecy.* One is, that 'God does not, when prophecy is obscure, force men to believe.' But does he force them, when his words are plain? Did he not speak intelligibly from Sinai? And were all who heard him forced to believe?

A second reason is, that 'if the prophecies were altogether clear, this would prevent their completion.' And has it done so in the multitude of cases where predictions were clear? Was not Cyrus clearly marked out as the deliverer of the Jews from Babylon? Were not the 70 years of Babylonish exile clearly revealed? Was it not clearly revealed by the Saviour, that Jerusalem should be destroyed? And so of a multitude of other things. And did not the fulfilment of the things predicted take place? If so, then other things clearly foretold, might also take place.

A third reason is, that 'obscurity spread over a part of the prophecies would have a better influence on believers, than clearness would have done.'

That is, in other words, men are better operated upon by what they do not understand, than by what they do understand. For my part, I know not how to believe this. If I worship God at all, it is on account of what I do know of him, and not on account of what I do not know. If I believe in the argument from prophecy, in order to prove the divine origin and authority of the Scriptures, it is on account of what I understand of it, and know has been fulfilled, and not on account of what I do not understand. The Samaritans were reprov'd by the Saviour, for worshipping 'they knew not what;' it is desirable, then, for Christians to know what they are to expect and believe, in order that they may know what to do and how to worship.

Prof. Hengstenberg thinks that the expectation, in ancient times, of the immediate appearance and visible reign of the Messiah on earth, was a great ground of excitement to Christians to

* P. 170 seq.

live and act and suffer as it became them to do. And this belief arose from the obscurity of prophecy. So then, after all, we must come back again in effect to the Romish maxim: "Ignorance is the mother of devotion." Can it then be, that error operates more favourably on good men, than truth? He who was the Light of the world, never sanctioned such a sentiment as this. It is contrary to the nature of the human mind; it contradicts all genuine Christian experience.

In fine, for myself I have believed, and must still continue to believe, that "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all." I must believe that when he *reveals* any thing to men, he does not wrap it up in darkness. I must continue to cherish the belief, that when he undertakes to instruct them, he does not leave them ignorant. All which he intends to accomplish he does accomplish. His accredited messengers are not "blind leaders of the blind," but "clothed with light and salvation." They are not men bereaved of their understanding, their reason, their consciousness, their free-agency; but the most enlightened, the most rational, the most free, of all men on the face of the earth.

Such are my views of inspiration; and such, of the prophets of the living God. Whether men such as I have now described, are better entitled to credit than those who speak in enigmas, and 'know not what they say nor whereof they affirm,' I cheerfully leave to Prof. Hengstenberg and to the Christian public to judge.

In the talents and acquisitions of Prof. Hengstenberg I have great confidence and satisfaction. He has written a book in many respects admirable, and throughout creditable to his feelings and his learning. For the very reason that I have so much respect for his opinions in general, I have undertaken to canvass those which seem to me not to be well grounded. As a lover of truth, I am sure he will take this in good part. If I am wrong, he is able to shew it, and doubtless will do it. I can only say, I shall sincerely rejoice to have the truth, whatever it is, relative to the subject that has now been considered, demonstrated, and known, and acknowledged, and believed of all men. I have no doubt that he earnestly desires the same thing. I tender him my warmest thanks for his excellent book; and wait with impatience to see the promised continuation of it.

ART. II. THE NATURE AND MORAL INFLUENCE OF HEATHENISM, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE GREEKS AND ROMANS, VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF CHRISTIANITY.

By Prof. Tholuck of Halle. Translated by Prof. Emerson.

[CONTINUED FROM PAGE 123.]

PART III.

CHARACTER OF POLYTHEISM AND OF THE DEIFICATION OF NATURE IN GENERAL, AS ALSO OF THE GRECIAN AND ROMAN RELIGIONS IN PARTICULAR.

The grand defect in a polytheistic religion, is the want of *unity in the inward life*. Man, naked and exposed to the ten thousand assaults of enemies, as well in his own heart as in the world, surrounded by sin, error, and misery, needs a confidential, sympathizing heart to whom he can disclose all his pain, and deplore all his griefs. He needs an invisible hand, stronger than all visible ones, on which he can trust to sustain and elevate him in all the storms, in all the contests, of this multifariously changing life. Such a friendly confidential heart beyond the skies, such an invisible, almighty hand, the poor heathen did not know. When the billows of faithless fortune cast him on some lonely sandbank, or the storm of oppression shattered in pieces the vessel of his hope, to which of the hundreds of the heathen gods should he stretch forth his hands in prayer? Was that one to whom he cried, strong enough to defend him? Had he never in his life made this god his enemy by the omission of some sacrifice, while another might be favourable to him? Was the misery, from which he wished deliverance, such an one as had some particular god, who best understood how to deliver from it? Such and similar questions tormented still more the forlorn, disconsolate soul. Yet this was not all. Was there a heathen who earnestly strove and wrestled for sanctification and progressive perfection, and would seek in prayer the requisite aid of the gods,—whither should he turn? Every virtue had its own particular god.⁶⁵ Now he sighed to Minerva for wisdom; now he cried to Apollo to grant him

⁶⁵ Tertullian relates from Varro, that the Romans enumerated three hundred Jupiters. Apologeticus, c. 14.

joy. A fixed and consistent inward life, a confidential intercourse with God, was not in this way possible.

Along with the unity, there must also have been wanting the *energy*, of the inward life. Since this inward life was not unwaveringly directed to one point; since the powers of the soul were divided up by this multiplied direction of them; the man, even if he wished it, could not deliver himself from a kind of spiritual dissipation. It must not here pass without notice, that in a similar manner, the worship of saints in the christian church has also become injurious to the genuine inward life of the Christian; because, in its corrupted form, it must occasion nearly the same appearances and effects as polytheism. The baleful influences of the latter were so much the greater, inasmuch as its many gods were not subordinate and holy beings, like the angels. These are all subject to one only supreme law, and make the will of the sovereign God the highest rule of their actions; nearly in the same manner as, at a later period, the New Platonists described the various divinities, and according to which description, Augustine not improperly compares them to the holy angels.⁶⁶ But the gods of the heathen were gods of nature, unequal in *power*, though alike in *claims* to dominion; who were therefore not only in rebellion against Jupiter, the supreme lord, but mutually hostile to, and at war with, each other. While the prayer of the monotheist may await its fulfilment with unwavering certainty, if in other respects it is holy and sincere, since the God to whom it ascends, is one God, to whom heaven and earth are subject; to the heathen, on the other hand, the hope and confidence with which he sent up his prayer to heaven, must have been fluctuating and doubtful, since he could never know what other heavenly power might interfere, to hinder or restrain. 'But he that wavereth here, is like a wave of the sea, driven with the wind and tossed.'

Those gods, moreover, had arisen from the *deification of nature*. Of how much importance this point is, in respect to the religious life, has already been shown above. The chief object of religion, is, *to elevate man again to the higher region of the spiritual world*, from which he has torn himself loose through the impulse of his depraved will, acting in opposition to the divine

⁶⁶ Augustinus de Civit. Dei, IX. 23. Epist. 21. 22. According to this representation, they are, as Lactantius calls them, Inst. I. 3. merely *satellites Dei*.

law. Man must not be satisfied, and feel at ease, on the breast of the whole world of nature ; he must still have a longing desire, which shall raise him above all external things and objects. But no religion in which the visible world itself is an object of worship, can accomplish this. Such a religion tends rather to lay a ban upon the soul that aspires to surmount the boundaries of time, and condemn it forever to remain shut up within the dark narrow sphere of the world of sense. If now the man who feels more deeply, and to whom all this visible and changing scene is unsatisfying as a resting place for his soul, finds also in this religion no home for his longing heart, he must thus become the victim of despair. On the other hand, the man whose soul is already turned to earthly things and satisfied in them, instead of being drawn away to a higher spiritual life, will cling the more firmly to all the earthly enjoyments, to all the earthly occupations, which his gods particularly cherish, encourage, and protect. Every true religion aims at a life, such as does not appear in the present world ; it strives to found upon earth a heavenly community, a kingdom of God, which may be a copy of that polity constituted by the blessed and pure spirits of heaven. On the other hand, a religion which deifies nature, pronounces life as it is, to be the highest and best ; and imagines to itself nothing more perfect, which can satisfy its moral nature.⁶⁷ Hence

⁶⁷ This contrast between the worship of nature practised by the heathen, and the consequent physical character of their religion, on the one hand, and the moral tendency of Judaism and of Christianity, on the other, is often placed in a strong light by the defenders of the Christian faith. This is done particularly well, for example, by Julius Firmicus Maternus, (*De Errore profanarum religionum*. *Magna Bibl. Patrum* T. IV. P. I. c. 2.) where he contrasts the mourning and distress on account of moral objects, with the mourning over physical circumstances in the heathen mysteries and celebrations. "Do not lament, in the annual celebrations over the death of another," (that of Adonis, i. e. the vanishing of the sun,) "but prepare for yourselves, each year, that consolation which you will need at your own death. O wretched man! thou rejoicest to have found I know not what," (viz. the joy at the return of the sun,) "whilst thou, every year, in those festivals, dost lose thine own soul. Thou findest there nothing but an image which thou hast thyself set up. Seek rather the hope of salvation ; seek the dawning of the light ; seek what may commend thee to the supreme God, or lead thee back into his arms. And when thou hast

it came to pass, that the Orientals—receiving as they did this system of the deification of nature, although to their more profound tone of feeling, ordinary life with all its structure appeared too utterly superficial and worthless, while they still had no idea how a higher and holier spirit should be wrought into it,—totally withdrew themselves from external life, and sought to satisfy the desires and the profound longings of their souls by a constrained annihilation of it. They became, in short, quietists and omphalopsychites.*

We will now consider the character of the Grecian and Roman religions in particular. The glory and the exhaustless fullness of God, are manifested in the world in the vast variety of the fundamental archetypes of all existence, as well as also in the equally great variety of forms existing in one and the same archetype. Man, though always man in every climate, sustains nevertheless, in various regions of the earth, a great variety of character; and, according as the radical character of different nations varies, every thing which belongs to them, divine worship, customs, science, art, all wears a peculiar impression. Yet one nation is not of course for this reason more perfect than another, but each, in its peculiarity, can exhibit in its own way the glory of God; if in other respects its peculiar national impress has the sanction of the supreme law of God. What a difference in this respect, between the Oriental and the Occidental! As the Oriental, in the heat of the day, sinks down beneath the cool shade on the carpet of flowers, and, unfit for business, resigns himself to the train of mental images which passes before him; so there is manifested in every thing that proceeds from his mind, fervour, helplessness, and unfruitfulness in all that respects life. In the religion also of the Oriental,

found the true way of salvation; when after genuine penitence thou art released and saved through the forgiveness of God; then cry with a loud voice: *εὐρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν*, we have found! we rejoice together!"

* Called also *umbilicani* or *umbilicani*, a sect of *hesychasts* or quietists, which appeared among the monks of Mount Athos in the fourteenth century. They used to sit for a time every day in a solitary corner, with their eyes steadfastly fixed on the middle region of the belly, or navel; and boasted, that while in this posture, a divine light beamed forth from the soul, which diffused through their hearts inexpressible sensations of pleasure and delight.—Compare Rees' Cyclop. art. *Quietists*.

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we perceive the same three peculiarities; the fervour of imagination, while every tradition becomes incorporated into their mythology, and every dogma becomes an article of faith; helplessness, because all the images are colossal and unwieldy, the ceremonies and precepts innumerable and of course impracticable; unfruitfulness, because it is not social life in connexion with other men that is kept in view, but only life within one's self; and besides, not the disposition and moral actions, but fancy and corporeal penance are the chief thing. Whilst, on the other hand, the Occidental, unrestrained in the free action and movement of his body, ranges through the lands which Providence has assigned him; whilst he examines and proves and thoroughly investigates every thing which creation presents to him; whilst more especially he also seeks in the works of creation the footsteps of the Eternal Creator; the quiet Oriental, who learns little of the world and nature, retires into the depths of his own inner consciousness, and seeks for God in the profoundest recesses of the human soul.

As now the religions of the East and the West are thus distinguished by a definite line of discrimination, so also are both the Grecian and the Roman life and manners marked by peculiar traits; which are likewise visible in their religious worship. The Greek, in his whole appearance, stands before us strictly as the representative of the *idea of worldliness*, i. e. of devotion to the external world. At an earlier period, the Grecian traditions may indeed have possessed a deeper meaning and vigour, so long as the scion from the East retained its life and sap in freshness; but this soon dried up, and with it expired all higher spirituality and power. By this earlier spiritual energy, we mean the moral sense and import of these traditions; (which was then at least the more predominant, although not the only element in them;) the greater clearness with which they expressed the original and higher knowledge, which still accompanied fallen man on his entrance upon the theatre of the world. That this was really the case, is shown by Creuzer, in his valuable researches into the nature of the Orphean doctrines. But the corruption of the religious system of the Greeks, proceeded especially from the circumstance, that their mythological fables, instead of being estimated according to their moral import, were prized chiefly for their relation to the fine arts; and thus religion itself degenerated at last into art. This direction of the Grecian taste to the arts, had, moreover, not barely the negative ill consequence, that

the objects of religion ceased to occupy the mind with reference to their moral aspect ; but there was also combined with it this positive evil, viz. a most corrupting temptation to sensual enjoyment. The grossest sensuality was often connected with the contemplation of the images of the gods. The heathen themselves inform us, that individuals, burning with the wildest lust, practised impurity with the naked statues of the goddesses. So one with the statue of Venus at Cnidus,⁶⁸ and others with other images of the gods.⁶⁹ And how little purity of mind existed even in the artist Praxiteles himself, we learn from the notice of Pliny, who states that he used to sketch small paintings of a wanton and indecent nature for his *amusement* !⁷⁰ If, however, we even turn away our eyes from these gross aberrations, we must nevertheless still say, that *as error which is mingled with some truth, is always more dangerous than error alone*, because it then tends to hold a man longer in its chains ; so it was here. Men, to whom such gross sensual pleasures were no longer acceptable, clung to the more refined external pleasures of art, and supposed themselves in this way to stand high above the inferior multitude ; but still, even by this apparent elevation itself, they closed up against themselves the way to all exertions of a more serious and loftier moral nature.

Such too would seem to be the course which many, even in the present age, are led to pursue. The distress of the past years* and the great revolution in religious life and feeling, have affected many, who had thus far lived carelessly on in grossly sensual tranquillity. Higher wants were awakened within them. But, instead of satisfying these wants at the true source, instead of striving for a moral transformation of their life, instead of choosing to bear the cross and in the midst of reproaches to become the followers of Christ, they resigned themselves to a refined external enjoyment of art, and to efforts of taste colour-

⁶⁸ Plinii Hist. Nat. XXXVI. 5.

⁶⁹ Athenaei Deipnos. XIII. 84. Luciani Amores, c. 15.

⁷⁰ Plinii Hist. Nat. XXXV. c. 10.

* This treatise was published in 1822, and the allusion in the text is doubtless to the distress inflicted on Germany while it was the theatre of Bonaparte's wars. It is cheering in this connection, to meet with the subsequent allusion to the revival of a more active and evangelical spirit in that land of mingled light and darkness.

ed with the hue of christianity, which deck the wound with purple instead of healing it, and sweep and garnish the house for the demon, who, finding no rest in the desert, returns and brings with him seven other unclean spirits. Such persons, however, who thus deceive themselves concerning their real wants, are far more unhappy than those, to whom the discord of the inner man has not been made manifest. The sting of tormenting conscience is ever reminding them afresh of their nakedness; and the inward tongue of their soul proclaims aloud that their deeds are evil. But they restrain this voice of God that cries within them; they kick against the pricks; and in this terrible contest, the marrow of their bones is dried up.

Yet among the Greeks, there was not only this disadvantage, that the minds of men were generally turned away from what is holy; there was also another source of corruption, viz. that since ungodly-minded artists used religion as a material for the exercise of their art, and since even this religion itself presented objects and excitements of sin, sin itself was rendered attractive by means of art, and thus came even to be pronounced holy. This very point did not escape the notice of Plato. He says:⁷¹ "Since the common people have the right of deciding the victory at the public contests, they assign it to those poets who write in accordance with the worthless opinions of the great multitude. Spectators should ever hear better manners than their own described; but now, at the theatres, they are confirmed in the worst." Thus when, among the cultivated classes, religion lost, by the poetic mode of treating it, the seriousness which commands and remodels life, and also that dignity which compels respect; the disadvantage to the uneducated was still greater, through the false and sinful views of divine things which were thus received by them as truth. And here, the arts of painting and sculpture could produce an effect, not less than poetry. If these arts, among the more cultivated, occasioned those disadvantages which have just been mentioned and which indeed may generally result from art, the same arts were not less capable than poetry of infusing into, and impressing deeply upon, the minds of the common people corrupt ideas, if they were employed upon indecent productions. For if indeed, on the one hand, the sovereign of Olympus at Elis* suggested the idea

⁷¹ Plato de Legib. II. p. 245. ed. Bekker.

* This statue of Jupiter Olympius, which Phidias made for the

of a majesty that rules the world ; yet, on the other hand, the father of the gods, with the neck of a swan in the bosom of Leda, could excite only animal appetites and ideas. Hence the reflections are very fine and spirited which Dio Chrysostom, the heathen rhetorician, puts into the mouth of Phidias, in relation to the importance of his attempt to represent the Olympic sovereign in such a form or statue, as should serve to all Greece as a model for the representations of the father of the gods. Dio addresses Phidias thus :⁷² “O Phidias, thou hast loaded thyself with a great responsibility. For heretofore, so long as we knew nothing distinctly of God, we sketched to ourselves no definite image of him, because every one painted in imagination for himself a representation after his own pleasure ; and when we saw images of the gods, we reposed no special confidence in them. But thou hast constructed this statue so majestically, that all Greece and every one who beholds it, can make for themselves no other representation of God. Hast thou then indeed thus represented the divine nature worthily enough ?”

There was, however, this to praise in the Grecian representations of the gods, viz. that they exhibited the gods under no other than the human form, although indeed they often so degraded this form, or exhibited it with such attributes, that it appeared but little better than a beast. Far more abominable, on the other hand, were the representations of the gods among the Egyptians ; and likewise those now existing among the people of India, who give to the gods the forms of brutes. On this subject, the heathen Philostratus well remarks :⁷³ “It were better, instead of such figures, to make none at all ; for the human mind is capable of imagining something more excellent than any art. But by such images, the capacity is destroyed of contemplating the beautiful, and even of conceiving any thing higher and better, under these external helps.” For if the worship of the personified powers of nature, degrades the Deity to the limits of poor human nature, and confines him to those limits ; the worship and the sculpture of brutes, places God even below man. The human form, in its erect position, with the intelligent, soul-speaking countenance, reveals truly something of a higher na-

people of Elis, was deemed the master piece of Grecian art and one of the wonders of the world.

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⁷² Dionis Orationes, ed. Reiske. T. I. p. 401. 399.

⁷³ Philostratus, Vita Apollonii, IV. 19.

ture, which is wanting in the form of brutes. While, in the latter, the whole species has but a single archetype in which the fundamental idea of it is expressed, there appears in the race of man, even in its various divisions, such a variety of life and of individual forms of life, that these are rendered perceptible even in their external costume. For this reason, if any representation of the Divine Being could be permitted, it can be expressed only by means of the human form ; which has also been consecrated to this purpose by the appearance in it of the Son of God.

Since now the Greek, as we have seen, did not love and seek in this life that which exists above it, and which should govern it ; but sought and loved this life itself ; it is no wonder, that in the same degree in which the love and attachment to earthly life increased, the recollection of the elysian fields and the dark waves of Styx, grew fainter. The cultivated Greek believed in no future state ; as we saw, for example, in Polybius, and also in Pausanias ;⁷⁴ and not less in Simonides, who sings :⁷⁵ “ Silence reigns in death ; darkness veils the eyes. All things come at last into the one terrific whirlpool.” But all, the educated as well as the uneducated,* were tormented in the utmost degree by the fear of death ; because they had their all in this life, and, beyond it, knew no heaven, no Saviour, no triumphant community of departed spirits. So Anacreon sings :⁷⁶ “ Gray are my temples, and my head white. Gone is the loveliness of youth. Of pleasant life, little more remains : therefore I often sigh, in dread of Tartarus ; for that is the frightful den of Hades. Horrible is the descent ; and whoever once goes down, never returns.”—Lycophron also complains :⁷⁷ “ When death is yet far off, the wretched perhaps wish life to end ; but when the last wave rolls near, then we cling to life ; for we can never satiate ourselves with it.” Just so sang Homer long before :⁷⁸ “ I would rather serve with the poorest man, than be king over all the shades.”

⁷⁴ Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae*, II. 5.

⁷⁵ Stobaei *Sermones*, Sermo 117. ed. Aureliae Allobrog. 1609.

* Such sweeping declarations as these cannot be true in their full import ; nor are they probably intended to include such men as Socrates, who surely believed in a future state, and likewise awaited death with calmness.

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⁷⁶ Ap. Stobaeum, lib. I. ⁷⁷ Apud eundem. ⁷⁸ *Odyssea*, XI.

Of far different import, on the other hand, were the expressions of the first christian martyrs, who indeed could appear to the heathen, in that state of mind, in no other light than as enthusiasts. But the greater the anxiety of the Greeks in reference to death, the more firmly did they attach themselves to the things of this life,—the more deeply did they wish to drain the cup of their pleasures, and empty it to the last dregs.

The heathenism of Rome presents to us a different character from that of Greece. The Roman mythology, in accordance with its original elements, retained more of the oriental spirit than the Greek. It was formed, in a great measure, from the Etruscan. But this latter was distinguished by a genuine superstitious terror, a *dread* of the gods, a character of gloom.⁷⁹ The supreme god of the Etruscans, *Tina*, is Fate; under whose dark dominion, stands the human race. The world was six thousand years in being created; it stands six thousand years; in the sixth cycle of a thousand years, its end approaches; and that is the great year.⁸⁰ So also the times are appointed to all

⁷⁹ Arnobius adv. Gentes VII. 26. “Genetrix et mater superstitionis Hetruria.”

⁸⁰ In the Indian system, also we find the course of the universe limited to twelve thousand years of the gods; and likewise among the Persians. Even the northern religious system speaks of a twilight of the gods.

[The translator here takes the liberty to refer the curious reader to a series of letters on the Tamul religion, by Mr Winslow of the Ceylon mission, published in the Missionary Herald, Vol. XXVII. The extravagant Indian system just alluded to above, is much more fully developed by Mr Winslow, (p. 107,) though with some variations from this brief statement. Much valuable information has already been communicated by our missionaries, on the present and past condition of heathenism among the various nations and tribes where they are labouring. As they are men of education, and reside permanently among the people whose customs and views they describe, and as they have the greatest inducements to make themselves perfectly acquainted with the religions which they would subvert, they will probably do more than all other men to correct and extend our information respecting heathen nations. And in doing this, they will decidedly promote the main object of their lives, by exciting the christian world to a performance of its long neglected duty. The Missionary Herald has already become a valuable repository of facts to the scholar, who would become thoroughly acquainted with the existing state of the world. TRANS.

nations ; and after ten times or periods, the Etruscan state must end. Man, existing under the dominion of Fate, has also his destiny fixed by it in all things. Hence the importance of knowing the secret principles of nature and its external phenomena. Hence the art of discerning the will of the gods or futurity, from the flight of birds, from entrails, or from thunder, is a profound and complete science ;⁸¹ for the signs in heaven and on earth, are indications of the wrath of the divinity, which must be appeased by bloodless or also bloody offerings, yea even by human sacrifices. Two genii, moreover, accompany man on the journey of life ; the one as his protector and defender ; the other, savage and gloomy, and even seeking to injure him. It is these who more immediately guide his destiny.

All this indicates a more earnest and severe character of the Etruscan system ; and all this passed more or less into the Roman religion, and is particularly apparent in their many *supplicationes, averruncationes, devotiones*.

Along with all these, Numa Pompilius exerted also a great influence in the formation of the religious and political life of the Roman people. He is said to have derived the better portions of his knowledge from the Pythagoreans ; but, on this point, it remains still undetermined, how much of this knowledge is to be ascribed to the ancient Italian doctrines then extant. The effects of his institutions and regulations, are apparent to a very late period. He professedly derived, as is well known, his institutions from immediate inspiration ; although it cannot now be determined, whether, according to the rational view which very many heathen give of such declarations of various lawgivers, he only feigned this inspiration for the attainment of political objects, and to turn the popular credulity to good account ; or whether he really believed himself to participate in a higher influence, as suggested by Plutarch ; who remarks in regard to this intercourse of Numa with the divinity, that “ there is nothing at all

⁸¹ Diodorus Siculus (Biblioth. V. 40.) mentions expressly, that the ancient Etruscans had distinguished themselves by extensive study of natural philosophy and mythology, as also of the science of thunder.

⁸² Strabo, Geographia XVI. 2. Diodorus Siculus, Bibl. I. 94. Varro ap. August. De civit. Dej, III. 4. Even the Jew Josephus, (contra Apion. II. 16.) admits Minos, Zamolxis, Zaleucus, and Moses, to have feigned a divine revelation for political purposes.

of absurdity in believing, that an extraordinary communication from God may have been imparted to persons so important as the founders of states, if they really sought it in a becoming manner." By thus referring his institutions back to immediate divine revelation, he no doubt secured for them stability and reverence. So Plutarch remarks of Lycurgus:⁸³ "What the Spartans would not have respected as νόμοι (laws), they revered as ὀρήτραι (oracles); because Lycurgus often travelled to Delphi and derived his laws from the Delphic god." The institutions of Numa relating to divine worship, are distinguished especially by their ascetic moral tendency and spirit; they approach far nearer to the oriental spirit. He himself lived mostly in his citadel, busied with the rites of worship, instructing the priests, or active in their behalf in meditating upon some divine subject.⁸⁴ Peculiarly important is Numa's prohibition against making any image of God. The passage in Plutarch which informs us of this, is to the following purport:⁸⁵ "The laws of Numa also relating to the images of the gods, are entirely in accordance with the dogmas of Pythagoras; for as the latter assumed that the Original of all things is neither palpable nor capable of suffering, but invisible, unmixed, and spiritual; so Numa forbade the Romans to make to themselves images of God, in the likeness either of man or of beast. And in former times, there was among them neither picture nor statue of God. In the first hundred and seventy years of the state, they built indeed temples and sacred chapels, but always without statues; because it was considered profane to represent the Most High by any thing lower; and because men can approach the Deity only by their thoughts."⁸⁶—Numa also forbade, as Plutarch tells us in the

⁸³ Plutarchus, Vita Lycurgi.

⁸⁴ Plutarchus, Numa, c. 14.

⁸⁵ Plutarchus, Vita Numae, c. 8.

⁸⁶ On this remarkable account, Augustin properly places a peculiar stress. (De civit. Dei, IV. 31.) He quotes it from Varro; and this Roman writer adds these memorable words: "Quod, (viz. the custom of having no images of God,) si adhuc mansisset, castius Dei observarentur; qui enim primi simulacra Deorum populis posuerunt, ii civitatibus metum dēpserunt, et errorem addiderunt." He appeals in this to the striking example of the *gens Judaea*!

same passage, bloody sacrifices, and commanded to offer flour, meal, and libations of wine, and in general the cheapest articles.—"In the solemn processions," Plutarch further relates,⁸⁷ "heralds went before through the city, proclaiming the solemnity and commanding rest from labour. For, as it is related of the Pythagoreans, that they did not permit the gods to be worshipped and adored merely as they were carried by, but commanded that all should go prepared for this purpose from their houses immediately to the temples; so Numa also believed, that his citizens ought to be permitted to see or hear nothing that is truly divine merely in passing; but rather should attend to it while resting from all other things, and thus be able to direct the mind simply to piety as to the most important object; while on account of these sacred occupations, the streets were kept clear and free from the bustle, hammering, crying, and whatever else is connected with the labour of artisans."⁸⁸

In all these institutions, the serious and earnest character of Numa, speaks forth unequivocally, and with it, that of the ancient Romans. Numa forbade also, that sculpture should include the gods within its domain; the ancient Romans forbade to the poets their license in comedy; stage players could not enjoy civil honours, nor even be admitted into the tribes.⁸⁹ To this we may add the simple manner of life, which was led by the ancient inhabitants of Rome. The influence of this mode of life is thus placed in connection with their devoutness, by the learned Posidonius, the continuator of Polybius.⁹⁰ "The ancient Romans were, of old, distinguished for endurance, for a simple manner of life, and a plain, contented enjoyment of their goods; with all this moreover they exhibited a remarkable reverence towards the gods, strict justice, very great care not to injure other men, connected with the diligent prosecution of agriculture."—So says Valerius Maximus:⁹¹ "The more simply the gods were at first honoured by the Romans, through the sacrifice of articles of food, the more efficacious was it." Hence al-

⁸⁷ De vita Numae, c. 14.

⁸⁸ Here we find exactly an ancient heathen Sunday!

⁸⁹ Scipio says, in Cicero de Republ. l. 4. "Nunquam comoedia, nisi consuetudo vitae pateretur, probare sua theatri flagitia potuissent." August. De civit. Dei, II. 9—13.

⁹⁰ Athenaei Deipnosophistes, VI. c. 107. p. 248. ed. Schweigh.

⁹¹ Hist. II. 5.

so the testimonies of the great temperance and morality of the old Romans ; for example, in Sallust :⁹² " In peace and war, they cultivated good morals. Great harmony prevailed ; but no avarice. Right and duty were regarded, not so much on account of the laws, as from natural impulse. Discord or dissimulation found a place only against enemies ; citizens strove with citizens only in virtue. Magnificence prevailed in the sacrifices to the gods, frugality in domestic affairs, fidelity towards friends."—Ammianus Marcellinus even calls ancient Rome " the home of all the virtues."⁹³ Even the Jews praised the morality, and particularly the fidelity, of the Romans before the Punic war.⁹⁴

All this is sufficient to justify to us the opinions of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Polybius formerly cited, who so decidedly award the preference to the Roman mythology above that of the Greeks. And so long as that serious faith in the gods prevailed in the Roman state, it enjoyed the greatest stability and quiet. But the decline of religion brought along with it also the decline of morals, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus often intimates.⁹⁵ Even the bravery of the Romans in war was con-

⁹² Sallustius, *Bellum Catilinarium*, IX.

⁹³ Ammiani Marc. *Hist.* XIV. 6. " Virtutum omnium domicilium."

⁹⁴ 1 Macc. 8: 1, 12.

⁹⁵ Dionysii Hal. *Antiqq. Romm.* II. 6, 11, 14, 24, 34, 74. III. 21. V. 60. VII. 35. VIII. 37. X. 17. Compare Creuzer's *Symbolik*, B. II. p. 996, of the new edition, where these passages of Dionysius are named. But no author among the ancients, has perhaps described so strongly what the fear of the gods was to the state, as the noble Plutarch, who surpassed all the other ancients in reverence for sacred things. He thus expresses himself in his work *Adversus Colotem*. c. 31. " The most important of all laws, are those which have respect to our belief in the gods; and which, for that reason, Lycurgus, Numa, Ion, and Deucalion taught to all their nations, while they infused into them by means of prayers, oaths, oracles, and responses of the gods, a vivid feeling of hope as well as of fear respecting the gods. Yea, shouldst thou wander through the earth, thou mayest find cities without walls, without a king, without houses, without coin, without theatre or gymnasium ; but never wilt thou behold a city without a god, without prayer, without oracle, without sacrifice. Sooner might a city stand without ground, than

nected with their fear of the gods; of which ancient history is full of examples. Who is not here reminded of the Decii, devoting themselves to the gods? Livy says of one of these,⁹⁶ he was looked upon by both armies as a superhuman being, who was sent from heaven to turn the wrath of all the gods from his own to the hosts of the enemy. Such consecrations, says Cicero, were made by our ancestors only through the power of religion. The following account by Livy, is a memorable contribution to the history of superstition among this people:⁹⁷ "In the third watch of the night, Papirius silently arose and sent forth the soothsayer, who was accustomed to prophesy from the feeding of fowls, according as they ate, or refused to eat. There was no man in the whole camp, who did not long for battle. Superiors and inferiors were inflamed with the same passion; the general saw the desire of battle in the soldiers; the soldiers, in the general. The same desire was felt by those who were present at the divination. For although the fowls did not eat, yet the diviner ventured to make a false report to the consul, that they had eaten greedily, and thus the sign was propitious. The consul rejoiced in the lucky omen, and caused the signal for battle to be given. In the mean time, there arose a contest among the diviners, concerning the quality of the sign which the fowls had given. Some Roman knights heard this, and deemed it of sufficient importance to be reported to the son of Papirius. This young man, who was not born in the *present irreligious period*, investigated the affair and reported it to the consul. The latter exclaimed, Thanks to thy virtue and attention! Whereupon he placed the soothsayer in front of the standard; where, before the battle began, he was slain by an arrow discharged unintentionally."

Even down to the times of Caesar, the *religio* was of such powerful influence upon the Roman army, that, as Plutarch informs us,⁹⁸ the warlike counsels of Pompey were heard with coldness by the soldiers; but when Cato in his speech quoted the *deos patrios* as defenders and protectors of their

a state sustain itself without a belief in the gods. This is the cement of all society, and the support of all legislation."

⁹⁶ Livii Hist. VIII. 9.

⁹⁷ Livii Hist. X. 40.

⁹⁸ Plutarchus, Vita Caesaris.

cause, the army became at once inflamed, and Caesar lost that battle.⁹⁹

A distinguished memorial of the moral and religious earnestness of the Roman character, is found in the whole account of the abolition of the bacchanalia in Rome, by the consul Posthumius, which we will briefly extract from Livy.¹⁰⁰ “Under the consuls Spurius Posthumius and Marcius Philippus, a complaint was made against secret associations. These had been first introduced into Etruria, from a small beginning, by a Greek soothsayer of low extraction. In secret societies, which held out the appearance of purely religious associations, all kinds of debauchery and other vices were practised. Men and women, young and old, came together in the night, and gave themselves up to excess. Here also perjuries, poisonings, and other things of the like nature were prepared. At first, these societies in Rome remained entirely concealed, on account of the extent and magnitude of the city; but they were finally detected in the following manner. Publius Aebutius had left a son, who was brought up by his mother Duronia and his stepfather T. Sempronius. The mother was devoted to the stepfather; and since the latter knew not how to give a satisfactory account of the money of his ward, he determined either to put him out of the way, or in some manner closely to connect himself with him. One way to accomplish this would be to take him to the bacchanalia. The mother therefore said to the young man, that she had promised during a sickness of his, if he should recover, to initiate him into the bacchanalia. Ten days he must be abstemious; on the tenth she would take him into the sanctuary. In the neighbourhood of the young Aebutius, dwelt a courtesan, Fecenia, who had come to this mode of life only by her condition as a slave, and merited a better occupation. This woman was familiar with the youth, without any prejudice to his character; for she loved him without improper advances on his part; and since his family supported him very parsimoniously, she assisted him with money, and even made him her heir. To her he related with entire simplicity, what his mother was about to do with him. But on hearing this she exclaimed: ‘Rather may we both die, than this take place. May God prevent it!’ And then she

⁹⁹ On the influence of religion upon the common people, see Joh. von Müller’s *Fragments*. Werke, B. XV. p. 429.

¹⁰⁰ Livius, *Histor.* XXXIX. 8—17.

invoked curses upon those who had counselled such a thing. But when the youth named his mother and his stepfather as the proposers of it, she replied : ‘ Will then your stepfather—for it would be sin to accuse your mother of it—thus destroy your chastity, your hopes, your reputation, and your whole life ? ’ And as now the astonished youth inquired what she meant by all this, she gave him a description of the abominable debaucheries and corruptions which were perpetrated in those pretended sanctuaries ; and did not suffer him to depart, until he had promised her, he would take no part in them. When he returned home and signified to his mother and stepfather his aversion to being initiated, they became enraged and drove him from the house. He took refuge with a female relative, who advised him to disclose the whole affair to the consul. This he did, and the consul first made sure of the courtesan Fecenia, as the informer, who as a slave had herself taken part in those abominable festivals ; and then forthwith made a disclosure to the senate. The senate was thrown into the greatest consternation ; and after the strictest measures had been adopted on their part, the consuls laid the whole matter before an assembly of the people. The customary prayer to the gods was first offered, which preceded every popular assembly, and then the consul began : ‘ O Romans ! in no assembly of ours has this customary prayer to the gods ever been used with more propriety or even necessity, in order to remind you that those are the true gods, which your ancestors have bidden you revere and worship ;—but not those which impel, as with thorns of wrath, the minds of such as are deluded by foreign religious customs, to all imaginable crime and licentiousness, etc. ’

If thus in the commencement of the Roman state and the Roman religion, the latter exhibited, in a peculiar manner, a sacerdotal and more oriental character, yet, with the growth of the kingdom and the predominance of corruption, it was by degrees changed to a more political one. Still stronger than among the Greeks, the love of country prevailed among the Romans ; and for this reason, indeed, because the Roman state possessed a far greater unity. Yet of this result there existed also in their religion one peculiarly efficient element, in the doctrine of the *Lares and Penates*. The love of home, yea the love of one’s own possessions, was thus deified ; and these became the objects of worship under the names of *Lares* and *Penates*. And since now, according to the ancient religious view, the progress of the Roman con-

quests, for which they prayed regularly to the gods, was regarded as the work of gods peculiarly propitious to the Roman state; and since too the subsequent calamities of the state were also ascribed to the predominance of Christianity, and to the consequent hostility of the gods; it would naturally follow, that their religion should thus have become continually more and more closely connected and combined with their love of country. And we may indeed say, that AS AMONG THE GREEKS RELIGION DEGENERATED INTO A TASTE FOR THE ARTS, SO AMONG THE ROMANS IT SUNK INTO PATRIOTISM.

PART III.

ON THE INFLUENCE OF HEATHENISM UPON LIFE, PARTICULARLY
AMONG THE GREEKS AND ROMANS.

SECTION I.

On Superstition and Unbelief, especially about the time of Christ.

We have hitherto endeavoured to learn the general character of heathenism, and especially that of the Grecian and Roman religions. We come now to consider the effects of heathenism as manifested in particulars.

We must here first consider those two excrescences of religious life, *superstition* and *unbelief*, which always appear wherever vital piety vanishes. One reads in Göthe, what one would hardly expect to find in him :¹⁰¹ "In the history of the world and of man, the deepest and, strictly speaking, the sole theme, to which all others are subordinate, is the conflict of unbelief and superstition." This declaration is one of the truest—truer than perhaps it was felt to be by him who uttered it. The centre, around which moves the whole spiritual life of the man who reflects and feels, is faith. So much the more dangerous, therefore, and of so much the greater consequence, are the two devious paths of superstition and unbelief. They must necessarily arise, where the necessities of the human heart are not sufficiently supplied through the existing systems; where no true means of union with God and his holy and heavenly kingdom, are presented to the soul that longs for such an elevation and

¹⁰¹ Göthe's Westöstlicher Divan, p. 424.—['Göthe is the greatest modern poet of Germany.—New Platonism is the ground work of his strange religious system.' ENCYC. AM.]

such bliss. Now the true means of that union are, THE PROPER KNOWLEDGE OF HUMAN WRETCHEDNESS, AND THE CONSEQUENT STRUGGLE TO RESTORE THE IMAGE OF GOD WITHIN US.

When now this knowledge and this endeavour do not yet exist in a man, and his religious system is not adapted to excite the effort ; if he is swayed rather by cold intellect than warm feeling, he will become indifferent to the whole fabric of religion, and set it aside as worthless ; or if he is of a warmer temperament, since there dwells in most minds a dark apprehension of the separating wall between sinful man and the holy God, he will make every effort by *external* contrivances to demolish this wall of partition, and to unite himself again with the world of spirits. Thus then we behold the source of superstition and of unbelief. Now the heathenism of Greece and Rome did not point to this inward union of fallen man with God, at least in its public doctrines ; it did not even excite in man the consciousness of his moral wretchedness. As, therefore, it could neither excite nor satisfy a feeling of want in the human heart, it thus far, on the one hand, promoted unbelief. But on the other hand, as we said, there is throughout the whole of heathenism an obscure apprehension of a separating wall, of a disunion between a holy God and man who is prone to sin, of a lapse into sin ; (only that, after the gradual depravation of views, the same was not always apprehended in a purely moral light ;) and sacrifices, expiations, lustrations, and corporeal penances are everywhere evidences of this fact ; as are also the names *Jupiter Apheresios*, the pardoner, *Alexicacos*, the deliverer from evil, *Meilichios*, the placable ; and *Dii averrunci*. And this anticipation of the chief doctrine of Christianity among all nations before the christian era, ought not to excite our wonder ; since we know, on the one hand, that various traditions were propagated among men from a primeval revelation ; while on the other hand, every man is *predestined* for just such a system as is adapted to the whole human race ; SINCE EVERY MAN, AS MAN, HAS NEED TO BECOME A CHRISTIAN.

If now the heathen of deeper feelings was only, as it were, breathed upon by this apprehension ; if this sense of hostility between him and a holy God, did but dimly rise before him ; if moreover, by the influence of his religion, he was continually drawn less into connexion with the moral than with the physical world ; it was natural, that, instead of recognising *sin* as the separating wall between him and his God (Isaiah 59: 2), and

seeking to approach him through purification of the heart, he should, in the distress of his heart and the error of his knowledge, lay hold on external means and seek in some external mode a union with the spiritual world. It is therefore a very correct remark of Plutarch, that the *gentler* souls are more inclined to superstition; the *stronger*, to unbelief; or, as he expresses it in another passage, ignorance of the true knowledge produces in the hard and stony mental soil, unbelief; on the moist and softer soil, superstition;—although indeed this position has its exceptions.

Plutarch indeed, who is altogether the profoundest judge of the human heart in all its good and its evil propensities, is also the individual among the ancients who has spoken of belief, unbelief, and superstition, with the greatest wisdom and the deepest knowledge of mankind. Many of his so called moral writings, contain invaluable remarks on these subjects, and are written with animation and with a glow of feeling for the true knowledge of the Deity; particularly his work *περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας*, “On superstition;” and his “Proof that man cannot live happily by the rules of Epicurus.” In the former, he illustrates these ideas: “Superstition is far more corrupting and painful to the soul itself that is encompassed with it, than unbelief; although, as it presupposes some participation in the Deity, and some reference to him, a return from it to the true and sober fear of God is sooner possible than in the case of unbelief. This latter is an error, a delusion without passion; but superstition is an error with passion, and therefore as it were a flaming error. While the unbeliever is ever in a state of indifference, there is nothing in heaven or upon earth before which the superstitious does not tremble. Nor is it merely in the day time that he endures this anxiety; even in sleep he is terrified by frightful images, and awakes in horror; but instead of rejoicing to find that these were only delusive shadows, he hastens away to jugglers and conjurers. Since the gods have granted us sleep as the sweet oblivion of all sorrows, O! why dost thou thus rob thyself of this gift? since there is no other sleep which can cause thee to forget these thy dreams. Heraclitus says, all those who are awake, have one and the same world; but of those asleep, each one has his own world. But the superstitious man has *no* world in common with others; for when awake, he employs not his understanding; and when asleep, he is not free from terrors; his reason dreams, but his fear is continually awake. Polycrates in

Samos and Periander in Corinth were horrid tyrants ; but no one feared them when he removed to another city. But for one who regards the dominion of the gods as tyrannical and cruel, where can a land or a sea be found without gods, whither he may flee? Even oppressed slaves can demand a sale according to law, and thus obtain a kinder master ; but the superstitious man can never exchange the gods before whom he trembles. The unbeliever is as much more happy than the superstitious man, as Tiresias, who could see neither his children nor his friends, was happier than Athamas and Agave, who could see them only as lions and elephants. When the unbeliever is taken sick, he recollects his intemperance as the cause ; when fallen into disgrace, he inquires what he has omitted ; but when the superstitious man suffers the loss of goods, the death of children, adversity in business, he regards all as the stroke of an angry god, and will not strive against his misfortunes through fear of resisting the gods. The physician is driven from the sick, the consoling friend from the afflicted.* He exclaims : ‘O let me suffer my punishment, accursed and hateful as I am to gods and demons.’ The man who believes not on God, when misfortune befalls him, can still dry a tear, can shave his head, and lay aside his garment. But how shall one speak to the superstitious man? how help him? There he sits before the door, wrapped in sackcloth, or his loins girded with dirty rags ; often he rolls himself naked in the dirt, and proclaims aloud whatever sins and faults he may chance to have committed—he has eaten such and such things, he has gone this or that way, which the demon did not approve. Even in the joyful occupation of divine worship, the superstitious man feels unhappy. What men love most, are the festivals, the sacerdotal meals, the consecrations, the prayers to the gods. You will there see the unbeliever laugh fearfully and with Sardonic irony, and perhaps also whisper in the ear of his friend : ‘How blind are these fools!’ but this is all. The superstitious man, on the other hand, will indeed partake, but he cannot rejoice ; with him the notes of the pæan are mingled with sighs. Crowned with the wreath, he grows pale ; he makes his offering, and trembles ; he prays with a wavering voice, and strews incense with faltering hands. In all this, the fine sentiment uttered by Pythagoras,

* Just so now among the heathen. Then let us send them the gospel, if we have even any regard for their temporal good. TRANS.

does not hold true : ‘ We are happiest when we go to the habitations of the gods.’ The superstitious man goes thither, as into the dragon’s den. He also sins against the gods, even more than the unbeliever ; for it is better to say, they do not exist, than to hold every abominable thing as true concerning them. It is better for the Scythians to have absolutely no god, than for the Carthaginians to admit a god, but regard him as blood-thirsty, and sacrifice their children to him. Finally, (c. 12,) unbelief never gives occasion for superstition, while the latter does not unfrequently occasion the former ; for when we teach perverted views in respect to divine things, we hold out occasion for total skepticism. In the mean time, let every one be well on his guard, that in order to escape robbers, he do not plunge into an impassable chasm ; that while escaping from superstition, he do not fall into the power of unbelief, by leaping over that which lies between them, viz. true piety.”

Plutarch here strikingly delineates the wretchedness of those who seek peace with God by outward means ; and much of what is above quoted, applies to that external ascetic worship of the Romish church, by which man seeks to obtain the friendship of God by his own efforts, just as if there were no Redeemer.

In an equally striking manner does the same Plutarch describe the wretchedness of the unbeliever, in the other work already named : “ Proof, that man cannot live happily by the rules of Epicurus.” He there first exhibits the melancholy feeling of the unbeliever, who cannot believe in the gods and their influences ; and who hypocritically takes part in the services of divine worship from fear of the multitude ; in the same manner as we have seen in the preceding quotation. Now this appears indeed to oppose what has just been said by Plutarch, when he relates how the unbeliever witnesses the sacred services with merely a Sardonic laugh ; but both may in reality well agree. The unbeliever, in all this, may well feel that fear of the common people which leads him to hypocrisy ; and also that painful uneasiness, which even in our day the worldling continually feels by the side of one who has turned to the Lord. Besides, we must also reflect, that the unbeliever is more miserable than he is himself aware of ; because he knows not the happiness of true piety, having never felt it ; and, as Plutarch says in another place, “ he is even so much the more unhappy on account of this ignorance ; just as the insane are regarded as the most unhap-

py of all men, because they laugh, while others weep, over their own condition." On the other hand, Plutarch, (in c. 26,) paints in simple but splendid colours, the happiness of him who lives in an intelligent belief and cordial love of the Deity; and concludes this description with the glowing language of Hermogenes: "So greatly are the omniscient and omnipotent gods my friends, so constantly do they care for me, that I am not hidden nor forgotten before them by night or by day, wherever I go or whatever I purpose to do. But since they foreknow what will be the issue of all my undertakings, they signify it by sending to me messengers, voices, dreams, and birds."

Plutarch then combats with animation those who deny the immortality of the soul. He says:¹⁰² "There are three classes of men, the totally corrupt, the ordinary, and the more cultivated. As for the totally corrupt, it is certainly better for them, before they become totally corrupt, to believe in Hades and to suffer themselves to be thereby deterred from evil deeds, than for them first to commit evil deeds, and afterwards, as Epicurus will have it, to find their punishment in the fear of being detected.

"For men of the ordinary stamp, Hades has no terrors; since they hope for a continued existence.* The love of life is our first and greatest love. It is far too sweet and delightful, not to overcome that childish fear. In consequence of this love of life, they prefer, under the loss of wives and children and friends, that these should exist somewhere even in some sad condition, rather than that they should wholly cease to be. They also prefer to use, concerning the dying, the expressions *μεθίστασθαι* and *μεταλλάττειν*, 'to go to another place, to change condition,' and generally such as indicate merely a change of the soul, and not annihilation or death. They hate all such poetic language as the following: 'He moulders now to dust beneath the forest-covered earth, remote from the delights of painting and of music, far from the sweet toned lyre and the softly breathing flute.' And also this: 'That the soul of man should return, is impossible. When it has once escaped from the inclosure of the teeth, it cannot again be seized and confined.'—And because they re-

¹⁰² Non posse suaviter vivi sec. Epic. c. 25—31.

* Not so the Epicurean herd against whom he is arguing. They believed in no future existence. "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die"—cease to be—was therefore their motto; and consistently enough with their belief, an apostle being judge. TRANS.

gard life in comparison with eternity as of little value, they despise it, and become dull in respect to virtue and activity. And when Epicurus will relieve us from the terrors of Hades by the doctrine of our dissolution into atoms, he ought to know, that this very dissolution is what our nature most of all dreads.* I believe, therefore, that all mankind, both men and women, would rather descend into Tartarus and suffer themselves to be bitten by Cerberus, than to be totally annihilated; though, as already said, there are not many who still hold this belief; and those who do stand thus in fear, seek to free themselves from it by lustrations. We see, therefore, that those who thus deny the immortality of man, destroy the sweetest and largest hopes of ordinary men.

“But why do we now believe, that nothing of evil awaits the just and holy in that place, but, on the contrary, the most glorious rewards? It is first to be considered, that champions do not receive the crown so long as they are engaged in the contest; but only after the combat has ceased and they have triumphed.¹⁰³ Now since men, in like manner, believe that the tokens of victory are first to be conferred after the present life, they become wonderfully excited in the pursuit of virtue, with reference to those hopes. And farther, whoever loves the truth and true existence, is not able to satisfy himself with what he witnesses of it here on earth; because his spirit, obscured by the body, must look dimly and confusedly through it as through a mist or cloud. Such a man can keep his soul in order and duly averted from earthly things, only while he recurs to the true wisdom as a preparation for death; and thus ever looks upward, like a bird, and longs to soar away out of the body, into the vast and splendid regions of immensity. Yea, I regard death as so great and so truly a perfect good, that I believe it is from that crisis, that the soul will first begin truly to live and be awake; but now it is more like a dream.—From the bad, for whom there exists a faint hope of amendment, the Epicureans

* It will be remembered that Epicurus was a materialist, and believed that men die like the brutes. He held matter to be eternal; and explained the formation of all things, by the fortuitous concourse of its floating atoms; and the end of all things, by the dissolution again of these atoms. TRANS.

¹⁰³ The apostle Paul says: “No one is crowned unless he strive aright.” 2Tim. 2: 5.

take away this hope, by preaching annihilation to them; and from the righteous, they take away an abiding good, by which they are already rendered happy. And if it is to be regarded as so great a good, to be freed from the fear of eternal pains, how shall it not also be intolerable, to see ourselves robbed of eternal joys and even the hope of them?"

Here belongs also the following passage:¹⁰⁴ "Some employ holy symbols that are more obscure, and others those that are clearer; because it is not without danger, that they lead the mind to divine things; for some, missing totally the proper sense, fell into superstition; and others, fleeing from this as from a bog, precipitated themselves into the abyss of unbelief. We must therefore assume to our aid those doctrines in philosophy which conduct to holiness, that we may not misunderstand the excellent institutions of the laws concerning sacrifices."—Thus Plutarch knew how to point out the rocks presented by that mythic heathenism, which did not satisfy the deep wants of human nature.

But how then? some one may here inquire; was then in this way the consciousness of the moral discord of his own nature awakened in Plutarch himself? was he, after all, conducted by his religion, as he himself expresses it, to the right means of union with God? to sanctification and purification of heart?—There are souls which the Platonists denominated Apollonian, men of longing desire;¹⁰⁵ in whom from childhood there dwells an unutterable longing for some abiding good; to whom there is no full satisfaction on the bosom of the whole created world; in whose hearts, amid all the diversions of life, one great question remains, which they cannot answer; and who feel themselves alone among the whole multitude of those who are called men. Such souls would make a religion, if they did not find one existing; and into every religious system which they may find, they will incorporate the religion of their own hearts, thus inflamed with celestial desire. Such a man was Plutarch. He was animated,—together with that divine revelation which thus manifested itself in this longing of his heart, and as is the case with all persons of similar temperament,—by the strong desire of seeing also confirmed *out* of himself, that which he constant-

¹⁰⁴ De Iside and Osiride, c. 67.

¹⁰⁵ Amos Comenius calls them *virī desideriorum*; St. Martin, *hommes de désir*.

ly beheld *within* himself. On that account, he poured all his own full heart into the religion of his fathers, and then drew it forth again from that religion. Tones of accord, no doubt, there were in his religion, to all that he felt and longed for ; but his soul alone could understand them, and his longing unite them to a complete harmony. How happy would he then have been, had he heard in a distinct voice, the declaration : **I AM THE WAY, THE TRUTH, AND THE LIFE !**—Besides all this, too, he was an adept in the knowledge of the Platonic philosophy. Though he here also adopted and inserted whatever his own mind bid him, yet he found many kindred ideas, by which he was able more clearly to develope what had dwelt darkly in his heart. But from him we can draw no conclusion in respect to other men ; as we see alas ! in history, where we find no second Plutarch. Who knows, however, whether a second Plutarch may not have lived in the soul of many a tailor, tanner, or shoemaker among the Greeks ; who, unknown to his fellow men, bore away with him his longing desire for light, to the source where it could be satisfied ?

Like all the other corrupt effects of heathenism, we find also unbelief and superstition no where appearing in such strength, as in the later times of that religion ; when the continually increasing refinement and its concomitant laxness, drew forth from the corrupted race a development of every corruption, of which the seed existed in their religion ; just as the earlier and more simple period appropriated to itself and developed whatever in their religion was more noble. If therefore we would learn how heathenism operates in the production of unbelief and superstition, we must examine it especially in this later period.

It might now be objected, that if we turn our eyes particularly on these times, we shall be unjust to heathenism. That period, it may be said, was universally enervated and lifeless, so that religion necessarily partook of the hue of the whole period ; and therefore the origin of audacious disbelief or the most gloomy superstition, cannot be placed to the account of the heathen religion, but must be ascribed to the circumstances of the times. Or might not—so one may further ask—the fault-finding heathen, in return, impute to Christianity, what the fifteenth century had to shew of unbelief like that of Bembo,* on the one hand, and of monkish superstition on the other ?

* The learned and classical, but profligate Cardinal Bembo, like his master and patron, pope Leo X. and many others in the Rom-

We answer, It is indeed true, that the religious maladies which the pestilential breath of the spirit of any age brings with it, cannot be imputed, as a matter of course, to the account of the prevailing religion itself; for who will censure the light, when the darkness refuses to receive it? But it is to be well considered, that the errors of that dark and heathenish period of religion in regard to unbelief and superstition, proceeded very naturally, as it may be fully shown, from the heathen religion itself. And the very circumstance, that the germs of those later abominable errors, are capable of being so manifestly pointed out in the very system in which they afterwards arose, justifies us in adducing those facts as characteristic of that religion. Consequently, we do but historically point out those seeds of corruption in heathenism, which we might have also shown and developed merely in idea, had such a religion never existed in practice. On the contrary, when Christianity sunk, during the dark ages, into infidelity and superstition, this did not take place because the germs it contained were developed, but because a wholly different sense was given to the gospel,—because it was misunderstood by human depravity. Besides, the internal, divine, and living power of Christianity, also manifests itself in this, that it was never destroyed, not even in the deepest corruption and darkness; but broke forth from them again in renovated purity and power of the Spirit. Every other religion, on the contrary, which is not founded on the continual superintendence of the glorified Redeemer and the continual influences of the Holy Ghost, never experiences such a renovation, but goes on continually waxing older and verging to its ruin.

We will first consider the errors of the age immediately subsequent to the birth of Christ, in relation to superstition and unbelief, as they are manifested in the *form* of the philosophy then existing. Philosophy exhibited, at this time, an entirely new appearance. The systems which the human mind is accustomed to set up concerning divine things and the foundation of all existence, had completed their circuit. Although the distresses of the times, the storms of political life, and the oppression of tyrannic rulers, might weaken in many the taste for reflection on higher subjects, and might draw them down to the impulses and disquietudes of ordinary life; yet there were also many who felt

ish church at that time, was deeply tinctured with infidelity. He was born at Venice, 1470. See Mosheim, Vol. IV. p. 155. TRANS.

themselves directly impelled, by the peril and shattered condition of all civil existence, by the dissolution of the general state of society and by the loss of their possessions, to retire into solitude and to seek consolation and comfort in the pursuit of science and study. There were also many others among the heathen, who felt themselves called upon, by the continually increasing progress which Christianity was making, to investigate religious subjects, that they might obtain clearer views in respect to them. By far the greater part of those who were impelled to philosophy by the first class of motives, found complete relief in none of the existing systems. They saw dispersed in each system, only single and insulated truths; they therefore collected these together from all sources where they found them; and still not satisfied even with these, they appropriated to themselves, out of the existing religious traditions, not merely of their own but of all nations, and out of the mysteries and the doctrines of the priests, every thing which addressed their understanding or their hearts. The system which arose in this manner, is known under the name of *eclecticism*. This eclecticism, however, took an entirely peculiar and superstitious direction.

To man, who is always more inclined to conviction through *authority and experience* than through airy argumentation, Christianity announced a new doctrine; for whose credentials it appealed to the divine *authority* of him who proclaimed it, as also to the extraordinary events accompanying the annunciation; and at the same time referred man to his own heart, where he can find the *experience* of its divinity. Christianity also proclaimed, with victorious energy, the existence of a higher spiritual world, intimately connected with this present world; as likewise a reconciliation and union which have taken place between the sinful race of man and a holy God, in which every individual who feels his need of it, may participate. These ideas, so new to the heathen world, produced a great impression on all who heard them proclaimed. Wants which before had been hushed, were now excited among both the educated and the vulgar. An obscure longing for an extraordinary divine teaching, and for a more intimate connection and union with the Deity and the self-existing spiritual world, took possession of many minds. Those who did not beguile themselves concerning the corruption of their moral nature and its only true remedy, came to the christian community, and there received more than they had expected. But

there were also many others who, either from an indolent habit, or from a concealed aversion to true and humble repentance, did not bring those obscurely felt wants to a distinct consciousness; but soon sought to place them in alliance with heathenism. They sought, namely, to establish in heathenism a copy of those heavenly blessings which Christianity offered to men. And here it is clearly shown, how the most shocking monstrosities may arise, when the strong, proud, and selfish will of man, resisting the divine will, seeks to quiet the half-felt wants of the divine in man, by that which a deluded knowledge suggests to him,—how corrupt throughout are *all mere imitations of the truth*. Those who were led away by that effort, since they possessed no genuine ancient record of religion in the more spiritual sense, set up as such the false and spurious writings of Hermes Trismegistus, the spurious writings of Orpheus and other men of antiquity. Thus they created for themselves an ancient authority, to which they could appeal. The belief upon authority, is indeed by no means to be entirely rejected; since every man feels his need, in common with others, of having a divine conviction; if only self-activity is not thereby excluded. Since further, as we have seen, a deeper and more spiritual manner of interpreting the Grecian mythological traditions, had before been customary, so the eclectic philosophers of this period applied the same mode to the ancient poets of their nation who wrote without that deeper sense. They attributed to the words of Homer and Hesiod a speculative import, which, strictly taken, applies only to the fables adopted by them and interwoven in their works. And thus they had ancient national works full of wisdom, like those of which the Jews, and through them, the Christians, were boasting. And, finally, since they knew not that the cord which originally fastened man to heaven, is broken off not externally, but deep in recesses of the heart, they sought to unite it again externally.¹⁰⁶ Whatever the people, through an obscure feeling of the guilt that loads our race, had undertaken for the purposes of expiation, as offerings, purifications, ascetic penances; these the eclectics of later times reduced into systems, and sought to establish them philosophically. And because

¹⁰⁶ Lucian, in *Philopseudes* c. 8, ridicules one who would heal an *internal* disease by an *external* amulet. Just as ridiculous is he who seeks, by those external connections with God, to reunite the bond which is severed within the human heart.

also the want or longing after a more intimate knowledge and contemplation of divine subjects, was to be satisfied, they either resigned themselves up, like the earlier New-Platonists, to a *mystic contemplation* of the infinite, which was concealed in their own being and nature ; or, like the later New-Platonists, they brought *magic* and *theurgy** to a system, and taught the art of causing gods and demons to come down to men, or of compelling departed spirits to return and proclaim the secrets of the other world. To confirm what has been said, let us hear a few traits from the life of Proclus, the New-Platonist, who was one of the best representatives of the tendency above described. His biographer, Marinus, relates of him the following :¹⁰⁷ “ He studied especially the writings of Orpheus and Hermes. According to the custom of the ascetic orientals, he never ate animal food, or, if compelled to it for the sake of health, he took but very little. He performed the purifications on the monthly festivals of the Phrygian mother of the gods, and observed the sacred days of the Egyptians more strictly than was customary even in Egypt. He also celebrated the new-moons with great splendour and devotion. He observed the festivals and religious acts of almost all nations ; but he did not thereby take occasion for indolence and excess. How diligent he must have been in prayer and the composition of hymns, is shown by his songs of praise, not merely in honour of the Grecian gods, but of tutelary deities entirely foreign, as Marnos of Gaza, Esculapius of Ascalon, Thyandrites of Arabia. For he said : *It is fitting that a philosopher be, not the priest of some particular city or country, but hierophant of the whole earth.*—Very early in the morning, he was commonly occupied in the composition of hymns ;

* “ The art of so purging and refining that faculty of the mind which receives the images of things, as to render it capable of perceiving the demons, and of performing many marvellous things by their assistance.” Mosheim’s Ec. Hist. This art was taught by the famous Ammonius Saccas, who flourished in Egypt at the commencement of the second century, and who, though born and educated as a Christian, is regarded as the founder of the New-Platonic system. This art was taught to the more thoroughly initiated in the schools of his followers.—Some may have the curiosity to inquire, to what extent the like art has been claimed in modern days, by Emanuel Swedenborg and his disciples. TRANS.

¹⁰⁷ Marinus, Vita Procli, ed. Boissonade, Leips. 1814. c. 19, 22, 23, 24, 32.

and even when he awoke in the night, he prayed to the gods. Also, he never omitted to pray at sun-rise, at noon, nor at sun-set. Hence he often enjoyed divine manifestations and significant dreams; there appeared to him Pallas, Esculapius, and even foreign gods. When he gave instruction, he became completely resplendent. As Rufinus, a respectable man, once came to him and heard him teach, he perceived a flame on his head during his expositions. When Proclus had ended, Rufinus therefore ran up to him and adored him as a god. And by his prayers and conjurations, he could even bring rain, appease earthquakes, etc."—In the life of Jamblicus written by Eunapius, we may likewise read as much that is excellent, and also as many absurd stories. Jamblicus during his prayers was raised ten feet above the surface of the earth; Maximus, the tutor of the emperor Julian, raised spirits; around Heraiscus¹⁰⁸ hovered still those gods with whom his soul had just had intercourse. Such perversities as these, could the greater part of the philosophers of that time publish as divine truth.

On the other hand, we find in most of those among the philosophers, who did not adhere to that superstition, the greatest unbelief. Already, from about the time of the birth of Christ, the Epicureans had begun to spread themselves abroad through the Roman empire. Cicero complains, that of all sects of philosophers, this made the most remarkable progress and gained the most adherents.¹⁰⁹ But even Cicero himself not only so closes his book *De natura Deorum*, as barely to predicate the probability of the existence of the gods; but in his book *De Inventione*,¹¹⁰ he says directly, that philosophy can reckon a future state of rewards and punishments only among the *probabilia*.

Along with the Epicureans, there arose at that time, what very naturally followed from the condition of that period, the *cynics*, and spread themselves every where abroad. Cynicism, especially in the form under which it then appeared, must have completely destroyed all the remains of piety and morality, which might still be found among the common people. It proceeded from arrogance and selfishness in their very lowest forms. The cynic of that period clearly perceived the vanity of all the high-

¹⁰⁸ Suidas Lex. Art. *Ἡράισκος*.

¹⁰⁹ Cicero de Finibus bonor. et malor. I. 7. II. 14. Tuscul. V. 10.

¹¹⁰ Cicero de Inventione, I. 29.

ly-praised relations of human life, and observed that misery and wretchedness every where followed from them, and even embittered domestic life. But, instead of manfully struggling against this state of life ; instead of introducing a better spirit into these existing relations ; instead of kindly alleviating the wants and deficiencies of life and charitably aiding the distressed ; he arrogantly withdrew himself from all the established forms of society ; gave up all human relations towards mankind ; contemned his country, his kindred, and the joys of wedded love ; and sought his consolation in a self-complacent beastliness. One might see these beastly men half naked, moving about everywhere, with a great cudgel and a bread-bag, performing the animal necessities of their nature before the eyes of all,¹¹¹ thrusting themselves with extreme rudeness among the multitudes, and there stepping forward as teachers of wisdom, not in a regular discourse, but in the abrupt and broken language of vulgar sport and derision, at which the rabble would roar with laughter, but none could be improved. By the most vulgar and abusive language, with which they made their way to the great, in the capacity of a species of jesters, they often also forced presents from them ; and when, by such means, they had made themselves rich, they wholly abandoned this mode of life.¹¹² For this reason, mechanics, tanners, dealers in ointments, and others, often joined themselves to these people, that so they might make their fortune in an easy manner ; as Lucian expressly remarks.

Now as superstition and unbelief every where border close on each other, so we may here remark, how cynicism, which discarded magic and all religious knowledge of the deeper kind, and was especially hostile to New-Platonism, nevertheless found a point of contact with this system. The total contempt of the existing relations of life which the cynic exhibited, appeared to these Platonic theosophists as something so great and noble,—they even thought they had found in it a course of oriental ascetic discipline so preparatory to contemplation, although the ten-

¹¹¹ Augustin gives some shocking examples of the beastliness of these men. *De Civit. Dei.* XIV. 20.

¹¹² Lucian gives us in the best manner the traits for this picture of the worthless cynic. *Lucian Fugit.* ed. Reitz. III. p. 371—383. *Vit. Auct.* I. p. 351. Julian likewise speaks against them, and presents us the picture of a true cynic. *Orat.* VI. et VII. *adv. Pseudo-Cynism.*

dency of cynicism was widely different,—that this party also of philosophers greatly revered cynicism, and represented Diogenes as a god-like man.¹¹³

Along with these cynics and Epicureans on the one hand, and the New-Platonists on the other, a small number of *stoics* also continually maintained their ground. There were not many however; partly because the age was too indolent and lax for them; and partly too because stoicism, on account of the energy which it imparted, was regarded by the effeminate courtiers as dangerous to the state. Hence stoicism was considered as constituting, among others, a ground of accusation.¹¹⁴ The stoics could certainly better spread abroad some interest for religion; for the question here is not concerning the value of their philosophy; but although they cherished a greater regard for the gods, (which indeed were to them only the machines of fate,) yet the disconsolateness of their belief concerning the life beyond the grave, was the more terrific. This disconsolateness is confessed by Seneca, when he says:¹¹⁵ “I once flattered myself with the expectation of a future state, because I believed others. At that time I longed for death, *quum subito expectectus sum et tam bellum somnium perdidit!*”

If now, as we have seen, the dominions of philosophy were pervaded through and through by superstition and unbelief, how much more must these two foes of true knowledge, have subjugated to their sway the populace and the unlearned in general!¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Julianus Opp. Or. 7. p. 212. ed. Spanh. Maximus Tyrus Dissertationes, ed. Reiske. T. II. Diss. XXXVI. Some of the cynics may not indeed have been destitute of some participation in the oriental cast of mind, since in fact the life of the cynics, if we abstract its Grecian character, does not differ from that of the Indian Joghis or the Persian Fakeers. To this kind of cynics Demonax is to be reckoned, whose life is described by Lucian. Thus Lucian quotes from him, (p. 32,) that to the question, whether his soul was immortal, he returned for answer: “Yes, like EVERY THING.”

¹¹⁴ Tacitus Annal. XIV. 57. XVI. 22.

¹¹⁵ Seneca Ep. 102.

¹¹⁶ A very fine remark of Aelian is here to be noted. (Aelianus Histor. Var. II. 31.) “Who would not praise the wisdom of the barbarians? Never has one of them doubted of the existence of God or of his providence toward the human race, like many of the Greek philosophers. They have ever honoured the gods in simplici-

Already before the birth of Christ, the belief in a future life appears to have been lost among the more cultivated Romans. Cato and Caesar confessed in the senate, that the belief in a future existence is fabulous, and that beyond the grave, neither joy nor sorrow are to be expected.¹¹⁷ Caesar declared: "*Ultra nec curae neque gaudio locum esse.*" Cato highly approved of these words; for he says: "Caius Caesar has just spoken in this assembly, well and strikingly concerning life and death, declaring those things to be false, as I also think them, which are related of the infernal world, namely, that the wicked are separated from the virtuous, and inhabit terrific, loathsome, shocking, uncultivated places."—An excellent and very memorable expression of Livy, which strikingly marks the infidelity of his time, and which might be applied to so many other periods, is that which he makes in his relation of the contests about the *lex Terentilli*, and which were put to rest by the influence of religion.¹¹⁸ "But at that time, that indifference towards the gods had not yet broken in upon us, which prevails in the present age; nor did each individual so interpret oaths and laws as to suit himself; but rather accommodated his own morals to them."

And here, the evidence of Philo the Jew, (A. D. 40,) is appropriate, who complains of the many atheists and pantheists of his time, and attacks them.¹¹⁹

How mournful is the confession of such a man as the elder Pliny, which he makes of his infidelity in his Natural History.¹²⁰ "It

ty; they offer sacrifices; they perform purifications; they have their mysteries; so that it is evident, that they have not the least doubt respecting the gods."

¹¹⁷ Sallust. Bell. Catilin. c. 51. 52.

¹¹⁸ Livii Hist. III. 20.

¹¹⁹ Philo, ed. Pfeiffer. T. I. lib. 3. Allegoriar. p. 263.

¹²⁰ "Irridendum vero agere curam illud, quidquid est summum. Anne tam tristi et multiplici ministerio pollui credamus dubitemusne? Vix prope est judicare, utrum magis conducatur generi humano, quando aliis nullus est Deorum respectus, aliis pudendus. Invenit tamen inter has utrasque sententias medium sibi ipsa mortalitas numen, quo minus etiam plena de Deo conjectatio esset. Toto quippe mundo et locis omnibus omnibusque horis omnium vocibus fortuna invocatur.—Adeoque ut Sors ipsa pro Deo sit, quo Deus probatur incertus.—Quae singula improvidam mortalitatem involvunt, solum ut inter ista certum sit, nihil esse certi, nec miserius quicquam homine nec superbius. Caeteris quippe animantium sola

is ridiculous indeed to make that which is the highest of all, mingle in and take care of human affairs. Must we believe, or must we doubt, that this highest would be degraded by so sad and complex a ministry? It is hardly possible to judge, which may be of the most benefit to the human race; since on the one hand there is no respect for the gods; and on the other, a respect which men ought to be ashamed of. Between these two opinions, mankind have invented for themselves an intermediate divinity, that there may be less of conjecture about God. Throughout the whole world, in all places and at all hours, *fortune* is invoked by the voices of all.—And thus fortune herself stands for God; by which means God is proved to be uncertain.—Each of which things involves the improvidence and shortsightedness of mankind; so that only one thing can be certain, namely, that *there is no certainty*; and that nothing can be more miserable or more proud than man. For as to other animals, their only care is for food, in which the kindness of nature spontaneously suffices them; and one thing especially they have which is to be preferred to all possessions, namely, that they have no thought or care for glory, wealth, ambition, and, above all, for death. Still it is of use in human life, to believe that God takes care of human things; and that punishments, though sometimes late, (since God is so much occupied in his vast cares,) will never fail of being inflicted on crimes; and that man is not therefore the most nearly allied by birth to the Deity, in order that he should be next to the brutes in debasement. But it is the special consolation of imperfect human nature, that God cannot indeed do all things. For neither can he call death to his own relief, should he desire it,—a noble refuge which he

victus cura est, in qua sponte naturae benignitas sufficit, uno quidem vel praeferendo cunctis bonis, quod de gloria, de pecunia, ambitione, superque de morte non cogitent. Verum in his Deum agere curam rerum humanarum credi, ex usu vitae est: poenasque maleficiis aliquando seras occupato Deo in tanta mole, numquam autem irritas esse, nec ideo proximum illi genitum hominem, ut vilitate juxta belluas esset. Imperfectae vero in homine naturae praecipua solatia, ne Deum quidem omnia posse. Namque nec sibi potest mortem consciscere si velit, quod homini dedit optimum in tantis vitae poenis, nec mortales aeternitate donare etc. per quae declaratur haud dubie naturae potentia, idque esse quod Deum vocamus.” Lib. II. c. 7.

has given to man in the midst of so many evils; nor can he endow man with immortality etc. by which things, the power of nature is doubtless declared, and that is what we call God."—This rancorous melancholy, (so to speak,) of one who possessed a noble longing of heart for a better faith, but who proudly suppressed it, would have borne a man of lower views and longings directly to cynicism, in order, at least so far as is permitted to man, to reduce himself back into the class of brutes.

We have already had occasion to become acquainted with the unbelief of such men as Strabo and Polybius. Pausanias also testifies of himself, in many passages, that although he quotes the traditions of his religion, he yields them no belief; and commonly no one attributes any credit to them, except merely because he has heard them related from his youth up.¹²¹ Many Romans, in the time of the emperors, may also have been led into infidelity by a polite rhetorical education; for he whose taste and rhetorical powers merely are cultivated, commonly loses a spirit of deeper and more serious investigation, and superficially pronounces a skeptical decision on the highest subjects. So Arnobius delineates the unbelieving Romans of his time.¹²² "Because you know how to inflect words properly, because you avoid barbarisms and solecisms, because you can compose or criticise a well-constructed discourse, you also think you know what is true and what is false; what can take place and what cannot; and what is the nature of heavenly and of earthly things."—Theodoret also complains,¹²³ that "so many half-learned among the heathen refuse to take an interest in the barbarian wisdom of Christianity; while in old times, the truly wise travelled through all lands in order to become still wiser."—This character of skeptical, superficial, tasteful sciolism, we learn partly from the pictures which Lucian drew in derision of it;¹²⁴ and partly from the lively picture we have of it in the emperor Adrian. This man, who on the one hand was extremely superstitious, (as Pausanias among others lays to his charge,¹²⁵) and

¹²¹ Pausaniae Descriptio Graeciae, I. 3. II. 57.

¹²² Arnobius adv. Gentes, Paris 1605. ed. Heraldi, II. p. 57.

¹²³ Theodoreti Opp. ed. Hal. T. IV. p. 696.

¹²⁴ E. g. Lucian's *Lexophanes*, and his *Quomodo conscribenda sit historia*.

¹²⁵ Pausaniae Graciae Descript. I. 3.

on the other, was a contemptible sciolist, affords a ridiculous and likewise mournful proof of his belles-lettres propensities, and his infidelity as connected with them, in the verses which he uttered at his death.¹²⁶

It was impossible, but that the inferior multitude should become infected with unbelief from this quarter. Servius, in a note on Virgil's *Aeneid*,¹²⁷ remarks expressly, that "unbelief is equally spread among the high and the low." The lines of Juvenal are well known :¹²⁸

"Esse aliquos manes, et subterranea regna,
Et catum, et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum aere lavantur."

So Seneca says :¹²⁹ "No one is any longer so much a child, that he must be shown that there is no Cerberus nor Tartarus." Lucian¹³⁰ introduces an Epicurean and a Stoic as disputing before the rabble about Providence. The multitude listened with pleasure, and inclined to the side of the Epicurean.

It need not, moreover, excite our wonder, that the common people, together with the fables of the infernal world, gave up also all belief in a future state ; for it was only in this mythic dress that they could hold fast to that belief. We indeed also see, that even the heathen philosophers, so soon as they relinquished their belief in the infernal world, came barely to a pantheistic doctrine of future existence. Besides, at that time the sciences were also already taught to the common people. Quintilian the orator remarks in one place :¹³¹ "Even among our country people, there are but few who do not know or seek to learn something of the natural causes of things." How, therefore, would it have been possible to withhold from the common people, those results of unbelief which the philosophers presented ?

¹²⁶ Scriptorum Historiae August. Parisiis, 1620. Vita Hadr. c. 23.

"Animula vagula, blandula,
Hospes comesque corporis.
Quae nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec ut soles dabis jocos."

¹²⁷ Servius ad *Aeneid*. XI. 755.

¹²⁸ Juvenalis Satyr. II. 149.

¹²⁹ Seneca Ep. 24.

¹³⁰ Lucianus Jupiter Tragoedus, c. 17. T. II. éd. Reitz. p. 149.

¹³¹ Quintilianiani Institut. II. 2.

An expression of Firmicus Maternus affords us another example, that, at that time, as in the so called period of the illumination of Germany, not only was the mass of superstition rejected by the skeptics, but also all belief. In the preface to his astronomical works, he says :¹³² "There are some in our time who even question mathematical truth, and seek to prove its uncertainty from the confessions of mathematicians. The more vehemently these contend, the more do they establish the truth of astrology. For astrology could not even be true, if men did not assail it with such violent reasons. Yet this ought not to astonish us in the case of these people ; since we know how universal among them are also doubts and difficulties concerning the gods."

While now, on the one hand, the educated and the uneducated suffered themselves to be thus deceived by the infidelity of their times, another and probably a larger portion of the people, cast themselves into the arms of the most unbounded superstition, as had already been done by the philosophers. The first effect of this superstition, was, that men were not content with their own and the Grecian gods, but brought to Rome the gods of all lands, and worshipped them ; just as though, as Augustin expresses himself, the more the mass of the state increased, the more guardians it needed to keep the whole together.¹³³ They gloomily felt the incapacity of their own gods to satisfy them ; they fancied they could supply the want by increasing the number ; and the more foreign the deity, the more did their excited minds promise themselves from it. In this mania for foreign gods, the nobles and the emperors themselves set the most corrupting example. Germanicus and Agrippina devoted themselves especially to Egyptian gods.¹³⁴ So also Vespasian.¹³⁵

¹³² Julius Firmicus Maternus, *Astronomicon libri VIII.* Basiliæ 1533, p. 2.

¹³³ Hence Arnobius, (*adv. Gentes*, VI.) calls Rome *numinum cunctorum cultrix*. And as Athenæus had called Rome an "epitome of the whole earth" (*ἐπιτόμη τῆς οἰκουμένης*), so Theodoret, aptly gave it the name of an "epitome of all superstition" (*ἐπιτόμη πάσης δεισδαιμονίας*). Such a mingling of the gods had also prevailed at an earlier period ; but it had been suppressed by a decree of the senate. Livius *Histor.* XXV. 1.

¹³⁴ Tacit. *Annal.* II. 54, 59.

¹³⁵ Tacit. *Hist.* II. 78. IV. 82.

Nero scorned all gods with the exception of the *Dea Syra*. And with her too, he afterwards became so angry as even to pollute her with his urine.¹³⁶ Marcus Aurelius caused the priests of all foreign gods and nations to be assembled, in order to implore aid for the Roman empire against the incursion of the Marcomanni.¹³⁷ Commodus caused himself to be initiated into the mysteries of the Egyptian Isis and the Persian Mithras.¹³⁸ Severus worshipped especially the Egyptian Serapis;¹³⁹ Caracalla, chiefly the Egyptian Isis; and Heliogabalus, the Syrian deities; though he was also desirous of becoming a priest of the Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian religions.¹⁴⁰ Hence we may also account for the prevalence of Judaism at this period, to such a degree; so that Seneca says,¹⁴¹ it has so increased, "that the vanquished may almost give laws to the victors."

To the unhappy heathen who were running, in the disquietude of their hearts, now to the heathen temples and now to the Jewish synagogues, an affecting address was made by Commodianus, a simple and uneducated Christian of Africa, who wrote a kind of an apology at the close of the third century:¹⁴² "They must not, in the disquietude of their hearts, seek for rest there; the true and real peace of mind can be imparted to them only through Christ."

Since the number of the gods was in this manner continually increasing, it was natural too that the superstitious worship of them, and the multitude of their priests and temples and rites, should increase above all measure. In all the countries of Italy, the priests of the *Dea Syra*, of Isis, of Mithras, of Osiris, of Serapis, were wandering about, who practised especially the arts of soothsaying, and were everywhere ready to exhibit oracles. Thus in Lucian, Momus says to Jupiter;¹⁴³ "Thou Apollo, with

¹³⁶ Sueton. Vita Neronis c. 56.

¹³⁷ Capitolinus, Vita M. Aurelii, c. 13.

¹³⁸ Lamprid. Vita Commodi, c. 9.

¹³⁹ Spartianus, Vita Severi, c. 17.

¹⁴⁰ Lamprid. Vita Heliogab. c. 3, 7.

¹⁴¹ Seneca in a fragment of his book *de Superstitione*, in August. de Civit. Dei, VI. 11.

¹⁴² Commodiani Instructiones adv. Gentium Deos, Tulli 1630. No. 24.

¹⁴³ Lucianus, ed. Reitz. Vol. III. p. 534, in Deorum Consilio.

thine oracles, art no longer alone celebrated ; but every stone and every altar utters responses ; every stone at least on which oil has been poured and which is crowned with a garland and has by it a juggler (*γοήτης*) ; of which there are now so many. The statue of the wrestler Polydamus heals, at Olympia, such as are sick of fever ; as does also the statue of Theagenes in Thasus ; at Ilium they sacrifice to Hector, and from the Chersonesus opposite, to Protesilaus. Since now our number is thus increased, perjury and sacrilege are so much the more prevalent ; while we (the old gods) are totally despised."

The more abominable vice and licentiousness became, on the one hand, the more did men yield themselves up, on the other, to superstition, in order to quiet conscience and appease the gods. The most dissolute prodigals subjected themselves to painful penances, the disfiguration of their bodies, severe fastings, and costly sacrifices.¹⁴⁴ Juvenal graphically describes the various kinds of jugglers and superstitious practices among the females of rank at Rome :¹⁴⁵ "Then enters a company of effeminate priests of the Phrygian mother of the gods (*Cybele*). Their leader warns with a loud voice, against the pestiferous arrival of rough September, unless she propitiate the goddess with an hundred eggs, and give to himself as many garments from her wardrobe, as shall avert the evils of the whole year. Three times each morning is she to bathe her head in the stream of the Tiber, and on her chafed knees to creep around the *Campus Martius*. If the Egyptian *Isis* commands her in a dream, she is to hasten to Egypt and bring water from the Nile, and pour it out in the temple of the goddess. Yonder stalks nearer the priest of *Isis*, clothed in white, who implores of the goddess a pardon, in case the woman did not abstain from the marriage-bed during the sacred days of *Isis* ; while a fat goose and a thin chicken are sent to the temple. As he departs, the Jew approaches and timidly whispers his beggar's petition in her ear, while he preaches the Jewish doctrine. Then, comes the *Comagenian haruspex*, who, from the lungs of a dove, yet warm, prophecies a rich inheri-

¹⁴⁴ Seneca, *Fragm. ap. August. de Civit. Dei. VI. 10.* "Ille viriles sibi partes amputat, ille lacertos secat.—Tantus est perturbatae mentis et sedibus suis pulsae furor, ut sic Dii placentur, quemadmodum ne homines quidem saeviunt. Se ipsi in templis contrucidant, vulneribus suis ac sanguine supplicant."

¹⁴⁵ *Juvenalis Satyr. VI.*

tance, or a tender lover. But a still greater confidence is placed in the Chaldeans, and in the prophets of Jupiter Ammon. But most of all, in the astrologers; of whom she inquires as to her husband's death, and why her jaundiced mother is so slow in dying. Does she wish to drive out a few steps? the book is consulted, [viz. by opening at a venture to any passage that presents itself in Virgil, or some other author.] Is there an itching in the corner of her eye that has been rubbed? the horoscope is set up, and according to that, the eye-salve is applied. Does she lie sick? there is no hour so proper for taking food, as the one pointed out by Petosiris, the great Egyptian astrologer. If she is without fortune, she hastens to the circus to draw lots, and to have her fortune told from an examination of her forehead and her hand. To the more wealthy, the Phrygian augur and the Etruscan interpreter of thunder, lay open a view of futurity. The arts of those who mingle poison serve to produce abortion and barrenness in females, and to reduce men to insanity or idiocy; or even to bring slow death upon them."

It is from the life too that Apuleius delineates the adventurous processions of Isis, the accompanying shouts of the people, and the initiation into the mysteries, with all the attendant rites and juggleries.¹⁴⁶ Theophrastus also gives us a striking picture of the superstitious customs of the earlier period in which he lived.¹⁴⁷

But why should we wonder at the mass of superstition among the common people and in later ages, when such a man as Augustus, the Roman emperor, could fear to be alone in the night; when he was afraid of thunder and lightning, like a child, and carried about him magic remedies in order to avert these dangers; and when too he was frightened, whenever he happened in the morning, instead of his right shoe, to put on his left shoe first?¹⁴⁸

Peculiarly pernicious was the influence of this enormous multitude of soothsayers, interpreters of signs and of lightning, astrologers, palmisters, and necromancers. These all ministered to the ungovernable passions of the populace, who, tormented by a thousand anxieties and cares for the consequences of their own vices or the wickedness of others, longed to penetrate the dark-

¹⁴⁶ Apuleii *Metamorphoses*, XI.

¹⁴⁷ Theophrasti *Characteres*, c. 16.

¹⁴⁸ Suetonius *Vita Augusti*, c. 78, 90, 91, 92.

ness of futurity.¹⁴⁹ For this form of superstition, heathenism is particularly distinguished. The Indians, Persians, Egyptians, Gauls, and Germans, had their soothsayers; and among the Greeks and Romans, this art had been carried to such an extent, that Fabricius¹⁵⁰ enumerates towards a hundred different modes of divination. Among these people, there were early found base and avaricious men. Aristophanes ridicules them;¹⁵¹ and Thucydides relates, how the land was full of prognosticators before the Peloponnesian war, who filled the minds of the people with disquiet and apprehension. But in this age, their influence was peculiarly corrupt and fatal; because they inflamed to an uncommon degree the vices of avarice, pride, and sensuality. We see from Petronius to what beastly passions they ministered; how they were the negotiators in the most despicable transactions, and by their promises were the first to kindle up the basest desires. If one wished to poison his father, or to cause the death of his wife, or to commit adultery, or to practice unnatural lusts, he applied to these people for counsel; and they naturally spurred him on to the commission of the crime, because it was their gain. The great kept astrologers and soothsayers continually by them in their palaces. Nero, at an immense expense, caused the magician Tiradates to come into Italy, that he might consult him about futurity; and because the shade of his mother whom he had murdered, continually tormented him, as he said, he caused even this shade also to be exorcised by the magicians.

We should now naturally suppose, that, among so great a multitude of gods, of religious actions, of solemn vows, etc. at least some deeper feeling of the heart must have been excited; that at least some truly pious sentiments would have been aroused. But when we consider the character of this superstition and the testimony of cotemporaries, such does not appear to have been the fact. Indeed, this is just the worst and most corrupt feature of superstition, that it has nothing in it but the

¹⁴⁹ Tacitus says of them: (*Taciti Hist. I. 21.*) *Genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur.*

¹⁵⁰ Fabricii *Biblioth. Antiquaria*, p. 593.

¹⁵¹ For example, in *Aristophanis Aves.*

¹⁵² *Plin. Hist. Nat. XXX. 2. Sueton. Vita Neronis, c. 34.*

dark feeling—‘thou art a sinner, thou art not reconciled with God, thou art in need of higher aid both within and without;’ but this feeling has no value in itself, unless the understanding and the will are in harmony with it. For where religion consists in mere feeling, the most ungodly will and the most ungodly understanding may find place along with this better feeling. And thus indeed we see it even in men of this century. That dark and obscure feeling announced to them something of truth; but instead of their being led by it to a proper perception of their need, and thereby to a corresponding change in their volitions; their inclination, their propensity continued to be directed to the basest objects; their blinded perception exculpated their will; and that feeling now produced no other effect, but that of degrading religion itself to the attainment of those low and disgraceful desires of the will. The temples were frequented, splendid offerings were made, altars were crowned, and prayers were offered to the gods, in order that the gods might render—nights of unnatural lusts agreeable! that they might be favourable to acts of poisoning; that they might cause the robbery of widows and orphans to prosper.¹⁵³ In just indignation at all this, Seneca exclaims:¹⁵⁴ “How great is now the madness of men! They lisp the most abominable prayers in the ears of the gods. And if a man is found listening, they are silent. What a man ought not to hear, they do not blush to rehearse to God.” And concerning the whole mass of superstitious idolaters in his time, Seneca thus expresses himself:¹⁵⁵ “If any one considers what they do, and to what things they subject themselves, instead of decency he will find indecency; instead of the liberal, the unworthy; instead of the rational, the insane; and all this to such a degree, that no one could doubt their being deprived of reason. But now, the great multitude of these insane insures to them the reputation of intelligence.”

If now a heathen himself could thus decide concerning his superstitious fellow heathen,¹⁵⁶ how much more worthy of pity

¹⁵³ The historians of that time, especially Petronius, furnish the facts. They are given by Barbeyrac on Puffendorf de Jure Naturae et Gentium, § VI. p. 22.

¹⁵⁴ Seneca Epist. 10.

¹⁵⁵ Fragm. Senecae ap. Aug. de Civit. Dei. VI. 10.

¹⁵⁶ Tertullian (Apolog. c. 12) hence says to the heathen, that he, a Christian, says nothing worse of the gods than Seneca has already done.

must they have appeared to even the smallest among the Christians ; at least so long as these, in the external church, represented also the inner church in a more living form. Thus, for example, we hear that uneducated and otherwise very weak man, the above named Commodianus the African, pitying the *hebetudo saeculi*,¹⁵⁷ and in his simplicity strikingly unveiling their delusion.

Wherever a genuine and life-giving faith on the Saviour prevailed at that time, in the hearts of Christians, it proved a continual guard against the irruption of superstition and infidelity. And so even now, that Christian, who has experienced the new birth in his heart, and has learnt the narrow and strict way of salvation, will remain guarded in the best manner by this inward faith, as well against a relapse into a spirit of doubt, as against a visionary turn of mind which grasps the form instead of the substance.

The attempt has indeed sometimes been made, to show that Christianity was at the time as strongly tinctured with superstition, as heathenism ; and Meiners¹⁵⁸ places in this respect the life of St. Martin of Tours along with the description of the New-Platonic reveries. But we must well distinguish the fundamental trait of this heathenish superstition from the christian. That of heathenism had no inward root in the hearts of men ; it did not fasten itself upon an inward life of the soul with God ; and therefore it was the effect of a *relaxed* and *languid* state of the mind. The superstition of Christianity, on the other hand, had its foundation in a greater *excitement* of the spiritual powers. They had seen the extraordinary operations of the Spirit of God ; and hence the expectation of yet greater revelations of the world of spirits, might easily precipitate men into fantastic delusions ; just as we not unfrequently hear of convulsions, apparitions, and the like, in the case of the newly converted, who

¹⁵⁷ Commodiani Instructiones adv. Gentium Deos. Nos. 17, 22.

“ Deludunt vos pauci scelerati vates inanes,
Extricare suam dum quaerunt vitam,
Subornant aliis esse sub mysteria falsum.—
Heu doleo cives sic vos hebetari de mundo,
Excurrit alius ad sortes, aves adspicit alter
Balantum cruore fuso; manus inspicit alter
Et cupit audire responsa vana credulus, etc.”

¹⁵⁸ Ueber die Denkart der ersten Jahrhunderte nach Christi, Leipz. 1782.

are still full of the extraordinary experience they have had along with the first gracious feeling of the Saviour in their hearts. What is appropriately superstition, exists only where an immediate influence of the upper world is sought, without any reference to the disposition of the individual.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

ART. III. HINTS ON THE STUDY OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE.

By M. Stuart, Prof. of Sacred Literature in the Theol. Sem. at Andover.

The reader must not expect, from the title which he has just read, that I am going to defend the study of the Greek, in opposition to those who maintain that the classical study of ancient languages is superfluous, or at least of small importance. The contest on this subject has been warm, and often repeated; but the issue has never been doubtful, in the view of those who were best qualified to judge. The subject has recently been discussed in our country; and in some parts of it, the discussion seems to be still going on; even some of the higher schools and colleges have made arrangements, in accordance with which the study of Greek might be superseded; yet the result of all has been, or probably will be, the abandoning of such measures as intrench upon the study of the ancient classics, and the restoring of them, at least in theory, to the place which they have so long occupied in a system of liberal education.

Most sincerely do I rejoice in this result. As a Protestant and a preacher of the gospel, I deem the privilege of consulting the *original* Scriptures to be of inestimable value. At the same time, I do not aver that no man ought ever to preach the gospel, who cannot read the record of its doctrines in their original language. I do not believe that such a position is needful or proper for the church; and I am the more confirmed in this opinion, when I look at the conspicuous examples of some preachers, both as to doctrine and practice, who have no acquaintance with the Greek language. The church needs the aid of all the faithful labourers, who can be well employed in her service. But still, if it could be accomplished, it is desirable in itself that every instructor whom she employs, should be able to read the

statute-book that he is called to explain, in the language in which it was originally written. Since however this cannot be effected, it would be injudicious, and in my apprehension improper, always to insist on such a qualification as a pre-requisite to the ministerial office.

I have said thus much, in order to guard against any mistake as to the views which I cherish on this subject. And having done this, I may now say, that all who do study the Greek language, with a view of being able to read the New Testament in the original, may reap important advantages from this study, provided it be pursued in such a manner as it should be.

I must leave the reader to supply the reasons or grounds of such a declaration, from the resources of his own mind. It were easy for me to subjoin them ; but my present design forbids. I take it for granted, that a Protestant, and a Protestant minister of the gospel, will easily imagine and concede, that it is better to see with his own eyes, and to judge for himself, than it is to see by means of others' eyes, and to have them judge for him. See for him and judge for him others must, unless he can see and judge for himself. And if, in giving himself up to guides, he chooses good and safe ones, he may keep in the right path, and not lose himself, nor mislead others. All depends, of course, on a right choice of guides, in cases of such a nature. But where a man can see and judge for himself, he may, in common with those who cannot do so, not only avail himself of the knowledge of others, but, in addition to this, may apply all his own powers and acquisitions directly to the original sources of all religious knowledge. What young man, who believes that "the Bible is the SUFFICIENT and ONLY rule of faith and practice," would not choose the latter course ?

I take it for granted, at present, that it is a proper object of desire and effort, to be able to interpret the *original* Scriptures. I speak now only of the Greek Testament ; not because the same or the like things may not be truly said in respect to the Hebrew Scriptures, but because what I have to say in the sequel, has special reference to the study of the Greek language.

And now the important question naturally comes up : How shall the young man who aspires to the ministry, become able to interpret the Greek Scriptures ? How much knowledge of the Greek language must he have, in order to place him in a condition, in which he may pursue the study of Greek exegesis to advantage ?

The business of my life has forced upon me some knowledge in relation to these questions. Every year, I come, by experience in the course of my duties, to learn in some measure, what will and what will not enable young men to make any profitable advances in this study.

Some things relative to this matter, can be made plain to all. It is plain, that there are only two ways in which a person can become acquainted with any language; the one is, to learn it in a *vernacular* way, as children do their mother-tongue; the other, to learn it in the way of grammatical and lexicographical study.

The first of these ways is now out of question, with regard to the ancient Greek. This is no more a living, spoken language. The means of learning it in a *vernacular* way, are therefore no longer in existence; and consequently, if we learn the language at all, it must be through the medium of grammars and lexicons.

And what are these? If they are what they should be, the grammar will give a just account of all the various *forms* of words in the language; and also of all the variations and inflexions of them, in order to express the various relations of case, gender, number, person, tense, mood, voice, etc. This constitutes the first and substantial part of a good grammar; a part which the Germans very appropriately name *Formenlehre* (the doctrine of forms), but for which, strange as it may seem, we have not even a name in the English language. Might I be allowed the liberty of proposing a *technical* name, I would call it *declension*, i. e. that part of grammar which gives an account of declension, and is mostly occupied with this; and I would name the first part of grammar thus, on the same ground as the second part is called *syntax*, i. e. an account of the manner in which words and sentences are arranged, according to the custom of the language. These two parts occupy all the appropriate ground of *grammar*. They need not, and do not, exclude remarks on orthography; orthoëpy, etymology; but these last are things of quite a subordinate nature in a good grammar, and belong more appropriately to the province of the lexicon.

A good lexicon must contain not only a full account of the meaning of words, in different positions, voices, etc. but it should arrange these in an easy and natural way, so that the original meanings may stand first, and the derived ones in such order as would seem most probably to have been the actual one. It should mark the etymology of words, their anomalous forms, their specialities of sense, their ancient and modern usage, their

variations in meaning when combined in peculiar phrases, and their dialectical appearances ; it should also illustrate the whole by appropriate examples. Any thing short of this, is deserting the student and leaving him in the dark with respect to points on which he needs light.

And what now is the amount of all which a good grammar and lexicon can do for the student? It is this, viz. to place him in a state like to that in which a vernacular knowledge of the Greek would have placed him. The Athenian who was tolerably educated, and who listened to an oration of Demosthenes or to a tragedy of Sophocles, needed no grammar or lexicon in order to understand them. And why not? Because he had been taught the language in which he was addressed, in a vernacular way. Its declensions, its forms, its meaning, usual or peculiar, were already within the circle of his familiar knowledge. Why then need he consult helps, in order to interpret the orator and the tragedian? He need not ; at least he did not need this, unless it happened, as it does to us in reading an English author, that now and then a word not familiar should occur, and some aid would be needed in order to understand it.

I may seem to be beating the air, or at least to be wandering into a by-path instead of pursuing a straight and direct road ; but I am not so. I am approaching nearer to the object I have in view, and in the most direct manner. Is it not plain, that if we had the same knowledge of Greek which an Athenian of a decent education had, who listened to an oration of Demosthenes or to a tragedy of Sophocles, we could understand the orator and the tragedian as well as such an Athenian did, and for the same reasons? I trust this needs no proof. Is it not equally plain, that if we understood the New Testament Greek as well as the writers of this book did, that we could dispense with all our lexicons and grammars, and sit down to the reading of the Greek Testament with the same assurance that we could understand it, which we feel when we sit down to read the *Spectator* or the *Rambler*, of being able to understand the language in which they are written?

Such a knowledge, then, would enable us to throw by our apparatus of grammars, lexicons, commentaries, and philological disquisitions. This is plain enough ; but it is equally plain, that any thing short of such a knowledge must send us for aid to those helps, which will supply us with that which a vernacular knowledge does of itself impart. Nothing but this will ade-

quately answer our purpose; for the plain reason that nothing short of this will enable us to read the New Testament in an intelligent manner.

What then are the helps which stand in the place of vernacular instruction? The answer of course is, grammars and dictionaries. The first gives an account of all the various forms that words assume, and of the manner in which these are combined; the second tells us what the proper signification of each word is. Instead of learning all these things, as children do, from nurses and parents and companions, by constant usage and repetition, we now come to learn them from the pages of books where they are developed, and developed agreeably to the manner and custom of employing them in a vernacular way. Good grammars and lexicons are of course mere developements of *usus loquendi*; they are nothing more than *pragmatic histories* of language.

But what now if the Athenian had learned only from a nurse who spoke half Greek and half Scythian? Would he understand the Greek orator and tragedian? Certainly not, except in part; and for the simple reason, that he was acquainted with only a part of the forms and meaning of the Greek language. Or what if his knowledge of Greek was correct, so far as it went, and yet he had never read beyond his *accidence*? Then, of course, many a word and many a sentence of Demosthenes and Sophocles, would be unintelligible to him. Necessarily, therefore, in order to understand them, he must learn more, either in a vernacular way, or in the way of study.

The case is now substantially before us. The young American, who takes up the Greek Testament, has no *vernacular knowledge* of the language in which it is written; and having not this, he cannot read and understand this book, unless he first obtains an *equivalent* for such knowledge. And what is an *equivalent*? The answer can be but one; and this is, that a familiar, accurate, radical knowledge of what his grammar and lexicon teach, is indispensable to his reading the book in question, so as really to understand it.

This is the case, the whole case, and nothing but the case. We have come to this position in a way so direct, so plain, so satisfactory, (as it seems to me,) that there is no avoiding the belief that we have followed the right road, and have reached the very point after which we were looking. I mean, that there is no avoiding this conclusion, without contradicting all human experience. Every one knows and feels how he has learned

his own mother tongue, and what kind of knowledge is necessary, in order to enable him to understand it. He must know, then, that a knowledge like this, or equivalent to it, is necessary, in order that he may be able to read another language in an intelligent manner.

Suppose now an English reader could not distinguish the possessive case from the nominative, or the accusative case from either; would he not be as likely to make the possessive or the accusative the *subject* to a verb, in any particular sentence, as he would the nominative? Certainly he would; at least in poetry, where an inversion of order sometimes takes place. And if he should do so, then what would be the consequence? Plainly, that he would exhibit an inability to understand the English language, and a universal confounding and subverting of its true import.

These would be serious matters to an English reader, who professed to be able to read and to teach the language. Who that knew his condition, would regard his pretences, or apply for his instructions?

Transfer now all this to the Greek language, and see whether the difficulty is diminished in the least degree. Why should it be? A vernacular knowledge of the Greek, or a knowledge in some good degree equivalent to it, is just as necessary in order to read this language in an intelligent way, as the like knowledge is, in order to read English so as to understand it. This is a matter of fact so plain and palpable, that it needs no confirmation. Any person, therefore, who has not obtained such a knowledge, i. e. either a vernacular knowledge, or what is in some good degree an equivalent for it, cannot for a moment rationally suppose himself capable of reading Greek in an intelligent way.

‘But what has an accurate knowledge of *grammar* to do with the right understanding of Greek? Did the great multitude who listened to Demosthenes, understand the laws of Greek grammar? And why then may not we read and understand Greek, without the acquisition of such a knowledge?’

To these questions I answer, that the great mass of Athenians who listened to Demosthenes, did understand Greek grammar; not, perhaps, as a science regularly drawn out upon paper, and submitted to the eye, and supplied with all the terms of art; but *practically, experimentally, by usage*, the laws of Greek grammar were understood by them. They had imbibed them

in the nursery ; they had practised them in the schools ; they had been practising them every day of their lives. Their perception of the meaning and propriety of language was native, if I may so speak, and therefore rapid, spontaneous, easy. What it costs us years to obtain in the way of *study*, as to the knowledge of forms, declensions, and syntax, they had learned before they were conscious of ever having studied at all.

Hence, if an actor on the stage made a slip in syntax, in orthoëpy, or even in the quantity of syllables, it is said that a great proportion of an Athenian audience would instantly detect it. This shews at least a real and substantial knowledge of grammar, as to all its practical purposes ; and this is a knowledge which can now be acquired, *only through the medium of accurate grammatical study.*

Let me illustrate the principle in question, by examples. A student takes up the Greek Testament in order to study it critically and exegetically. We will suppose, now, that he knows neither the distinction between declensions nor cases, between active and passive voices, between the infinitive and indicative modes, and other things of this nature. We will also suppose, what is so common a case, that there is some inverted order in the arrangement of the Greek text. How, now, is he to put a sentence into its proper order, the nominative first, then the verb, then the accusative, and then some second case which the verb may govern ? Or how can he separate agent from object, or object from instrument, or noun from adjective, or indicative mode from infinitive, or the third person singular from the third person plural ? And so of all other things of the like nature. Or if he makes out some arrangement of the sentence, how is it possible for him to feel any assurance that it is right ? He cannot properly feel any ; for, in such a state, it is impossible that he should know whether he is in the right or wrong.

But we will suppose that he chooses some translation for his guide. Then we may ask : Why not be content with the translation alone, just as well as to trouble himself with trying to compare the original, so long as he never can judge whether the translation is right or wrong ? He *presumes* it is right ; and this he might do without the trouble of studying the Greek. But suppose it in any case to be wrong ; then how is it possible for him to detect it ? He cannot ; he must see by means of others' eyes ; he cannot use his own.

All this develops something of the nature of the case in ques-

tion. It must be very plain, that a man who has no accurate knowledge of the laws of declension and syntax, either vernacular or acquired by study, cannot judge when himself or others are right or wrong, in any proposed translation or explanation of a passage which is dependent on the *usus loquendi* of the language.

Let us go a step further. Most of the plain sentences in Scripture have been so often translated and explained, that the student of the Bible may gain a pretty good knowledge of them, with only a modicum of Greek. It is not for the sake of these, therefore, that he is desirous of expending labour on critical study. He wishes to acquire the power of studying the more difficult passages, and of judging for himself. But these are the very passages which, of all, require the most minute, accurate, and thorough knowledge of the grammar and lexicon. Without such knowledge he must utterly despair of doing any thing to the purpose for himself. All he can do, is to submit himself to the guidance of others; and even then he is in a bad plight, for he cannot tell whether they go right or wrong. He is incompetent even to judge of the reasons which they produce in favour of their opinion. They may be valid; or they may be otherwise; and for himself, he can only *guess* that they are the one or the other.

How then is it possible for a man to become a critic and an interpreter, without an accurate study of his grammar and lexicon? The idea is visionary; it can never for a moment be entertained by a sober and judicious mind, which has the whole subject placed before it.

But the repulsive part of my task remains behind. And this is, to make some remarks on the method in which the Greek language is too generally studied in our country; and to remonstrate as loudly as my feeble voice will enable me to do, against such a method of study.

If in doing this, I must be regarded as setting up myself for a captious censor upon many or most of those who, like myself, are engaged in the employment of teaching, my task will be truly repulsive. I certainly am not conscious of any feeling that ought to expose me to such an accusation; I have no such intention. For the presidents, professors, and tutors in our colleges, and the enlightened instructors in our higher schools, I

feel the most unfeigned respect and cordial affection. I bid them *God speed*, in the arduous and important labours and duties in which they are engaged ; and I do fully believe that these labours are of the highest importance to our community, both civil and religious. I am fully aware, also, of the many embarrassments which are in the way of their effecting all, in respect to a thorough education, which they are desirous of effecting. Our primary schools are, in a multitude of cases, very imperfectly regulated. Undisciplined teachers are often employed. Students are hurried through every thing. Shortness of time and smallness of expense are, at present, generally made essential ingredients in the plan of preparatory education. Young men are urged on over a large field, with rapid step, and without delaying long enough to survey even the dimensions of it, much less to take an accurate drawing of its topography, and to make a thorough examination of its productions. The grand *desideratum* is, to *pass over* the utmost possible ground in the least possible time. In what way one travels, it matters little or nothing. Be it in a close carriage with a bandage over his eyes, it is all well, if he has only travelled. Thus he is pushed through the academy, and pushed into college, when in fact he might be taken up upon his elementary books, and found to be halting at nearly every step. But this must be overlooked ; he has made *rapid advances* in a small time ; he bids fair to commend the scheme of economy in time and money ; and at any rate he will add to the general summary on the catalogue of college numbers, and help to support the expenses of the institution.

The temptation to college officers in such cases, (and these cases are becoming numerous,) is very great. The embarrassment is truly perplexing. I cannot find it in my heart to blame them, because they are disposed to yield to it. And yet this very yielding is fraught, as I expect to shew in the sequel, with consequences most serious and injurious to the student himself and to the church of Christ.

We have accompanied the student through his academic course ; I do not mean all students, for I rejoice to say, that there are schools which do not admit such hurried preparation, and will not give way to it, let their popularity become whatever it may. I regret, however, that I am obliged to add the expression of my fears, that my description as yet applies to the great majority.

But what becomes of our young Grecian, now having taken up his abode within the walls of a college? Is the course which he has been pursuing, here arrested; and does he find himself proceeding in a different direction, or at least in a different manner? I say nothing of other studies, for this is not my present business; I confine myself purposely to the Greek. And in regard to this, I have testimony which does not permit me to doubt, that in a great majority of cases, the old mode of travelling is still continued.

It is assuming nothing to myself to say, that few persons in the community have the same opportunity to judge of college progress in Greek as myself. For this I am indebted to my place and occupation, not to any special ability or endowments of my own. For more than twenty years, I have been employed in teaching New Testament Greek to young men, who belong to all the colleges in New England, and to a considerable number out of it. These are brought together in one class; they pursue the same studies; they have full opportunity to develop their previous acquisitions; and it is impossible for me as an instructor not to observe what these are.

Shall I tell the plain truth, now, on this subject, and make the appeal to the hearts and understandings of all our college instructors, guardians, and patrons? I come to it with diffidence; I speak with unfeigned reluctance. But I do feel that it is my duty to tell the whole truth on this subject; and I assure my readers that it shall be nothing but the truth.

To speak plainly then, and without reserve, I must say, that there are some of the young men that come here, who, if *fully* and *duly* examined in the Greek Testament in order to enter, must inevitably be rejected. All this, too, when they come with a *diploma* in their hand. There are not a few who come here, that could not decline a verb, or noun, or adjective, in the Greek language, with any tolerable degree of certainty that they were in the right throughout. And this is true not only of all the contracted and more difficult forms, but even of *ἡ μοῦσα* and *ἡ φιλία*, which belong to the first rudiments of the first declension. Every year I am obliged to put my pupils on the first elements of Greek grammar, before I can advance them to the study of the New Testament. It is impossible for me to proceed a step in my proper business, without so doing. All of them, indeed, do not equally need this discipline. A few might dis-

pense with it. But as a class, the necessity of their going through with this exercise, is past all question.

Of course there is a great loss of time to the student, as to the appropriate business of our Seminary. I regret this deeply ; but I cannot help it. One cannot advance to higher acquisitions, before he understands elementary principles ; and if he has not learned these, then he must learn them.

The gentlemen connected with colleges and academies, may be assured that this is no exaggeration. It is a plain and simple statement of the truth. And now, what can be done to remedy such a state of things ?

That it calls aloud for remedy, will not, I trust, be doubted by considerate men. But where shall reform begin ? The young men, for the most part, I cannot find it in my heart to blame. They have been trained to negligent and superficial study ; I do not say *purposely*, but that the fact is so. Consequently they have only an imaginary conception of the value and importance of any other method of study. They have been led by the discipline which they have received, to mistake superficial for solid study. Shall I tell the whole ? I have often asked those, who were remarkably deficient in Greek, and who could not parse or decline a single difficult word, with any assurance of being in the right : How came you to pass over your Greek studies in this way ? Have you never been trained to grammatical analysis ? And the answer has as often been : "I never parsed three words, while I was a member of college." Pray what did you do then ? was the further inquiry which I urged ; and to this the answer has been : "I translated or construed ; and this was all." And was it so with others ? "It was." How much Greek then have you learned while in college ? "None at all ; I have gone backwards ; I do not understand it half as well, as when I was in the academy."

Scores of times have I asked such questions and received such answers ; and many scores more, I doubt not, I should have received the like answers, if I had put the same questions.

With the exception, now, of a few young men who were not disposed to be diligent in college and who therefore are to be blamed, how can we blame the others whose character and understanding forbid the supposition that they were indolent, or unable to become good Greek scholars ? They relied on their instructors for guidance ; they submitted themselves wholly to

their direction. What they demanded, the student performed. Where then must we at last come, in seeking for the cause of such a grievous state of things, as that which I have disclosed above?

I must beg the instructors and guardians of colleges to hear me still further. What is the end and use of a college education? They will all unite in answering: 'It is to prepare men for the learned professions.' In saying this, they do not mean to say that it can be subservient to no other important uses; but merely, that this is the special design of such a course of discipline. I accord perfectly with the views which this answer expresses; and must now beg leave to subjoin a few inquiries.

Can that be a preparation for any of the learned professions, the first elements even of which are not well studied, or at least are not correctly understood? What preparation, for example, is it for the exegetical study of the New Testament, when the student has hurried over his Greek in such a way, that you may perplex him by calling on him to decline a noun of the first declension, and utterly confound him by imposing the task of going through with a contracted verb or noun? I know of no real good to be achieved in this way. For myself, I would rather receive a young man who had never looked at the Greek alphabet, as a promising candidate for the study of exegesis, than to deal with one who had been trained up in the way above described.

The officers of a regular army always complain, that the militia are much more unpromising subjects of thorough and tactical discipline, than raw recruits who have never handled a musket. The difficulty is, that the former have two things to do, viz. to *un-learn* bad habits, and to learn good ones; while the latter have simply to learn what is taught. And so it is in Greek study. A negligent, careless, incompetent, half-way method of study, spoils the habits of the student, and unfits him for accurate and radical investigation. He is then to be *un-made*, before he can be made. If any one should doubt the correctness of all this, I could almost wish him doomed to make the experiment; for then he would never doubt again.

Why now, I may respectfully ask—and parents may ask, who wish well to their children, and the church may ask—Why should young men be thus "prepared for the learned professions?" Some instructor in the colleges may perhaps reply, and say: 'We have so many other things to study, that it is impossible to

make thorough work with them all.' Be it so. Then I would ask : If the multitude of studies causes the progress of the student to be superficial in all, then why not diminish the number ? When will it be known and believed, that education is not loading the mind with facts and with the opinions of others, but training it to exercise its own native strength, and disciplining it by habits of accuracy and radical investigation ? *Non refert multum, sed multa* ; which I might paraphrase thus : The quantity of ground gone over is nothing, the number of things really learned is all. Habits of accuracy and thoroughness, are 'tools to work with, and skill to apply them.' A man of mere fact-knowledge and reading, hasty inaccurate reading, is a simple reservoir, which the rains may indeed occasionally fill, but whose waters easily become putrid, and are always exposed to fail. A man trained to think, accurately to investigate, radically to study every book that he reads which is worth reading, is a living fountain, sending forth a refreshing and an inexhaustible stream of living waters.

Competition in the lists of college study is becoming a great mischief in our country. A leading college sends forth its list of studies. Another one, which requires a half or whole year's study less by way of preparation, sends forth an equivalent list, in order to prevent students from passing by it. The number of things to be studied, one may easily see, is the grand point of attainment ; the manner in which they must be studied, in reality lies quite in the back ground.

Is not this now the honest truth ? And yet I will believe, that there is an ear to hear reasonable remonstrances against such a method of proceeding. It never can be a matter of importance in the preparatory education of a young man, that he goes over a wide field as to variety of objects. *To fit him for traversing any field where he may please to direct his future course, or where he is called to do it, is EDUCATION. To teach him, from the very outset, to go SURELY, THOROUGHLY, FUNDAMENTALLY,—this is EDUCATION* ; and, I may safely add, this is more important than all the rest of it united together. Instructors cannot think for pupils. They cannot make them learned, by reading lectures to them. The student must make himself. But instructors can shew their pupils what accurate study means and is ; they can point out the way, and set the example, and make the demand, and furnish the excitement. And this is three quarters of all their proper task.

And what of all this is done, when a class is occupied some thirty or forty minutes in *translating* Greek or Latin, without a single comment on beauty, deformity, idiom, grammar, geography, biography, history, mythology, or any thing else? Better, I would say, never to enter the lecture-room, than for a student to enter, and proceed in such a course as this. I would rather that he should never have proceeded beyond *Viri Romae* with the *Eclogues* of Virgil and Jacobs' *Greek Chrestomathy*, if he could be disciplined to the purpose here, than to have all his acquisitions, twice told, in Latin and Greek, when he has been over his authors in this *construing* way.

The colleges, we have seen, are designed to prepare young men for the learned professions. The colleges, too, it is said, cannot study Greek more, nor more thoroughly, because they have other things which they must teach. But are all of these other things equally important to the young men going into learned professions? For example; a large class of young men in our colleges, are preparing for the ministry. What is the best preparation for this, the higher mathematics, or Greek; the calculation of eclipses, or the grammatical analysis of this language? And so of not a few things which our colleges profess to teach. I do not speak lightly of higher mathematics, or of any other study. There is none which may not be useful, when properly pursued, in training the mind. But it will not be contended, that all studies which are useful, must be pursued in college. There must then be selection, choice. And in making a selection, why not confine it to those which are the most extensively useful? At all events, why select any more than can be radically studied?

But some one may say: 'Do you then expect, that the student is to become a critic in Greek, while in college? Is this language to be so prominently the object of attention?' I answer, No. I do not expect college students to be profound Greek critics. This is not the work of four years, but of twenty or more. But it is reasonable to expect, that what of Greek they do study, should be studied *accurately* and *thoroughly*. It is reasonable to expect, that the elements, the very first elements of this study, should be acquired and accurately acquired, during a collegiate course. It is reasonable that students should not be subjected to a disappointment of their hopes, when they come to the exegetical study of the New Testament, in finding that they are not prepared to enter upon the very rudi-

ments of this study. It is a serious evil to the young men and to the church, to train them up in this way, and to disappoint their expectations of future progress in studies appropriate to the sacred office. It is indeed a serious matter to the church, to train up any of its servants to half-way measures and superficial study and inaccurate methods of thinking and reading. It is a matter which deserves more serious consideration, than it has yet received in our country.

For myself, if I may be permitted to say it, I would say : My heart has often ached for not a few of the excellent young men assembled in my lecture-room. They come here after going *through* the academy and *through* college ; and with a diploma in their hand, and some of them also having even been adorned with other college laurels, they expect to find no difficulty in entering directly upon the course of study here, and reaping all the advantages from exegetical lectures which these lectures can be adapted to bestow. Alas, for their egregious disappointment ! They are called on to decline ἡ μουσα ; which they do with a faltering tongue. They are not certain whether the genitive is μουσης or μουσας, much less can they give the reason why it is the former rather than the latter. When put to decline contracted and peculiar forms, they are at an absolute stand, and they can proceed with scarcely any more certainty that they are in the right, than if they were put to declining Sanscrit. What now can be done ? I am obliged to say : ‘Gentlemen, I regret that you find yourselves in such circumstances. It is not my business to inquire how this has been brought about, whether by your own fault, or by that of your instructors, or by both unitedly. Be this as it may, you cannot translate and comment on New Testament Greek, while you are unable to distinguish the elementary forms of its declensions. I am truly sorry for your disappointment ; and I also regret, that you are obliged as it were to lose your time, for the present, in merely elementary and preparatory studies. But what can be done ? Advance you cannot, without a knowledge of the elements. It is utterly impossible. There is no way left but to begin *de novo* ; to study your grammar as you would at the outset ; and in this manner to make what little progress you can.’

The instructors of colleges and academies, the ministers of the church who think that exegetical study is important, and all well informed Christians too, may judge what disappointed hopes must exist under such circumstances, and what an aspect of

gloom it casts over the lecture-room, when bright and vigorous and ardent young men, who come to our seminary in the full tide of expectation that they are to acquire some tolerable knowledge of the original Scriptures, find themselves most unexpectedly thrust back upon the very elements of academical study, and that the utmost which they have the prospect of doing, is to make some progress in the mere rudiments of critical study. My heart has been ready to burst, while I have been compelled to be the instrument of thus disappointing their hopes, and of making them to feel, that, after all, very little to the purpose could here be effected by them, because they must do over again what had been so imperfectly done in the very outset of their academical course.

I can hardly refrain from weeping, while I make this statement. Others may smile at this and call it a weakness, if they please; or they may attribute it to disappointed professional ardour and hopes. Possibly both of these causes may have an influence upon my feelings. Yet I am not conscious of it. I aver, that the blasted hopes and disappointed expectations of some thirty, forty, fifty or more young men, at this Seminary, every year—young men who are the rising hope and glory of the New England churches—is enough in itself to call forth deeper sympathies than I have felt; and that insensibility towards such a matter, would argue a criminal indifference to the interests of humanity, of literature, and of religion. But when there is added to the list of our own seminary, that of all the like institutions in our country, which must experience the like disappointments, the case puts on a serious aspect indeed.

Let us follow the young Grecian still farther in his course. We have traced his history at the academy, and at college; but what is his course in the theological seminary?

Here he has one year to be mostly employed in philological study, i. e. about forty weeks; for this is the most at which we can put the estimate of actual study. And what has he to do in forty weeks? He has to learn Hebrew and Greek, *ab initio* for the most part; he must study hermeneutics; he has sacred literature, geography, antiquities, history,—all this and much more, which should be learned, and must be so, before he can have made any solid advances as a critic. Is this now within the bounds of possibility? I appeal to the common sense of all men. Even the unlettered can judge of such a case. The calculation of any *effectual* advances must be visionary. They are

so. For the time, the young men mostly pursue their studies with industry and interest ; and at the end of the year, if they have been diligent, they come just to the position where they see that they have a boundless field before them, into which they have not yet fairly made an entrance. The order of the seminary then requires them to go into other studies ; and these are so important, and occupy them so entirely, that critical pursuits are nearly or quite abandoned. At the end of the three years' course here, not a few of them are, in relation to Sacred Literature, very much in the same plight that they were as to Greek, when they left the colleges. How is it possible that it should be otherwise ? Some of them have sold their dictionaries, grammars, Hebrew Bibles even ; and why not ? It is better that the books should go into the hands of those who will use them, than to remain in the hands of those who do not. And thus they have bid adieu to exegetical study ; for the labours of candidates for the ministry, and of settled ministers, forbid the idea of pursuing studies which are very imperfectly understood, and which, if pursued, must cost much and severe labour.

I am not portraying scenes of fancy, but describing facts, realities, sober, painful realities. They must remain realities just so long as the present state of Greek education exists ; not to speak of the exceedingly limited knowledge of the Hebrew, which is given in the colleges.

But I ask again, why should young men, and why should the community, be deluded on this great subject ? The halls of our theological seminaries are thronged with young men, anxious to study the Bible, ardently desirous of being able to read and understand the original Scriptures. Alas, they know not the embarrassments that lie in their way. They are not prepared for this study ; and they cannot profit by it, until they are prepared. They may indeed get the *name* of having studied the Hebrew and Greek Testaments ; but how much more than the name can they in reality obtain ? Their hopes are disappointed ; their time, if not absolutely lost, is in a measure lost ; and the church is very little profited by their having engaged in exegetical studies.

I am rejoiced, indeed, to be able to say, that there are, and always have been, some exceptions to these remarks. There are some young men of superior talents and resolution, and of higher qualifications, who attain to such a point of sacred philological study as to acquire a taste for it, and an enthusiasm

which bids fair to urge them on through life. But these are not as numerous as most persons would suppose ; indeed they are not numerous enough to detract much from the force of the remarks that have been made above.

I repeat it, the fault is not generally in the young men, but in the nature of the arrangements in our great plans of education from the outset ; or at least, in the execution of these plans. And when I consider the subject in this point of view, I am sometimes led almost to despair of seeing better days, during the short remainder of my official duties. *The shortest and cheapest way* possesses attractions for our community, which all the arguments or remonstrances of myself or other teachers, will, I fear, be unable to persuade them to resist. And yet, why should men continue to be deluded ? Why should they anxiously pursue a *name*, without a *thing* ? No subject can be made plainer than this ; no truths can be more palpable, to me at least, than those which I have stated above.

‘But what would you have then ? Are all our young ministers to be made biblical critics ? And are we to have a ministry consisting of commentators and grammarians, rather than of warm hearted preachers and plain teachers ?’

I answer, No. I have said before, that I do not deem it the duty of the church, to educate all her servants in a philological way, as things now are. But when the question is once settled, that some of the youth who aspire to the sacred office, are to be educated in this way, I would that *such should be truly so educated*, and not in name and pretence merely. I aver, that for the most part, it is now only in name and pretence ; will any one venture to contradict me ? If he do, he must shew that he has better opportunities to judge of this fact than I have had ; and that different young men have come under his examination, from those which have come under mine.

I do not think, as I have said, that all young men should aim to be philologists. But I do believe that a goodly number should, if possible, learn to read and judge of the word of God for themselves ; to read and understand it in the original. I do believe, that the statute book, which it is the business of men’s lives to explain and inculcate, should be understood, where it can be, in an intelligent exegetical way. Grammars and lexicons are not, indeed, to be brought into the pulpit. A preacher who should there detail the process of either, would prove himself to be a coxcomb or a pedant. He would be an object of

unutterable disgust, in the view of the truly intelligent interpreter. But the *results* which have flowed from the diligent and proper use of the grammar and lexicon, I should wish always to see exhibited in the pulpit. I mean, that I should be glad always to see evidence, that a man who preaches, has thoroughly examined the meaning of his text, before he builds his sermon upon it. Whether he *writes* commentaries or grammars, is quite a subordinate question as to the business of preaching. In general, I should hope this would not be the case.

And now, what is the sum of all? It is, that present arrangements for exegetical study are utterly incompetent to answer this purpose, in any degree that is important enough to compensate for the loss of time to many who embark in it. "Drink deep, or taste not," is no more true as applied by a master poet to his own art, than it is when applied to sacred philology. If one goes not far enough to be able to judge for himself, and to discern the correctness or incorrectness of the labours of others, all that is substantial is lost. Time and money and patience have all been bestowed in vain.

Why cannot this be believed? Why must it not be? In an art or trade, all men do judge thus. A bungler at his business deceives only the unwary, and obtains business only from those who are not acquainted with him, and have unwarily credited his professions. This is all well. It quickens men to diligence and pains-taking and skill. And then, moreover, a man, in the business of the world, must have "served a regular apprenticeship," in order to have a good standing in the eyes of the discerning part of the community; in other words, they judge that time and regular and thorough discipline are necessary to form a man to habits of skill and accuracy. Why then should they desert the high road of common sense, when they come to judge of *exegetical* study? Is a man to turn interpreter in a trice, without study and without discipline? You may as well demand of him to speak Chinese *ex tempore*.

Is it not time, then, for all who love the church and the ministry; for all who are instructors in our seminaries of a preparatory nature, or guardians and patrons of them; to open their eyes upon this subject, and to view it in its true light? Why should young men be misled and deluded? Why should not exegetical study commence in the academy, and be carried on, more or less, through the whole college course? Why should not Greek either be given up altogether, or else pursued so as to answer some real purposes of utility?

These are plain questions ; but they are directly to my purpose ; and the answer to them is exceedingly plain. In the name of all that is sacred, then, and dear to the church, I appeal to the instructors and guardians of literary institutions, and invite their attention to this subject. If Greek be of no use, then let it be abandoned ; if it is of importance to the young candidate, then *let it be studied so as not to disappoint his hopes, and blast his future prospects*. Better would it be to omit it altogether, than to pursue it in the usual way. *What is worth doing at all, is worth doing well*. I know of no maxim in the discipline of a student, more important than this. If then there are other college studies more important to a future minister of the gospel than that of the Greek, let them take the place of Greek. If this cannot be shown, (and I venture to say before the world that it cannot,) then let Greek be studied in reality, not in name and pretence only. Let instructors be employed, who can themselves not only decline a contract noun and verb, but who will both discover and correct the errors of the student. Let *exegetical* scholars be employed, classical interpreters, who will inspire taste and enthusiasm for the study of this most noble and sacred of all languages. Then we may begin to hope, that the student will make some real progress in sacred exegesis, and become, what he professes to be, a preacher acquainted with the original Scriptures.

The present embarrassments, however, that lie in the way of doing this effectually, I well know. Nay, I apprehend that they are more numerous and important than is generally believed. What some of the most important of them are, and how they may in due time be removed, are questions fraught with interest to the cause of learning and religion. But the discussion of them would lead me too far beyond the proper limits of the present communication. Possibly I may resume the consideration of them at some future opportunity.

In the mean time, it is a duty for me to add, at the close of this communication, that all of our colleges are not alike implicated in the above remarks. With the most lively satisfaction I am able to say, that there are some, which are urging the study of the languages in a way that promises important results in the sequel. They are increasing their demands in respect to preparatory classical studies ; and they are rendering the collegiate study of the Greek and Latin, more solid and more extensive. A thousand blessings on the men, whoever and where-

ever they are, that have illumination and courage enough to oppose themselves to the popular current of our times in regard to these matters, and to do that which in the end will be of some real use to students! Let them persevere until they have reached the proper point, and they may be assured of overflowing halls and lecture-rooms. Young men in general have sense enough, when left to their own choice, to go where they will find the most thorough discipline and instruction. It should be so; and I cannot doubt that it will be. The time will come, when the dismissing of a young man from a college, with a diploma in his hand, who cannot go through with the first declension in Greek, will become a beacon to other young men who have just commenced their course of study, admonishing them to bend their way to a college that makes higher demands. I may not live to see that day; but whoever does, and loves the church, and loves the Bible, and believes a knowledge of its original languages to be highly important, let him hail its morning light, as belonging to the most auspicious that ever dawned upon his country!

ART. IV. INTERPRETATION OF ISAIAH, CHAP. LII. 12.—LIII.

From Hengstenberg's "*Christologie des Alten Testaments.*" Translated by James F. Warner, of the Theological Seminary, Andover.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The work from which the following article is taken, is comparatively little known in this country; except as some specimens of it have been laid before the public in the two preceding numbers of this Journal, and in another periodical work of a similar character. As yet only the first volume of the '*Christologie*' has been published, which issued from the press in 1829. The object of the work is, to exhibit the results of a calm and very extensive and complete investigation of those prophecies of the Old Testament, which have reference to a future Messiah; or in other words, to point out how far the events and doctrines

recorded in the New Testament in relation to the Messiah and his kingdom, are the fulfilment and results of predictions and principles revealed in the Old Testament. A work of this kind had never before been attempted, at least to such an extent. Gulich, Hulsius, and Gürtler, had indeed laid the ground-work, in the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries; and more recently Köcher, Anton, Kuinoel, and Jahn, (the two latter in separate works,) had turned their attention to the subject; but all these labours were comparatively unimportant. But the time had now come in Germany, when the need of such a work began to be very extensively felt. The system of rationalism, while it professed to receive the Christ of the New Testament as a teacher of righteousness and sublime morality, ever strove to strip him of his divine honours as Messiah, and banish him from the Old Testament; and as yet no systematic and scientific effort had been made to counteract these endeavours. But the spirit of reaction which has been awakened in that country in recent years, and which leads very many to perceive the cold and unsatisfying nature of such speculations, soon caused the attention of pious theologians to be turned to this subject, and made them aware of the need of giving to it a thorough examination. It is within the Editor's knowledge, that Professor Tholuck long entertained the purpose of composing such a work, and that, during his visit to England in 1825, he made many collections and extracts from oriental and rabbinic manuscripts, existing in the public libraries of that country, with particular reference to this object. Other important duties, however, hindered him from undertaking the work; and it therefore passed into the hands of Prof. Hengstenberg, who may be regarded as in some respects still better qualified for this department of labour. It was undertaken by him with the entire concurrence and approbation of Prof. Tholuck, if not at his suggestion; and the manuscript collections and extracts above mentioned, were at once placed by the latter at the disposal of Prof. Hengstenberg.

The book has produced quite a sensation in the theological world in Germany; because it often runs counter to the current which has so long prevailed; and because the unquestionable talent and profound learning with which it is written, present formidable obstacles in the way of those, who have been accustomed to put down every thing of a similar nature by dogmatical assertion or scornful ridicule. It was vehemently attacked

in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* of Halle, in an article written by the elder Prof. Fritzsche from materials furnished by Gesenius; but the remark made by candid inquirers was, that they were disappointed in finding that the work could be assailed with no stronger arguments. De Wette also has taken occasion, (in the preface to his Commentary on the Psalms, 1829,) to express his most thorough dissent from Hengstenberg; though he styles him at the same time *ein kenntnissreicher junger Gelehrte*, a young scholar of great learning.

In the mean time, Prof. Hengstenberg, although deeply (and sometimes perhaps injudiciously) involved in the theological polemics of the day, has busily prosecuted his great work; of which the second volume is announced as about to appear during the present year, 1832. This volume of course must comprehend the prophecies of Daniel; and as that book has of late years been the subject of much discussion, and has been very generally set down as a spurious production of the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, it became absolutely necessary to discuss fully the question of its genuineness and authority. This discussion the author has recently given to the public in a separate work, under the title *die Authentie des Daniel*, etc. Berlin, 1831. It is said by him to be the commencement of an Introduction to the Old Testament; although in its present form, it is in fact nothing more than an *excursus* to his Christology. The plan pursued in it is precisely similar to that followed in examining the genuineness of the latter part of Isaiah; for which essay the reader is referred to Vol. I. of this work, p. 700. Prof. Tholuck's opinion of this work on Daniel may be found on p. 205 of the preceding number.

The passage of Isaiah which is the subject of discussion in the following article, is doubtless one of the most important prophecies of the Old Testament, in reference to the character of the Messiah. Indeed, his character as a *suffering* Messiah may be said to rest mainly upon this passage, so far as it derives support from the prophetic writings; and in this light too the passage is viewed and applied by the writers of the New Testament, as is admitted by Gesenius. (Comm. zu Jesa. II. p. 160.) The places in the New Testament in which this passage is either directly quoted or alluded to, are: (a) Luke 22: 37 and Mark 15: 28, for Is. 53: 12.—(b) John 12: 38 and Rom. 10: 16, for Isa. 53: 1.—(c) 1 Pet. 2: 22—25 for Is. 53: 4, 5, 6, 9.—(d) Acts 8: 28—35, for Is. 53: 7, seq.—(e) Matt. 8:

17 for Is. 53: 4.—For general allusions only, we may refer perhaps to Mark 9: 12. Rom. 4: 25. 2 Cor. 5: 21. 1 John 3: 5.

This passage has ever received profound attention, from many and able commentators. Prof. Hengstenberg is the latest and one of the most learned ; and has enjoyed the benefit of the labours of all his predecessors. It is for this reason, in connexion with others, that in bringing this important passage of Scripture under the notice of the readers of this work, the Editor has selected the discussion of Prof. Hengstenberg in preference to any other. It will be perceived, that he has here also prominently interwoven his peculiar views on the nature of prophecy, which are more fully developed in the article given in the preceding number ; and which have been commented upon by Prof. Stuart in the first article of the present number. For his own opinion of these views, the Editor would refer to the Preliminary Remarks prefixed to the article on Prophecy, p. 138.

The translation of this essay has been made by the same friend who furnished that of the former ; and its accuracy and comparative elegance need no voucher. EDITOR.

INTERPRETATION OF ISAIAH LII. 12.—LIII.

We come now to a passage of Scripture, which in many respects may be regarded as the most important in all the writings of the Old Testament, and which is better adapted than any other to lead us to a right understanding of the whole. The partial obscurity which usually accompanies the representations of the prophets, seems here to have entirely vanished. The highest operation of the divine Spirit, is united with the most entire suppression of the prophet's own agency. Thus, like a pure mirror, he has imparted to us the sublime truths which he received ; or rather, the Spirit of Christ, operating in him, employed him as an instrument to reveal the sufferings which the Messiah must undergo after his appearance in the flesh, and the glory that should follow. 1 Pet. 1: 11.

Our plan will be to give, first, a history of the various interpretations of this passage ; then, our own exposition ; and finally, the arguments for and against the Messianic* interpretation.

* I have ventured to adopt the adjective *Messianic*, on account of its very great convenience ; just as we speak of the *Abrahamic* covenant, etc. EDITOR.

PART I.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Interpretation of the passage by the Jews.*

I. There can be no doubt that the Messianic interpretation of the passage was the prevailing one, at least among the better part of the Jewish people, in earlier times; when they adhered more rigidly to the traditions of the fathers, when their carnal disposition was not so entirely predominant, and their controversy with the Christians had not yet rendered them so very partial in their exegesis. This is conceded even by those later Jewish interpreters who pervert the passage; as Abenezra, Jarchi, Abarbanel, and Moses Nachmanides. Gesenius also says: "Without doubt the later Jews abandoned this interpretation from polemic views in reference to the Christians."

We will here bring together the principal passages of the Jewish writings now extant, in which this exposition is found. The whole translation of the Chaldee paraphrast, Jonathan, keeps in view the Messiah; although, as we shall hereafter see, he admits of many perversions. He paraphrases the very first sentence: "Behold my servant, the Messiah, shall prosper."* In the Medrasch Tanchuma,† are found the following remarks upon the words הִנֵּה יִשְׁכֵּל עַבְדִּי: "This is the king Messiah, who is high and elevated and very exalted; more exalted than Abraham, elevated above Moses, higher than the ministering angels." This passage is remarkable also, inasmuch as it contains the doctrine of the Messiah's exaltation above all created beings, even above the angels themselves, and consequently the doctrine of his divinity, which has been disputed by the later Jews. There is a still more remarkable passage quoted from the very ancient book, Pesikta:‡ "When God created his world, he

* הָא יִצְלַח עַבְדִּי מְשִׁיחָא ;

† An old commentary on the Pentateuch; ed. Cracov. f. 53. c. 3. l. 7. זֶה מֶלֶךְ הַמְּשִׁיחַ יְרוֹם וְגָבַהּ וְנִשְׂא מְאֹד וְרוֹם מִן אַבְרָהָם וְנִשְׂא מִמֶּנּוּ וְגָבַהּ מִן מְלָאכֵי הַשָּׁרָת :

‡ In the tract Abkat Rokel (אֲבָקֶת רוֹכֵל) printed in a separate form at Venice, 1597, and copied in *Hulsii Theologia Judaica*, where this passage is found, p. 309. כִּשְׁבָרָא הָבָה עוֹלָמוּ פֶשֶׁט יְדֹו כְּחַת כֶּסֶף הַכְּבוֹד וְהוֹצִיא נִשְׁמַת הַמְּשִׁיחַ אָמַר לוֹ רוּצָה אֵתָּה לְהַבְרִיאוֹת וּלְגַאֲוֹל אֶת בְּנֵי אֲחֵר שֶׁשֶׁת אֲלָפִים אָמַר לוֹ הִדֵּן אָמַר לוֹ אֵל כִּסְבוֹל הַיְסוּרוֹן לְמַרְק עוֹנֵם הָהוּא דְכָתִיב אֲכֵן חֲלִינֵנוּ נִשְׂא אָמַר לוֹ אֲסַבֵּל אוֹתָם בְּשִׂמְחָה :

extended his hand under the throne of his glory and brought forth the soul of the Messiah. He then said to him, Wilt thou heal my sons and redeem them after six thousand years? He answered, I will. God said to him, Wilt thou then suffer punishment in order to blot out their sins, as it is written, *but he bore our diseases* (c. 53: 4)? He said to him, I will suffer it joyfully." The idea of the vicarious sufferings of the Messiah, which is rejected by the later Jews, is contained in this passage as well as in several others that follow, and is derived from Is. c. 53. In like manner, Rabbi Moses Haddarshan says on Gen. 1: 3,* "Jehovah said: Messiah, my holy one, those who are hidden with thee will be of that kind, that their sins will bring a heavy yoke upon thee. The Messiah answered: Lord of the world, I freely take upon myself these plagues and sorrows. Immediately therefore the Messiah, out of love, took upon himself all afflictions and sufferings, as it is written in Is. c. 53, *he was abused and oppressed.*"† In the Talmud‡ it is said of the Messiah: "He sits before the gates of the city of Rome among the sick and the leprous;" the literal acceptance of verse 3. To the question, what the Messiah is called, it is replied, he is named חִיּוּרָא "the leper;" and for proof, reference is made to verse 4, according to the false interpretation of the word נָגוּרַב by *leprosus*, which is found also even in Jerome.—In the book Rabboth,§ the 5th verse is quoted and referred to the sufferings of the Messiah.—In the Medrasch Tillim|| it is said: "The things relating to the Messiah and mysteries concerning him, are announced in the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa.

* In Latin in Galatinus *de arcanis Cath. ver.* p. 329; in the original in Raymund Martini *Pug. Fid.* fol. 333. Comp. Wolfii Bibl. Hebr. I. p. 818.

† Comp. another passage in Raym. Mart. fol. 430, where verse 5 is referred to the Messiah.

‡ Gemara, Tract Sanhedrin, cap. 11.

§ A commentary on the Pentateuch and the five Megilloth, which is very ancient so far as respects its fundamental parts, although it has received numerous interpolations by later hands. According to the assertion of the Jews it was written about the year of Christ 300. Comp. Wolf l. c. II. p. 1423 sq.—The reference above is to page. 46, ed. Cracov. on Ruth 2: 14.

|| An allegorical commentary on the Psalms, printed at Venice, 1546. See on Ps. 2: 7. fol. 4.

In the Prophets, e. g. in the passage Is. 52: 13, and 42: 1. In the Hagiographa, Ps. 110, and Dan. 7: 13.”—In the book Chasidim,* the following relation is found: “There was a devout man among the Jews, who in summer made his bed among the fleas, and in winter put his feet into cold water, in the freezing of which his feet were also frozen. When he was asked why he did this, he replied, that he also must do some penance, since the Messiah bears the sins of Israel.”†

Among the later interpreters, Rabbi Alshech assents to the more ancient exposition.‡ He says: “Our old Rabbins, according to the testimony of tradition, have ever unanimously admitted, that the language here refers to the king Messiah. Following them therefore we also conclude, that David, i. e. the Messiah, must be regarded as the subject of this prophecy, which is indeed evident.” We shall, however, see hereafter, that he followed the correct interpretation only in the first three verses, and then abandoned it.—The cabbalistic book Sohar contains some passages, which are worthy of special remark. The age of this book is indeed quite uncertain, but it cannot be proved to have been composed under christian influence. We quote here only a few of the principal passages.§ “When the suffering of Israel in their captivity was told to the Messiah, and they themselves were declared to be the cause of it, inasmuch as they had not cared for the knowledge of their Lord, he wept

* A collection of moral tales printed at Venice and at Basel, 1581. Page 60.

† משיח טובל עונות ישראל :

‡ His commentary on Isaiah 53, is found printed entire in *Hulsii Theologia Judaica*, p. 321 sq. His words are: רזל פה אחד קיימו וקבלו כי על מלך המשיח ידבר ואחריהם נמשך כי להיות כי הוא דויד הוא משיח כנודע :

§ Sohar, ed. Amstelod. p. II. fol. 212. Ed. Solisbac. p. II. f. 85. Sommeri Theol. Sohar. p. 94. בשעתא דאמרין ליה למשיחא צערא דישראל בגלותהון ואינון חייבין דבהון דלא מסתכלי למנדע למאריהון ארים קלא ובכא על אינון חייבין דבהוא הדא הוא דכתוב והוא מחולל מפשעינו מדוכא מעונותנו בגנתא דעדן אית היכלא חדא דאקרי היכלא דבני מרעין כדון משיח עאל בההוא היכלא וקארי לכל מרעון וכל כאבין כל יסוריהון דישראל דייתון עליה וכלהו אחיין עליה ואלמלא דאיהו אקיל מעליהו דישראל ונטיל עליה לא הוי ברנש דיכיל למסבל יסוריהון דישראל על עונש דאוריתא ההד אכן חליינו הוא נשא וגו :

aloud over their sins. Wherefore it is said in the Scriptures, (Is. 53: 5,) He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities.—In the garden of Eden there is an apartment, which is called the sick-chamber. The Messiah went into this, and called all the diseases, all the pains, and all the chastisements of Israel, that they should come upon him, and they all came upon him. And if he had not taken them away from Israel and laid them upon himself, no man could have borne the chastisements which must have fallen upon Israel on account of the law; as it is said: He took upon himself our diseases etc.” In another place it is said: * “When God wishes to provide a remedy for the world, he smites one holy man among them, and for his sake grants relief and cure to the whole world. Where do we find this confirmed in the Scriptures? In Is. 53: 5, where it is said, He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities.”

Enough has been said to show, that the more ancient Jews, in conformity with tradition, referred the passage to the Messiah, and indeed, as appears from most of the passages quoted, to a suffering Messiah. But it would really be a remarkable phenomenon, had this interpretation continued to be the prevailing one among the Jews. The cross of Christ is, according to the expression of the apostle, “to the Jews an offence and to the heathen foolishness.” The idea of a suffering and atoning Messiah was repugnant to the carnally minded Jews; because they did not possess that which alone could render it acceptable, viz. the consciousness of sin and of the need of redemption; and because, not knowing the holiness of God nor consequently the meaning of the law, they supposed that they could be justified before God, through their own strength, by the works of the law. They wished only for an external deliverance from suffering and from their oppressors, not for an internal one from sin. Hence they confined themselves entirely to those passages of the Old Testament, which, interpreted in accordance with their carnal disposition, announced the Messiah in glory. There were also other causes, which must have rendered the application of the passage to the suffering Messiah, disagreeable to them. As they were unable to compare the prediction with its fulfilment; so

* Sohar, ed. Amstelod. p. III. f. 218. ed. Solisbac. III. f. 88. Sommeri Theol. Sohar. p. 89.

the deep humiliation of the Messiah here announced, the contempt cast upon him, his violent death, appeared to them incompatible with those passages in which nothing of the kind is mentioned, but only a glorified Messiah is exhibited. They had too little knowledge of the mode of prophetic vision, to understand, that the prophecies consist only of individual fragments, which must first be arranged together before the complete picture of the object can be obtained. They supposed, that as the Messiah is in many passages presented to us immediately in glory, since he exhibited himself thus to the eye of the prophet; so he must also actually appear at once in glory. Finally, they were led by their controversies with the Christians to seek for other interpretations. So long as they explained the passage of a suffering Messiah, they could not deny, that there was the most striking agreement between these predictions and the history of Christ. Now as the Christians, in their controversy with the Jews, make this passage, which is aptly called by Hulsius a *carnificina Judaeorum*, the point from which they always set out and to which they always return; and as the Jews saw what an impression was made in numerous cases by the arguments of Christians grounded on this passage; nothing was more natural, than that they should endeavour to find some means of extricating themselves from this difficulty. This they were able to do the more easily, inasmuch as they were wanting generally in a sensitive regard to truth, and particularly in exegetical tact; so that the circumstance that an interpretation was forced and constrained, was with them no reason for rejecting it.

In proof of what has been said, we will here briefly exhibit the arguments with which Abarbanel contests the interpretation of the passage, as referring to a suffering and atoning divine Redeemer. He endeavours, in the first place, to invalidate the authority of tradition, (to which the later Jews, in other cases, where it coincides with their own inclinations, attach so much weight,) by the absurd remark, that the ancient teachers did not aim to give a literal, but an allegorical interpretation; and he at the same time affirms, that they referred only the first four verses to the Messiah,—an assertion which is shown to be incorrect by the passages already cited. After having combated the doctrine of original sin, he proceeds: "Suppose even that there is such a thing as original sin, still if God, whose power is infinite, had been disposed to pardon, was his hand so short that he was unable to redeem (Is. 50: 2)? so that on this account he was

compelled to assume flesh and inflict chastisements on himself?—And should I even admit it to be necessary, that an individual of the human race should bear this punishment alone in order to make satisfaction for all, yet it would at least have been more suitable, that one from among ourselves, a wise man or a prophet, should have undergone this punishment, than that God himself should have done it. For suppose even that he had assumed flesh, still he would not have been like one of us.—It is perfectly impossible and self contradictory, that God should make himself corporeal. For God is the first cause, infinite and almighty. Consequently he cannot assume flesh and subsist as a finite being, and undergo the spiritual punishment due to men. There is nothing of this kind contained in the Scriptures.—If the prediction refers to the Messiah, it must then refer either to Ben Joseph or to Ben David. The former will die in the beginning of his wars; and, neither that which is said of the exaltation, nor what is said of the humiliation, of the servant of God, can happen to him. Much less can the latter be intended.” (Here he quotes numerous passages which treat of the Messiah in a state of exaltation.) These are the *a priori* arguments, with which Abarbanel, and with him every natural man, combats the doctrine of the vicarious satisfaction of a divine Redeemer, and justifies his rejection of the traditional exposition of the passage before us.

Still, that it was difficult even for the carnally minded among the Jews, to reject this tradition, is apparent from the paraphrase of Jonathan. This work holds a middle ground between the more ancient mode of interpretation, which the better part retained at a still later period, and the more modern mode. Jonathan* does homage to tradition, so far as to refer the whole prediction to the Messiah; but, on the other hand, he endeavours to gratify his opposition to the doctrine of a suffering and atoning Messiah, by explaining all that is said here about the state of humiliation, so as to make it apply to a state of glory. This he does by means of the most violent perversions and the most arbitrary insertions. Still, a trace of the correct interpretation occurs perhaps on the 12th verse, where Jonathan says that the Messiah will give his soul unto death; unless he understands by this merely the undaunted courage with which the Messiah will

* See his paraphrase on the passage, in Lowth's Commentary as published by Koppe; also *Hulsii Theol. Jud.* and elsewhere.

expose himself to all dangers, in his struggle against the enemies of the covenant people.

This mode of treatment, however, could please only a few. It was necessary to go farther, and discover an entirely different subject for the prediction. To show how little certainty they felt in their views, we have only to notice the example of Abarbanel, who goes through at length with two interpretations which are entirely diverse; and then leaves his readers to choose between them. Unity and certainty are connected only with the truth. Error brings with it discord and fluctuation. This is apparent also from the following enumeration of the various expositions of this passage, which have been current in later times among the Jews.* The interpreters may be divided into two principal classes. 1. Such as understand by the phrase עֶבֶד יְהוָה, *servant of the Lord*, a collective subject. 2. Those who refer the prediction to an individual person. The first class falls again into two subdivisions. (a) Such as understand the subject to be the whole Jewish people, in opposition to the heathen. (b) Those who take for the subject the pious part of the Jewish people, in opposition to the wicked. These different views and their defenders, we will now proceed to consider more particularly.

II. The most common opinion among those who reject the Messianic interpretation, is, that the Jewish people are the subject of the passage. This opinion is found even in quite early times,—a fact which cannot appear strange, inasmuch as the cause which produced a departure from the Messianic exposition, existed also very early. When Origen makes use of this passage against some learned Jews, they reply: † “These things are predicted concerning one whole people, who are in a state of dispersion and affliction.” This interpretation is followed by R. Salomoh Jarchi, Abenezra, Kimchi, Abarbanel, and Lipmann.‡ The main features of this view are as follows. ‘This

* The most distinguished of the interpreters who reject the Messianic exposition of the passage, are found in the Rabbinic Bibles; and also, printed in the original together with a translation, in Hulsius l. c. p. 339.

† Ταῦτα πεπροσφητεῦσθαι ὡς περὶ ἐνὸς τοῦ ὅλου λαοῦ καὶ γενομένου ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ καὶ πληγέντος. Origenes c. Cels. ed. Spencer, I. p. 42.

‡ ספר נצחון fol. 131.

prophecy was intended to describe the suffering of the people in their present exile ; the firmness with which they endured it for the honour of God, and refused to forsake his law and his worship ; and the prosperity, the honour and glory, which they shall enjoy at the time of their deliverance. Verses 1—10 introduce the heathen as speaking and making a humble and penitent confession, that hitherto they have misapprehended the people of God, and unjustly despised them on account of their afflictions ; since it now appears from their elevated and happy condition, that these afflictions had not been sent upon them from God as a punishment for their sins.’ And though some among these interpreters, as Abenezra and Rabbi Lipmann, understand by the phrase עֶבֶד יְהוָה, *servant of the Lord*, only the pious part of the nation, who remained faithful to Jehovah, still this does not form another principal division ; for they also place עֶבֶד יְהוָה in opposition to the heathen ; and not, as the interpreters of the following class, in opposition to the wicked or the less pious part of the nation.

III. Others regard the appellation עֶבֶד יְהוָה as a collective designation of the pious, and find in the passage the idea of a kind of vicarious satisfaction, made by them for the wicked. These interpreters come nearer the true exposition, in so far as they do not, like the foregoing class, take away the doctrine of a vicarious satisfaction, either by a figurative explanation, or, like Kimchi, by the absurd remark, that it is an error put into the mouth of the heathen. On the other hand, they depart from the correct interpretation, in so far as they generalize what belongs to a specific subject, and in accordance with the pride of the natural heart, ascribe to mere men that which is appropriate only to the God-man. This view has been expressed with the most distinctness, by the glossator on the very frequently printed book עֵין יִשְׂרָאֵל or עֵין יַעֲקֹב, which contains all sorts of stories taken from the Talmud. He says : “It is reasonable to assume, that the whole passage is a prediction concerning the righteous, who are tried by afflictions.” He then makes two classes of the righteous ; such as must in general suffer many calamities and much distress ; and such as are publicly executed, as Rabbi Akibah and others. He thinks that the prophet points at the dignity of both classes ; and that the appellation *servant of God* properly belongs to both.—In like manner Rabbi Alshech. As we have already seen, he refers c. 52: 13—15 exclusively to the Messiah, and to his glory obtained through

great suffering. He thinks that the prophet then speaks in the name of all Israel, that he approves of what God had said, and confesses that this divine explanation of the Messiah's sufferings throws light upon the sufferings of the pious generally. They now find that their attributing these sufferings to guilt was rash and without foundation, and resolve that henceforth, when they see a righteous man in affliction, they will ascribe it to no other cause than that he bears their diseases, and that his chastisements conduce to their welfare. Thus the phrase עֲבָדֵי יְהוָה is a kind of personification of the righteous.—Probably a similar view lies at the foundation of those passages in the Talmud, where one part of this prophecy is referred to Moses, and another to Rabbi Akiba, whom the Jews revere as a martyr. It does not appear that they limited the prediction to Moses or Akiba, but referred it to them only in so far as they belonged to the proposed collective subject.

IV. Comparatively a small number of the Jews supported the opinion, that some single individual other than the Messiah was the subject of the prediction. We have seen above, that Abarbanel, besides his interpretation of the passage as applicable to the Jewish people, proposes still another, in which he refers it to king Josiah. Rabbi Saadiah Haggaaon explained the whole passage as relating to Jeremiah.

Still, the Rabbins have not been able, after all their exertions, to supplant entirely the true exposition, and thus remove all danger from the passage. Among the cabbalistic Jews it is still the prevailing one. In numerous instances, this very chapter has been the first ground of christian conviction among proselytes from Judaism to Christianity. So says John Isaac Levita :* "I frankly confess, that this very chapter brought me over to the christian faith. For I have read it through more than a thousand times, and have carefully compared it with many translations. I have found that the Hebrew text contains a hundred times more mysteries concerning Christ, than appear in any other version." Many similar cases are furnished by the reports of the

* In the work *Defensio veritatis Hebraicae S. Sc.* p. 82. "Ingenue profiteor illud ipsum caput ad fidem Christianam me perduxisse. Nam plus millies caput illud perlegi, contuli accurate cum multis translationibus. Deprehendi centies plus de Christo mysteria in textu Hebraeo contineri, quam ulla alia in versione reperiantur."

Jewish missionaries, particularly by those of the Callenberg Institute.*

§ 2. *Interpretation of the passage by Christians.*

The interpretation of this passage has taken about the same course among Christians, as with the Jews. Like causes have produced like effects in both cases. Both abandoned the true interpretation, when the prevailing opinions had become opposed to its necessary results. If also we descend to particulars, we find in the various modes of interpretation proposed by both parties a great similarity.

I. Reasoning *a priori*, we could come to no other conclusion, than that the christian church, so long as it adhered to Christ, must find him here, where he is so distinctly and clearly exhibited to our view ; that, so long as the church acknowledged the authority of Christ and the apostles generally, it must also follow their decided and manifold testimonies here. And such we find to be the fact. With the exception of Grotius, and a Silesian by the name of Seidel,—the latter of whom in utter infidelity asserted that the Messiah never had come and never would come ;† and both of whom made Jeremiah to be the subject of the passage,—no one in the christian church, for the space of seventeen centuries, presumed to call in question the Messianic interpretation. On the contrary, this passage has ever been regarded as the most clear and splendid of the Messianic predictions. From the great mass of testimonies we will here quote only a few.

Augustin says :‡ “ Isaiah, besides the iniquities he reproved, the duties he taught, and the future calamities he predicted to a sinful people, prophesied also concerning Christ and the church,

* This was a society for missions among the Jews, established at Halle, under the care of Prof. Callenberg, about the middle of the last century. It does not exist at present. ED.

† Compare Jac. Martini lib. 3. *de tribus Elohim* p. 592.

‡ *De civitate Dei*, XVIII. 29. T. II. p. 194. ed. Tauchn. “ Jesaias inter illa, quae arguit iniqua et justa praecepit, et peccatori populo mala futura praedixit, etiam de Christo et ecclesia, h. e. de rege et ea, quam condidit civitate, multo plura, quam ceteri prophetavit : ita ut a quibusdam evangelista, quam propheta potius dicetur.”

i. e. concerning the king and the kingdom which he established, much more than all the other prophets; so that by some he has been called an evangelist rather than a prophet." He then quotes this passage for proof, and concludes with the following words: * "But these are sufficient; and though some things in them may need explanation, yet I think that alone is enough which is so plain, that even our enemies in spite of their disinclination are compelled to understand it." In a similar manner he expresses himself in another place.† Theodoret remarks on the passage:‡ "The prophet then proceeds to represent his (Christ's) humiliation even to the suffering of death. Here too is the highest energy of the Holy Spirit. For, things which were to take place after the lapse of many ages, it foreshowed so clearly to the holy prophets, that they did not say, *we hear*, but *we see*." Of the same character are the declarations of Justin, Irenaeus, Cyril of Alexandria, and Jerome. From the protestant church we will quote here only the testimonies of two of its founders, viz. those of Zuingli and Luther. Zuingli says:§ "What now follows affords so plain a testimony concerning Christ, that I know not whether any thing more definite can be found in the Scriptures, or even whether a more explicit passage could be framed. All the perverse attempts of the Jews upon it are in vain." Luther remarks on the passage: || "There is indeed, in all the writings of the Old Testament, no plainer text nor prediction both of the sufferings and the resurrection

* "Verum ista sint satis; et in eis sunt exponenda nonnulla; sed sufficere arbitror, quae ita sunt aperta, ut etiam inimici intelligere cogantur inviti."

† De consensu Evangelistarum, I. 31. Opp. ed. Clerici T. III. p. 2. p. 15.

‡ Opp. ed. Hal. T. II. p. 358. 'Εν τοῖς ἐξῆς τὴν ταπείνωσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν μέχρι θανάτου παρυσίαν· μεγίστη δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἡ ἐνέργεια· τὰ γὰρ μετὰ πολλὰς γενόμενα γενεὰς οὕτω τοῖς ἁγίοις προφῆταις προέδειξεν, ὥς μὴ λέγειν ἐκείνους ἠκούσαμεν, ἀλλ' εἶδομεν.

§ Adn. ad h. l. Opp. T. III. Tur. 1544. fol. 292. "Quae nunc sequuntur, adeo clarum Christo testimonium praebent, ut ipse nesciam an uspiam scripturarum quicquam aut constantius inveniatur, aut clarius dici quicquam posset. Frustra enim omnia pertentat Judaeorum pervicacia."

|| Opp. ed. Lips. T. VII. p. 352.

of Christ, than in this chapter. Therefore all Christians should be well acquainted with it; yea, even know it by heart, in order to strengthen and defend our faith, especially against the stiff-necked Jews, who deny this their only promised Saviour, merely from the offence of his cross."

It was reserved for the last quarter of the preceding century to reject the Messianic interpretation. *It could no longer be retained!** For if the passage contains a Messianic prediction, the contents of it presents so striking an agreement with the history of Christ, that its origin cannot possibly be explained in a natural way. Consequently the whole fabric of our opponents falls to the ground, so far as it rests on the assumption that every supernatural influence either upon the internal or external nature, including prophecies and miracles, is impossible, or at least cannot be proved. Hence they sought some method of escaping the difficulty; and they found this to be the easiest, inasmuch as they already had worthy predecessors among the Jews, whose interpretations and arguments they had only to appropriate to themselves, and give them the appearance of solidity by a display of learning.

Those among Christians who reject the Messianic interpretation, are divided, like those among the Jews, into two principal classes. 1. Such as proceed upon the hypothesis, that the subject of the prediction is a collective one. 2. Those who understand by the phrase, *servant of Jehovah*, a single individual other than the Messiah. The first class is again subdivided into those who take for the subject of the passage, (a) the whole Jewish people, (b) the abstract of the Jewish people, (c) the pious part of the Jewish people, (d) the priesthood, and (e) the prophetic order!

II. The hypothesis of the whole Jewish people as the subject, has comparatively the greatest number of adherents among the rejecters of the Messianic exposition. Among others it is adopted by Döderlein,† though he still fluctuates between this and

* The author of the essay on the times of the Messiah, in Eichhorn's *Bibl. d. bibl. Litt.* Bd. VI. p. 655, frankly confesses, that the Messianic interpretation would very generally be adopted by exegetical scholars, if they had not within the last ten years come to the conviction, "that the prophets announce nothing of future events, except what they might know and expect without any special divine inspiration."

† In der Vorr. und den Anm. zu der 3ten Ausg. des Jesaias.

the Messianic interpretation, which he formerly defended with zeal; by Schuster,* Telge, Stephani,† by an anonymous writer in Eichhorn's *Bibliothek*,‡ by Eichhorn himself,§ and by Rosenmüller,|| who has abandoned the application of the passage to the prophetic order, which he formerly adopted. To these might be added many others. Upon the whole, this hypothesis is just the same as we have seen it to be among the Jews. The only difference is, that these interpreters understand by the sufferings of the servant of God, the sufferings of the Jewish people in the *Babylonish* exile; while the Jewish expositors understand by the same, the sufferings of the Jewish people in their *present* exile. The former too suppose the heathen to be introduced in verses 1—10, as speaking, and making a penitent confession, that hitherto they had misapprehended the character of the Israelites, and now perceive that their sufferings are not a punishment for their own sins, but have been endured as a vicarious sacrifice for the sins of the heathen.

III. The hypothesis of *the abstract* of the Jewish people, in opposition to the individual members, is a thing of which one can properly form no conception. For the *whole* consists only of all its parts, and hence the abstract cannot be innocent, while all its members are guilty. Much less can the former undergo vicarious sufferings for the latter. This hypothesis has continued to be peculiar to its own author;¶ for as yet it has found no other supporter.

IV. The supposition of the pious part of the Jewish people, in opposition to the wicked, is more especially defended by Paulus.** The main features of this view are as follows. 'The pious part of the people were not carried into exile and punished

* In a separate treatise on this passage, Gött. 1794.

† In his *Gedanken über die Entstehung und Ausbildung der Idee von einem Messias*. Nürnberg 1787.

‡ *Briefe über Jesa. c. 53*; in dem 6ten Bande der Eichhorn'schen Bibliothek. These letters are written in an unbecoming spirit.

§ In his work, *Die hebräischen Propheten*.

|| In the second edition of his *Commentary*.

¶ Eckermann, *Theol. Beiträge* Bd. I. H. 1. p. 192 sq.—Compare, on the other hand, *Briefe über Jesaias 53*, l. c. p. 192 sq.

** *Memorabilien*, Bd. III. p. 175—192. *Clavis zum Jesaias*.—With him agrees Ammon in his *Christologie*, p. 108 sq.

with the wicked for their own sins, but for the sins of the latter, who knew how to secure to themselves a better lot in exile by apostatizing from the religion of Jehovah. Hence the wicked drew the conclusion, that the hope of the pious for aid from Jehovah, was vain. But when the exile had terminated and the pious had returned, the former saw that they had been in an error, and that this hope was well founded. Hence they lament with deep penitence, that they too have not long ago done penance through suffering.'

V. The hypothesis of the priestly order is defended by the author of the work of which the title is given below;* but has found no other adherents.

VI. The hypothesis of the prophetic order collectively, was first introduced by Rosenmüller.† Abandoned by him, it has descended to De Wette‡ and Gesenius.

VII. Among the various interpretations which refer the prediction to some single individual other than the Messiah, scarcely one has found any advocate besides its own author. We exhibit them very briefly here, just to show by examples, how sagacity will wander when once it abandons the truth. Augusti makes king Uzziah the subject; although now, since he has changed his theological views, he has probably given up this opinion; and even before, he admitted that if the prediction did not refer to Uzziah, it could refer to no one but Jesus. Konynenburg and Bahrdt apply the passage to king Hezekiah; Stäudlin, to the prophet Isaiah himself;§ an anonymous writer in Henke's Magazine,|| to an unknown prophet killed by the Jews in exile; Bolten,¶ to the royal race of David who suffered unjustly, as the children of the unfortunate king Zedekiah were

* Ausführliche Erklärung der sämtlichen Weissagen des A. T. 1801.

† In the essay: *Leiden und Hoffnungen der Propheten Jehovahs*; in *Gablers' neuestem theol. Journal*, vol. II. p. 4. p. 333 sq. (Compare above under II. p. 326.)—Gabler himself also assents to this hypothesis, l. c. p. 365.

‡ *De Morte J. Chr. expiatoria*, p. 28 sq.

§ See, on the other side, Spohn in a *Programm*, Wittemb. 1794. 4.

|| Bd. I. H. 2.

¶ On Acts 8: 33.

put to the sword by order of Nebuchadnezzar. Finally, it is referred by an anonymous writer* to the Maccabees.

Yet the true interpretation has not been without numerous and able defenders, who have not suffered themselves to be carried away by the perverse spirit of the times. Among the modern commentators on the whole of Isaiah, the following have remained true to the Messianic exposition: Cube, Dathe, Döderlein, † Hensler, Hezel, Kocher, Koppe, Lowth, Michaelis, Van der Palm, Rieger, and Vaupel. Its principal advocates besides these are, † Hess, M. F. Roos, Storr, J. I. Hansi, Martini, C. F. A. Werner, Spohn, an anonymous writer (Schleusner?) in the Göttingen *Bibliothek*, Olaus Sunden, Lindemann, an anonymous writer in the Dutch *Bibliotheek* etc. Kruiger, Jahn, Zölllich, Keller, and Steudel. §

* In den Theologischen Nachrichten, Jahrg. 1821 p. 79 sq.

† In the last edition of his translation, however, he is doubtful.

‡ To some extent Bertholdt may also be reckoned among the defenders of the Messianic interpretation; since he supposes that the passage treats of an ideal Messiah, who is represented as struggling with the severest toil and suffering. Compare his *Dissertatio de ortu theol. vet. Heb.* I. p. 135 sq. and his Einl. p. 1383.

§ HESS in his *Gesch. d. Könige von Juda*; and in the work vom *Reiche Gottes*.—M. F. ROOS, *Jesus der Erlöser der Menschen*, Jes. 53. Tüb. 1788. 8.—STORR, *Dissertatio, qua insigne de Christo oraculum Jes. 53 illustr.* Tüb. 1790. 4. very thorough, but tedious on account of the useless accumulation of quotations, and marred by many forced interpretations; compare his *Erklärung des Briefes an die Hebräer* p. 475 sq.—Jo. Imm. HANSI, *Commentatio phil. theol. in vat. Jes. 53*, Lips. 1791. 8. a thoroughly wrought treatise.—MARTINI, *Commentatio philologica-critica in locum Jesaiae c. 53*. Rostochii 1791. 8. This work belongs, in a philological point of view, to the most distinguished commentaries that have been written on the Old Testament. Yet the theological sentiments of the author, who is rather inclined to neology, have exerted a prejudicial influence upon his exposition. Thus e. g. he denies that the doctrine of a vicarious satisfaction exists in the passage; although Gesenius himself is compelled to admit it.—*Nova commentatio in locum Jes. 53, quam praeside Dresdio*....C. F. A. WERNER, Wittemb. 1793, not very important, and too accommodating.—SPOHN in the Programm against Stäudlin already quoted above.—An anonymous writer (Schleusner?) in der Göttingischen Bibliothek für theologische Litteratur, Bd. I. p. 118 sqq.—*Disputatio polemico-*

We assume, for the present, the Messianic interpretation as the correct one; since the confutation of the interpretations which are opposed to it, can best be given after the exposition of the passage. We shall now proceed to this, after a few preliminary remarks; and in conclusion shall endeavour to prove, that the Messianic interpretation is the true one.

We have already seen in the general introductory remarks, that the deliverance of God's people forms the main subject of the two parts of Isaiah's prophecy. This deliverance is twofold; deliverance from the Babylonish exile, and deliverance from sin and error. The two are not kept perfectly distinct from each other; though it may be remarked in general, that the former is most prominent in the first part, as far as to the 49th chapter, and the latter in the second part. Each of these deliverances was to be effected by a servant and messenger of Jehovah; the first by Cyrus, and the other by Christ. The prophet had already, in a preceding part of the book, described the former with such clearness, that scarcely a single trait was left to be added. Moreover the latter also, the servant and chosen of God, him in whom his soul delights, the Israel in whom he shews himself glorious,—him too the prophet had not forgotten. But the features which he had hitherto drawn, did not make out a complete picture. He had described him as the divine

theologica in cap. Jesaiæ 53, quam præs. A. Hylander—actor Olaus SUNDEN, Lundæ 1803, not important; directed chiefly against the hypothesis of Paulus.—LINDEMANN in an article in Henke's Museum, II. 4.—An anonymous writer in the Bibliothek van Theologische Letterkunde voor het Jaar 1805, p. 485—531.—KRUIGER, Commentatio de verisimillima orac. Jes. 53 interpretandi ratione, Lips. 1809.4. It contains many very good general remarks, especially upon the natural causes which gave rise to the idea of a suffering Messiah.—JAHN, Appendix ad Hermeneuticam, fasc. II. p. 1—66.—ZÖLLICH, Das Orakel von Christo vom Geiste der Weissagung ausgesprochen durch den Propheten Jesaias Cap. 52, 53, in Zimmermanns und Heidenreichs Monatsschrift für Prediger-Wissensch. Bd. IV. p. 121 sqq.—KELLER, in an article in Bengels Neues Archiv für die Theol. Bd. II. p. 151 sqq. and p. 253 sqq. Worthy of commendation, though the author has gone too deeply into the refutation of the self-refuted perversions of Eckermann and Eichhorn.—STEUDEL, Observationes ad Jes. 53, in two Academische Abhandlungen, Tüb. 1825—26, an excellent treatise, though its manner is somewhat tedious.

teacher and ambassador, who being furnished with rich gifts from God, humbled himself, and appeared in gentleness and meekness to save that which was lost. He had represented him as a glorious king, who was to establish a kingdom of peace and righteousness, to extend continually its borders, to receive all the Gentiles into it, to bestow rich blessings upon his adherents, and to punish severely the despisers of his name. But one great feature of the picture was still wanting. The prophet had announced that Cyrus would achieve this temporal deliverance by his military valour, and through the victories which God would grant him. But the means and manner of the spiritual deliverance, had not yet been imparted to him. He had indeed spoken of the deep humiliation of the Messiah; he had predicted (c. 50) the severe sufferings, the scorn and contempt of the people, which must fall upon the servant of God. But he had not said, that these very sufferings would be the only efficient cause of our salvation. Here therefore he first completes the picture; when he declares that the servant of Jehovah, as priest and sacrifice at the same time, will make atonement for us by his blood, and present himself to God a sacrifice for our sins; that he will bear our infirmities, and by his wounds, ours shall be healed. God had established three offices in the theocracy, the prophetic, the priestly, and the regal. In a higher and more perfect sense, the Messiah should unite all three in his own person.

The contents and order of the prediction are as follows. In c. 52: 13—15, Jehovah speaks. They contain a brief summary of what is expressed more at large in c. 53. The highest exaltation of the servant of God is to follow his deepest abasement; the nations of the earth are to be redeemed by him, and their kings with reverence bow before him. In c. 53: 1—10 the prophet speaks. The first verse stands out of the connexion, and contains a sort of introduction or plaintive exclamation. While the prophet here includes with himself all those who proclaimed a Messiah, either as future or as being already come, he declares that many will not believe their annunciation, many will not acknowledge the glorious exhibition of the divine omnipotence and favour, as such. He then proceeds in his discourse, with this difference only, that he henceforth regards himself as a member of the people, or rather of that better part of them, who mistook indeed at first the character of the Redeemer while he was in a state of humiliation, but after his exaltation

acknowledged him as their Saviour and highest Benefactor, and perceived that his sufferings were endured only for our salvation. This is the sum of the whole: The servant of Jehovah will go about destitute of all external splendour. Sufferings, more severe than have ever been experienced by men, are to fall upon him. He will bear them willingly and with patience. He will finally be taken away by a violent death. The insatiable rage of his enemies will still endeavour, though in vain, to insult him, the righteous, the innocent, even in death. (Verses 2, 3, 7—9.) The people, beholding his sufferings and being ignorant of the cause, believed that they were the merited punishment of his own sins; but—as those here speaking now perceive—this was an error. He was punished not for his own sins, but for ours. His sufferings were voluntarily endured for the salvation of men, who without this were given over to destruction. God was pleased to adopt this means of reuniting to himself, those who had departed from him and gone on in their own ways. (V. 4—6.) The sufferer is to be exalted to the highest glory, after having thus made expiation to Jehovah by the free-will offering of his life. The knowledge and love of God will through him be established upon the earth, and a numerous community be gathered, v. 10. In verses 11 and 12, Jehovah again speaks, and confirms what had thus been said by the prophet.

PART II.

EXPOSITION.

CHAPTER LII.

VERSE 13. Jehovah speaks. The commentators are here divided; some regarding this verse as connected with the preceding one, while others suppose that it begins a new paragraph having no connexion with the former. The first opinion is unquestionably the more correct. It is indeed true, that, in the preceding section, c. 52: 1—12, the prophet had in a special manner been treating of the nearer deliverance from the Babylonish exile. But yet under the veil of this temporal deliverance, lay concealed at the same time the spiritual one. And as his view had in the foregoing paragraph been directed to the deliverance, so in this, his attention is very naturally turned to the author of it. Calvin justly

remarks :* “ After Isaiah had been speaking of the restoration of the church, he makes a transition to Christ, in whom all things centre. He speaks concerning the prosperity of the church, and since this was not yet manifested, he refers them to its king, by whom all things are to be restored, and directs them to wait for his coming.”

Behold my servant in wisdom shall reign prosperously ; he shall be high and elevated and very exalted. The prophets do not proceed in the manner of historians, who make the earlier events precede the later, but they go directly in *medium rem*, and frequently begin where they should strictly end. This occurs in the present case. Instead of commencing with Christ’s humiliation, the prophet begins with his glorification. By the word מְלִיכָה, the prophet indicates that a new object presents itself to his view. Jehovah as it were points to the Messiah, as if present. This appears from the following verse, where the Messiah is addressed. The point of time to which the internal view of the prophet is directed, is that between the suffering and the glorification of the Messiah. The glorification is designated here, and for the most part in what follows, by the future tense ; the suffering, by the preterite. The verb מְלִיכָה has a double signification, *to act wisely*, and *to be prosperous*. The connexion of these two meanings is explained from the view prevalent among the Hebrews, which associated wisdom i. e. piety with prosperity, and folly i. e. impiety, with adversity ; on the principle of cause and effect. The ancient translators† have, nearly without exception, adopted the first signification ; and many of the earlier interpreters‡ have followed them. The more modern expositors, on the contrary, have for the most part chosen the second meaning, after the example of the Chaldee, which translates the verb by יַצְלֵחַ, *prosperely aget* ; and they appeal particularly to the parallelism which is thus formed with the second member of the verse. But it is better still, to join both significations together ; *he shall in wisdom reign prosperously ;*

* “ Postquam Jesaias de restitutione ecclesiae locutus erat, transit ad Christum, in quo omnia colliguntur. Loquitur de prospero ecclesiae successu, qui cum minime appareret, eos revocat ad suum regem, a quo omnia restituenda sunt, eumque expectari jubet.”

† Alex. συνήσει. Aq. Symm. ἐπιστημονισθήσεται. Vulg. *intelliget*. Syr. ܡܠܝܟܐ.

‡ Joh. H. Michaelis in der Bibl. Hal.

or shorter, *he shall reign well*. By this means, we indicate that the glorified Messiah, who appears as usual under the figure of a mighty king, will govern his kingdom both wisely and prosperously. In this sense the verb unquestionably occurs with reference to the Messiah, in Jer. 23: 5. Compare also 1 Kings 2: 3.—In the second member of the verse, the prophet combines all the words in the Hebrew language which express *elevation*, and still adds the term מָאֹד, in order to denote with great intensity the exaltation of the Messiah.

VERSE 14. As this verse is closely connected with the 15th, we give the translation of both at the same time. *Like as many were shocked at my servant,—so disfigured was his countenance that it was no longer the countenance of a man; and his form, that it was no more the form of a man,—so he shall sprinkle many heathen nations; kings shall shut their mouths before him; for what had not been announced to them they see, and what they had never heard they perceive.*" Verse 14 contains the *protasis*, or primary member of the sentence, and verse 15, the *apodosis* or secondary member. The sense is: As the humiliation of the son of man was the greatest possible; as he was abhorred by all who saw him in this condition; so his exaltation shall be the greatest possible; nations and kings filled with awe shall bow before him. The first כֵּן, *sic, adeo*, does not designate the *apodosis*, for this commences with verse 15; but it refers to the preceding member, and assigns the reason why many were shocked; and the words from כֵּן to the end of the verse are to be put into a parenthesis. In the *protasis*, Jehovah addresses himself to the Messiah, עֲלֵיךָ; in the *apodosis*, he speaks of him in the third person, הוּא and עָלָיו. Such a sudden change of persons is very frequent in the poetic and prophetic writings generally; but here there is further a particular reason for it, in the circumstance that the second person could not be used in the intermediate parenthesis, which assigns the cause of the astonishment, and is not directed to the Messiah.—The verb שָׁמַם with עַל, signifying *to be astonished at or over* any one, whether from admiration or aversion, must be determined in its meaning by the connexion. In the latter signification, as here, it is found also in Jeremiah 18: 16. 19: 8.—The word מַשְׁחָה is properly a noun, *corruptio*, derived from שָׁחָה *to corrupt, to destroy*; but here it stands as *abstract for concrete*,—*disfiguration for disfigured*. The form would regularly be like מַקְטָל, with Ka-

mets;* and מִשְׁחַת, with Pattabh, is in the construct state, which, besides preceding the genitive, stands also before prepositions; here before מִן, as in Isa. 23: 23. Hos. 7: 5, et al.†—The preposition מִן in מִן אִישׁ and מִן אָדָם we may best take as negative or privative, and suppose an ellipsis of the infinitive הָיָה. “His countenance is disfigured from the countenance of a man, i. e. so that it is no longer the countenance of a man; and his form, so that it is no longer a human form.” Indeed, מִן is frequently to be resolved by *so that not*. Thus in Jer. 23: 1, “he has rejected thee, מִמֶּלֶךְ, from king,” i. e. so that thou art no longer king. Jer. 2: 25, “withhold thy foot, מִיָּרֵךְ, that it be not bare.” Isa. 7: 8, מִיָּנֶם, “so that it is no longer a people;” מִמִּצּוֹר, “so that it is no more a city.”‡ The phrase fully expressed, would be בֶּן מִשְׁחַת מִרְאֵהוּ מִדְּהוּת מִרְאֵה אִישׁ וְהָאָרֶץ מִדְּהוּת הָאָרֶץ אָדָם; מִדְּהוּת הָאָרֶץ אָדָם. It is usual with the Hebrews in comparisons, when the same thing is to be mentioned twice, to leave it out the second time. Comp. e. g. Ps. 18: 34. Ps. 110: 3, etc.§ If a thing is entirely degenerated and disfigured, the Hebrews are accustomed to say, that it is *not* what it is. Entirely parallel to the passage before us, is Ps. 22: 7, “I am a worm and no man.” Compare also Deut. 32: 21, לֹא עָם, a people that does not deserve the name of a people, *gens contemtissima*. Isa. 55: 2, לֹא לֶחֶם, *panis vilis*, and finally c. 53: 3. Many understand מִן as a comparative in the sense of *prae*. They explain the sentence thus: בֶּן מִשְׁחַת, מִרְאֵהוּ מִמֶּלֶךְ אִישׁ וְהָאָרֶץ מִדְּהוּת מִרְאֵהוּ אָדָם *his countenance was more disfigured than that of a man* etc. But it is evident, that the former explanation gives a much stronger, and therefore a much more appropriate sense.—The word הָאָרֶץ is used instead of the regular form הָאָדָם, as in Is. 1: 31 פָּעִלּוּ for פָּעִלּוּ. ||—In אִישׁ and בְּנֵי אָדָם, many interpreters, as Jahn, find a climax and an antithesis. They suppose אִישׁ to denote persons of rank, and בְּנֵי אָדָם the lower class. But although this antithesis does unquestionably exist in some cases,

* Gesen. Lehrs. p. 494.

† Gesen. Lehrs. p. 679.

‡ Gesenius Lehrs. p. 786.—Storr, *Observationes ad analogiam et syntaxin*, p. 253. Ewald Heb. Gramm. p. 599.

§ Other examples may be found in Schnurrer, *Dissertationes philologicae*, p. 169, and in Lowth *de ac. poesi Heb.* p. 207. ed. II. Gött.

|| Gesenius Lehrs. p. 571.

still here it would evidently very much weaken the sense; and hence we must here understand the two expressions, as often elsewhere, to be entirely synonymous.

As to the meaning of the whole parenthesis, interpreters very justly remark, that the disfiguration of the Messiah's countenance and form does not refer merely to his exterior, but must also be understood figuratively and metaphorically. According to Van der Palm, the comparison of a sick person, who is entirely disfigured by a severe disease, forms the ground of this representation. As his acquaintances start back with astonishment when they see him, so very many are shocked at the view of the Messiah. Luther remarks: "The prophet does not speak of Christ's personal appearance, but of the political and royal appearance of a regent, who is to become an earthly king, and yet does not come in kingly style, but as the most abject of all servants, so that no man was ever more despised than he." But most interpreters err, in referring the figurative expression solely to the humble and abject condition of the Messiah, and not also to his sufferings. So Jerome:* "Not that it means disfiguration of the body, but that he came in a state of humiliation and poverty." Also Martini, whom the more modern expositors follow, as usual:† "The meaning of the passage is not to be referred in a proper sense to deformity of person, but to a condition which was in the utmost degree mean, low, and abject." But the expression is much too strong for this. Moreover, a *compendium* is here given of what follows, and we are unable to see any reason why regard should be had, exclusively, to that which is comparatively of less importance. Calvin therefore very appropriately remarks:‡ "He so made his appearance in the world, that he was every where despised. His glory was

* "Non quo formae significet foeditatem, sed quo in humilitate venerit et paupertate." T. IV. P. 1. p. 612 ed. Vallarsi. T. V. ed. Francof.

† "Sententia loci non proprio sensu ad vultus foeditatem, sed ad conditionem externam universam tenuem, vilem, et abjectam referenda."

‡ "Sic prodiit in mundum, ut passim contemtilis esset. Delituit ejus gloria sub humilitate carnis. Atque haec causa stuporis fuit, quod sine ullo splendore inter homines versaretur, nec redemptorem eo statu et habitu venturum Judaei existimarent. Cum ad crucem ventum esset, illic longe plus stuporis fuit."

concealed under the humiliation of his body. And this was a cause of amazement, that he appeared among men without any external splendour; nor did the Jews expect the redeemer to come in such a condition and mien. But *when he was condemned to the cross, then the astonishment became far greater.*" So also Van der Palm:* "These expressions cannot be fully explained by a reference to the obscure poverty and degradation of our Redeemer; we must represent him to ourselves in his sufferings, in the most dreadful contempt and misery; and then we may be able to justify the strong language of the prophet."

VERSE 15. The verb זָרַק signifies, in all the numerous places where it occurs, *to sprinkle, besprinkle*. It is used to denote the act of the high priest, who was annually to sprinkle blood towards the ark of the covenant, in order to obtain forgiveness for the people; Lev. 4: 6. 16: 18, 19. It is applied to the sprinkling of the healed leper, Lev. 14: 7 and other passages; and to the sprinkling of the unclean with consecrated water. The consequence of these sprinklings was the restoration of external, theocratic purity; compare the passages quoted. But it is very usual in the Old Testament, to describe spiritual and internal purification and sanctification, by images and expressions borrowed from the external purifications and sanctifications. This was the more natural, inasmuch as the latter had, in addition to their principal design, the secondary one of symbolizing that which is spiritual. Ezekiel, in c. 36: 25, alludes to the custom of sprinkling with consecrated water for the purpose of purification: "And I will sprinkle pure water upon you, that you may be clean. From all your pollution and from all your idols will I purify you." David alludes to the same custom in Ps. 51: 9, [7,] "Purify me with hyssop, that I may be clean."† These parallel passages fully justify us in giving to the verb זָרַק, the sense of *purify, sanctify*. This exposition is confirmed by what is said in verses 3—10, of atoning for the sins of others by the sufferings and death of the servant of God; but more especially by the expression, "When he has made an offering for sin,"

* "Wie kunnen deze uitdrukkingen niet geheel verklaren van de unanzienlicke geringheid en armoede onzes Verlossers; wij moeten hem ons voorstellen in zijn lijden, en onder hetzeloe, in de verschrikkelijkste versmading en ellende, en dan kunne wij de sterke gezeyden van den Profeet wettigen."

† Comp. Lev. 41: 7.

(verse 10,) and by גִּצְדִיק “he will justify, or sanctify,” (verse 11,) which corresponds exactly with the expression now under consideration. Of the ancient translations, the Syriac follows the same exposition and has ܠܬܝܒ, the Vulgate, *asperget*, which Jerome explains:* “He shall sprinkle many nations, purifying them by his blood, and through baptism consecrating them to the service of God.” In this explanation however he is too specific. The same interpretation is followed by the writers of the New Testament, when they speak of a ῥαντισμὸς τοῦ αἵματος Χριστοῦ. Compare 1 Pet. 1: 2. Heb. 12: 24. It was the prevailing one among christian interpreters generally; as Luther, Vitranga, Dathe, Kocher, Jahn, etc. After the example of Schröder,† recent interpreters, as Martini, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Winer, have raised several objections against it.

1. It is urged that, according to this exposition, the verb ought not to be construed with the accusative, but, as in the other passages, with עַל before the thing to be sprinkled. But as there is the greatest variety in the construction of Hebrew verbs generally; e. g. as in the first verse of the following chapter, the verb מִצֵּה is construed with עַל, which is elsewhere always found connected with הֵ and אֵ; so it is very frequent that a verb, elsewhere joined with the accusative, is sometimes construed with a preposition, and *vice versa*. We have a striking example in c. 53. v. 11, where the verb הִצִּדִּיק is construed with הֵ, though in every other instance it is joined with the accusative. In the case of the verb מִצֵּה, the construction with the accusative may be accounted for by a slight modification of the signification. Construed with עַל, it means *to sprinkle*; with the accusative, *to besprinkle*. This variation moreover has the analogy of other languages for its vindication. In the kindred Ethiopic dialect, the verb מִצֵּה, corresponding to the Hebrew מִצֵּה, is used to denote the besprinkling of things and of persons. Compare Heb. 9: 19. 11: 28. Ps. 51: 9. In Latin also we can say, *spargere aquam*, and also, *spargere corpus aqua*, *aspergere quid alicui*; and further, *re aliquem conspergere*, *perspergere*, *respergere*. “The Hebrews,” says Kocher, “being deprived of this liberty

* “Ipse asperget gentes multas, mundans eas sanguine suo et in baptisinate dei consecrans servituti.

† Observationes selectae ad Origines Hebraeas, cap. VIII. § 10.

of construction for the want of compounds, supply the defect by various uses of the simple verbs.”*

2. It is objected, that the context is opposed to this interpretation ; that the antithesis to the verb קִדְּשׁ leads us to expect something corresponding to it. But it is this very interpretation which affords the most appropriate antithesis. No one is sanctified by the Messiah, who does not wish to be sanctified by him ; and no one desires this, who does not put his entire trust in him and acknowledge him as his King and Lord. Hence, in opposition to the contempt and abhorrence which the Jews felt for the Messiah in a state of humiliation, is placed the believing and humble confidence with which the heathen approach the glorified Messiah. Also in the second member, “Kings shall shut their mouth before him,” there is then a most appropriate parallelism. In like manner, it is adduced in c. 53: 11, as a reward which the glorified servant of God shall obtain, that he shall bring many to righteousness.

3. It is said again : “If to *sprinkle* signifies to *sanctify* or *expiate with blood*, then the *material* used for this purification would not be omitted. Should it be replied to this, that the word *blood* may easily be supplied from the customary use of the verb with reference to purification with blood, still this argument would not be valid, because the purification was not made with blood merely, but likewise with water and with oil.” This objection, at any rate, does not affect the exposition which we have given, but at most only those who find in the verb קִדְּשׁ the specific idea of sanctification by the *blood* of Christ. If we take the verb in the general sense of *sanctify*, the figure may be derived both from sprinkling with blood and with water, and it is not necessary that the material should be expressed. Compare Ps. 51: 9, “Purify me, that I may be clean,” where the material is not added, more than in the case before us. Van der Palm very properly paraphrases the sentence thus ;† *Yet he thereby becomes the priest of many nations*, and explains it : “To sprinkle is a work of the priest, and Jesus is here the great high

* “Id cur non potius Hebraeis liceat, quibus compositorum defectum per varios usus verba simplicia sarciant.”

† “Doch dardoor werd hij veler Volker Preester.”—“Besprengen is een priesterlijk Werk, en Jesus is hier de groote Hogepriester der gansche Wereld, die haur reinigt en verzoent.”

priest of the whole world, who purifies it and makes expiation for it." Comp. Ps. 110: 4.

Recent expositors, abandoning the *usus loquendi* of the Hebrew language, have endeavoured to give several interpretations from the Arabic. Martini, Rosenmüller, and Gesenius compare the Arabic نَزَلَ (نَزَلَ), to *spring, to leap*. Martini proposes this explanation with much hesitation and a feeling of uncertainty :* "I am myself sufficiently aware, how far what I am now about to propose, though with hesitation, as to the sense of the received reading נִזַּל, may be from the exact and true interpretation." He apologizes for his attempt only with the remark, that the received explication is untenable, for the reasons already given. According to Rosenmüller and Gesenius it ought to be, *He will cause many nations to leap*, meaning, he will fill them with joy. In support of this they allege, that in Golius the verb نَزَلَ has among other meanings that of *exultavit prae hilaritate*; which however has not hitherto been confirmed by a single passage from an Arabic writer. Martini goes still farther. He appeals to the circumstance, that with the Orientals, verbs which designate one specific emotion of the mind, are frequently employed to designate all the rest. Thus he thinks that this verb is used also to denote the effects of terror, surprize, and admiration. He translates as follows :† *He smites them with a kind of sacred horror, and fixes in their minds a reverence for himself*. Thus he approaches, though in a wrong way, the sense which we have claimed for the verb נִזַּל. What induced him thus to go farther than Gesenius and Rosenmüller, was unquestionably the feeling that their interpretation, *he will make them leap for joy*, gives an incongruous sense.—Against this mode of interpretation, besides the arguments already alleged in favour of the received exposition, it may be further remarked, that we are never at liberty to abandon the established Hebrew *usus loquendi*, and least of all in a word of so frequent occurrence, without an urgent necessity.‡ This is a principle which most of

* "Quae vero de sensu lectionis receptae נִזַּל ipse jam, quanquam timide, in medium prolaturus sum, ea quantum absint ab interpretatione justa et certa ipse satis sentio."

† "Eos sacro quodam horrore percellet suique reverentiam animis eorum infiget."

‡ Comp. Schelling von dem Gebrauche der Arab. Sprache, p. 71 sq.

the recent defenders of this exposition themselves adhere to in theory, and by the practical application of which, in other cases, they have merited great praise for their solid and judicious interpretation of the Old Testament. To confirm this interpretation an appeal has also been made to the Seventy, who translate, οὕτω θαυμάσονται ἔθνη πολλὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ. But even Martini remarks upon this version :* “ Here in an obscure passage, they have endeavoured, through felicity of apprehension, to obtain a sense some how or other by conjecture.”

The phrase כָּפַי וְעַלִּי, *to shut the mouth*, like the kindred one *to lay the hand upon the mouth*, denotes a humble, reverential subjection. In the presence of a more distinguished person, one does not presume to speak. Comp. Job 29: 9. Ps. 107: 42. Ezek. 16: 63. Micah 7: 16. The reason of this humble submission is given in the second part of the verse. The heathen† are to become acquainted with the wonderful exaltation of the great servant of God, and with the mystery of redemption through him, which was never before communicated to them as it had been to the Jews. Theodoret remarks :‡ “ Those who have not received the communications of the prophets, but have been devoted to idols, shall see, through the preachers of the truth, the might of him who is proclaimed, and shall know his power.” Jerome says :§ “ The princes of this world, who had not the law nor the prophets, and to whom he (the Messiah) had not been announced, shall themselves see and understand. In comparison with them the obduracy of the Jews is reprehended, who, seeing and hearing, have fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah against

* “ In loco obscuro per ingenii felicitatem sensum utcunque conjectando assequi studebant.”

† That the heathen are here the subject of discourse, appears partly from the expressions כָּפַי and כָּפַי וְעַלִּי, and partly from the parallel passage in c. 53: 11, 12.

‡ Οἱ γὰρ τὰς προφητικὰς οὐ δεξάμενοι προῤῥήσεις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς εἰδώλοις δουλεύοντες, ὅπονται διὰ τῶν κηρύκων τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ κηρυττομένου τὸ κράτος καὶ γνώσονται αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν. Theodoret Opp. T. II. p. 357 ed. Hal.

§ “ Principes seculi, qui non habuerunt legem et prophetas, et quibus de eo non fuerit nuntiatum, ipsi videbunt, et intelligent. In quorum comparatione Judaeorum duritia reprehenditur, qui videntes et audientes Jesaiae in se vaticinium compleverunt.”

themselves." In like manner Calvin :* "The Jews had heard something about Christ from the law and the prophets, but to the Gentiles he was entirely unknown. Whence it follows, that these words belong properly to the Gentiles."—Of the two possible interpretations, "Those to whom it was not announced have seen, etc." and "That which was not announced to them have they seen," the latter is unquestionably preferable, and has been adopted by all the ancient translators except the Seventy. These, and after them Paul in Rom. 15: 21, read *οἷς οὐκ ἀν-ηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅψονται, καὶ οἱ οὐκ ἀκηκόασι, συνήσουσι*. The verb *ἑώρακεν*, *to see*, not unfrequently denotes *to perceive, to apprehend in general*, whether by the other senses, or by the mind. Compare Jerem. 33: 24, "Hast thou not seen, what this people say?" Eccl. 1: 16, "My heart has seen much wisdom and knowledge."

CHAP. LIII.

Before the prophet, in order to carry out verses 13—15 of the foregoing chapter, commences a description of the Messiah's vicarious sufferings, he complains over the unbelief of a great part of mankind, occasioned by the deep humiliation of the Messiah; and more especially, (as is remarked by Van der Palm,) with reference to the Jews, since the believing submission of a great part of the heathen had already been announced in the preceding verse. The sense is thus very happily given by Calvin :† "The prophet stops here as it were in the midst of his discourse. Though he had indeed declared before, that the name

* "Judæi aliquid audierant de Christo ex lege et prophetis, sed gentibus penitus ignotus erat. Unde sequitur, hæc verba proprie ad gentes pertinere."

† "Propheta hic veluti in medio orationis cursu resistit. Si quidem cum antea nomen Christi ubique promulgandum atque ignotis gentibus patefaciendum esse diceret: interea vero tam humile futurum, ut hæc fabulosa videri possent, abrumpit sermonem suum, atque exclamat: neminem ista crediturum. Simul dolorem suum exprimit, quod tam increduli sint homines, ut salutem suam rejiciant.—Nec tantum de se uno loquitur, sed veluti is, qui sustinet personam omnium doctorum.—Neque sui temporis homines tantum comprehendit Jesaias, sed posteros omnes, usque ad finem mundi: nam quamdiu exstabit Christi regnum, hoc impleri necesse erit. Quamobrem fideles adversus tale scandalum, hoc testimonio muniri debent."

of Christ should be promulgated in every place, and to the nations who have not known him ; yet as the Messiah was to come in so humble a manner that these annunciations might seem like fables, the prophet breaks off his discourse, and exclaims, No one will believe these tidings. At the same time, he expresses his grief, that men should be so incredulous as to reject their own salvation.—Nor does he speak for himself alone, but in the name of all who sustain the office of teachers.—Nor does Isaiah include merely the men of his own time, but likewise all posterity, even to the end of the world ; for so long as the kingdom of Christ shall endure, will this also have its fulfilment. The faithful therefore ought to be, by this testimony, fortified against such a scandal.”

VERSE 1. *Who believes our annunciation ? and the arm of Jehovah, to whom is it revealed ?* It is indeed the prophet that speaks, but still he includes with himself all who announce tidings concerning the Messiah. There is no occasion for supposing, with Jerome, Van der Palm, and others, that he includes here merely his fellow prophets who had predicted the future Redeemer ; for the prophet must readily have foreseen, that the like cause would hinder the general reception of the tidings concerning the Messiah, even after his appearance ; and hence he might with propriety include all who should announce these tidings. Indeed, the verse is applied to the latter in John 12: 38, and Rom. 10: 16. The question does not imply an *entire* negation, but expresses astonishment in view of the small number of believers ; or rather the prophet, whose spiritual eye is fixed on the great number of unbelievers, overlooks for the moment the other side, and, under his painful sensations, expresses as *universal* that which was true only of a *great part*.—The word שְׁמוּעָה is properly a feminine participle passive, meaning *that which is heard* ; then, as a noun, *that which is spoken*. So in c. 28: 19. The Greek word ἀκοή is used in the same way in Rom. 10: 16. Gal. 3: 2. 1 Thess. 2: 13. According to this explanation, the suffix is to be taken actively. So the Chaldee : מִן הַיָּמִין לְבָסִירָתָהּ, “who believes our tidings?” Many, as Martini, Jahn, Rosenmüller, understand the suffix passively, “that which we hear.” Martini, with reference to Num. 24: 4. Is. 21: 10. 25: 22. Hab. 3: 2, supposes the meaning to be, “that which is revealed to us from God.” Jahn translates the sentence, *quod a nobis auditur fere incredibile est*. He goes upon the assumption, that those who speak in this verse are the same who speak in the following, and that there is no reason for

supposing that in this verse, those appear who announce the tidings, but in the following verse, those to whom the annunciation is made. But this is not a sufficient reason ; because, according to the above exposition also, there is no proper change of persons, but the prophet speaks in both verses. The only difference is, that in the first verse he reckons himself among those who announce the tidings, while in the second, he includes himself among that part of the people who learned, from the exaltation of the Messiah, the true meaning of his sufferings.—The *arm*, as the seat of strength, is frequently used as a designation of strength itself. Comp. e. g. Jer. 17: 5. Job 22: 8. 2 Chron. 32: 8. The *arm of Jehovah* is accordingly a designation of the divine omnipotence. Comp. c. 59: 16. Deut. 4: 34. 5: 15. 26: 8. The sense then of the second member of the verse before us, is : *Who perceives the glorious exhibitions of the divine omnipotence, which are to be manifested in the mission of the Messiah?* Martini translates thus :* “Who understands those things which Jehovah shall hereafter accomplish by his omnipotent power,—a power which is incomprehensible, and not to be penetrated by human sagacity?” The omnipotence of God will be disclosed to him who believes the communications concerning the Messiah. For the mission itself of Christ, the miracles which he wrought, his resurrection and exaltation, are the greatest evidences of the divine omnipotence. On the other hand, unbelief in Christ proceeds from doubts respecting the divine omnipotence, inasmuch as men will not admit the interposition of a supernatural cause. Jahn gives another explanation which adheres more strictly to the figure, but has at the same time less strength.† “He to whom the arm of the efficient agent is revealed, discerns and recognizes the agent whose work it is. The sense therefore is, Who perceives it to be the work of Jehovah?”—That the verb יִרְאֶה is here construed with זֶרֶעוֹ, while it is every where else construed with לִפְנֵי and לְפָנָיו, appears not to be without cause. It seems as if it were thus implied, that the revelation must be made *from above*.

In order to show to what forced interpretations some of the

* “Quae pro virtute sua omnipotenti, incomprehensibili illa, neque ingenio humano penetranda olim perfecturus est Jehovah, quis demum intelligat?”

† “Cui brachium operantis revelatur, is conspicit operantem et cognoscit, cujus sit opus. Sensus itaque est, quis perspicit esse opus Jehovah?”

anti-Messianic interpreters are compelled to have recourse, we here subjoin Rosenmüller's explanation of the whole verse. According to his hypothesis, that the heathen are here introduced as speaking, he paraphrases the first member as follows: "Had we merely heard and not seen, no one of us would have believed." Thus he assumes an ellipsis in the text of which there is not the least intimation. In the expression, "To whom is the arm of Jehovah revealed," he arbitrarily supplies, כִּמּוֹ עֲלֵינוּ, and then paraphrases it thus: * "To whom was ever such a manifestation of Jehovah's power made known, as we now behold in this wonderful change in the circumstances of the Hebrew people?"

VERSE 2. According to Van der Palm, the prophet in verse 1 censures the unbelief of the Jews. Then in verses 2 and 3, the Jews are introduced as speaking and assigning the reasons, why they could not receive this redeemer. In the first half of v. 4, the prophet removes their scruples. The second half then contains the answer of the Jews. From v. 5 onward the prophet speaks without interruption. But for the assumption of such a change of persons, the text affords no sufficient ground. It is evidently the same persons who say in v. 4, that the servant of Jehovah has borne their diseases and pains, and that they have regarded him as one smitten of God. The assumption is much more simple which supposes, that the prophet speaks in verse 2, including with himself the better part of the people. These, having now become informed and believing, here assign the causes of their former unbelief. They had expected a redeemer who should appear in great external splendour and glory,—a victorious king. But now instead of this, they behold him poor, afflicted, abased, suffering, and abused.

He grew up before him as a sprout, as a shoot out of a dry soil; he had no form nor beauty, that we should look upon him; no comely appearance, that we should desire him. This verse refers to the depressed condition of the Messiah before his suffering. The phrase מִצֵּיץ צִיָּה in the second member, must also be understood in the first. The word יוֹנֵק properly signifies *a suckling*, then, like the feminine יוֹנֵקָה, metaphorically *a sucker*, i. e. *a sprout*, "qui succo radicis, quasi lacte alitur." The suffix in לְפָנָיו is by many interpreters refer-

* "Cui tale Jovanae potentiae documentum unquam innotuit, quale nos jam videmus in admiranda hac populi Hebraei vicissitudine?"

red to the people. So J. H. Michaelis :* “ Before that proud and unbelieving people, fascinated with the idea of a temporal kingdom, which the Messiah should establish, so that they do not see nor recognize the arm of God manifested in Christ.” But this is strained; inasmuch as **עַד** does not precede. It must necessarily be referred immediately to the foregoing **לְפָנַי**, *before Jehovah*, i. e. observed by Jehovah, known to him, though unknown to the world. The prophet thus incidentally points to the cause of the humiliation. The word **לְפָנַי** sometimes expresses *coram* with the subordinate idea of *provident care*. Compare Job 8: 16, “He is green before the sunshine,” for *sole adjuvante*. So Martini, *praesente h. e. moderante atque gubernante Jehovah*, ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ. The word **שֹׁרֶץ**, *root*, designates here, as in c. 11: 10, by synecdoche, the stem or shoot which springs out of the root. A sprout that grows up in a dry place, is insignificant and puny. The comparison with a shoot or sucker from a root, seems to intimate the origin of the Messiah from a family, which was once like a lofty tree in elevation and splendour, but is now sunk in abasement. Comp. c. 11: 1, where the Messiah is called a branch (shoot) of Jesse. As the Messiah is here compared to a weak and insignificant sprout in reference to his humble condition, so in Ezek. 17: 23, in reference to his state of exaltation, he is compared to a lofty and splendid cedar, under which all the fowls of heaven are to be lodged. The Jews expected that he would thus appear from the very first; and because he did not so appear they despised him. The nouns **הָאֵר** *form*, and **מְרָאָה** *appearance*, are used for *comely form* and *comely appearance*. Comp. 1 Sam. 16: 18, **אִישׁ הָאֵר**, *a man of form*, for *a comely man*. The **וּלְמַרְאָהּ** and **וּלְהָאֵרָהּ**, is to be translated in both cases, *that*. The sense is well expressed by Symmachus: *Ὁὐκ εἶδος αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ἄξιωμα, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν αὐτόν, οὐδὲ θεωρία, ἵνα ἐπιθυμηθῶμεν αὐτόν.*

Many interpreters, as J. H. Michaelis, take both members of the sentence as interrogations, in which the Jews endeavour to justify themselves for rejecting the Messiah. “He had no form, and should we look upon him? no beauty, and should we desire him?” They appeal to passages, where, in like manner, a

* In den bibl. Hal. “Coram illo populo superbo et incredulo, opinione regni mundani, quod Messias erigere deberet, fascinato, ut brachium dei in Christo exertum, non videat nec agnoscat.”

question follows the Vav ; as e. 37: 11. 1 Sam. 25: 11. But as those who speak had already become believers in Christ, and here only assign the reason of their former unbelief, such an impassioned question in their mouth is inappropriate. The verb *רָאָה* *to see, to look upon*, is used to signify, *to regard as worthy of attention*. The Arabic *رأى*, and the Syriac *הוּא* are used in a similar emphatic way. The verb *רָאָה* has the sense *videre cum delectatione*, only when it is construed with *בְּ*. The [want of] form and beauty in the Messiah is not to be referred so much to his corporeal figure, as to his whole appearance in a state of abasement. Calvin says :* “ These things ought to be understood not solely of the person of Christ, who was despised by the world and at length condemned to an ignominious death ; but of his whole kingdom, in which there was to the eyes of men no form, no splendour, no magnificence.” In the history of the church, is repeated the history of its founder. As in the latter, so in the former, the way to glory and happiness is through humiliation and suffering.

VERSE 3. *He was despised and the most abject of all men, a man of suffering and familiar with disease ; he was as one before whom a man covers his face ; we despised him and esteemed him not.* The prophet passes from the humble condition of the Messiah in general, to his suffering. The phrase *הָרַב אִשָּׁים* is rendered by many interpreters, *forsaken by men*. They appeal to Job 19: 14, where the verb *הָרַב* is used with reference to friends, who abandon the unfortunate. But *הָרַב* must according to this explanation be passive, whereas it has every where else an active sense. And besides, Martini remarks very forcibly against this:† “ In this way the strength of expression, which ought continually to increase, would be diminished ; contrary to the usual manner of the Hebrew poets, who are accustomed so to conjoin synonymous words, that the subsequent one may be somewhat stronger than the preceding.” Moreover, the weakness of the sense must be apparent to every one. Ac-

* “ Non solum de Christi persona haec intelligi debent, qui mundo contemptibilis et ignominiosae tandem morti adjudicatus est, sed de toto regno, cujus nulla in oculis hominum forma, nullus decor, nulla magnificentia fuit.”

† “ Sic vis sermonis, quae augeri debebat, imminueretur, contra morem Hebraeorum poetarum, qui ita verba synonyma conjungere amant, ut posterius priori paulo sit gravius.”

cording to Martini and many others, *הָרַל* signifies directly, *mean, subjected to reproach, despised*. He supposes, that *אִישִׁים* belongs as well to *נִבְזָה*, as to *הָרַל*, and serves to express the superlative, *the despised and abject of men, for the most despised and most abject among men*.^{*} But *הָרַל* never occurs in the sense here ascribed to it. It is the most safe, to compare the word as used in Ps. 39: 5, “Lord teach me to know the measure of my days, cause me to know *מָה הָרַל אָנִי* when I shall cease,” scil. to suffer and to live. According to this, *הָרַל* is *that which ceases to do or to be something*. Hence *הָרַל אִישִׁים*, *the ceasing or failing one of men, he who ceases to be a man, or to be reckoned among men*; equivalent to *the most abject among men*; so that this interpretation agrees with that of Martini so far as the sense is concerned, but not grammatically. It is confirmed by chap. 52: 14, and the passages there quoted. It was adopted also by Abenezra, who paraphrases the clause, *הָרַל לְהַחֲשֵׁב עִם אַנְשִׁים*, *desiit hominibus accenseri*, and by most of the ancient translators. So the Seventy, *τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον καὶ ἐκλείπον παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων*. Symmachus, *ἐλάχιστος ἀνδρῶν*. The Vulgate, *novissimus virorum*. The Syriac *ܦܠܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ*.

The words *אִישׁ מְכַאֲבוֹת* mean *a man of sorrows*; he who, as it were, has sufferings as his peculiar property. So in Prov. 29: 1, *אִישׁ תּוֹכָהוֹת*, *a man of chastisements*, one who is frequently chastised,—who has chastisements, as it were, for his peculiar possession. Symmachus, *ἀνὴρ ἐπιπόνος*.—Most interpreters explain *יָדוּעַ הָזֶה* as signifying, *known, distinguished on account of disease*, for *afflicted with disease in an uncommon manner*. Martini has it: *Exemplum sive monumentum insigne hominis ignominia injuriisque affecti*. So Symmachus, among the ancient translators, *γνωστὸς νόσῳ*. But the other meaning is far more appropriate and better adapted to the parallelism, viz. *an acquaintance of disease*, for one who is intimate with disease, one who is connected to disease as it were by the bonds of friendship; corresponding to *a man of sufferings*. The participle *יָדוּעַ* is then taken entirely in its proper sense.† So the

* Comp. Ps. 22: 7 *בְּזוּי עָם* Prov. 15: 20 *כְּסִיל אָדָם*. Gesen. Lehrs. p. 692. b.

† Comp. Deut. 1: 13, 15. In like manner, the Pual participle in Job 19: 14.

old translators ; though it has been falsely presumed that they read the active participle instead of the passive. Sept. εἰδὼς φέρειν μαλακίαν. Vulg. *sciens infirmitatem*. Syriac, ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܠܟܝܬܐ.

They only resolve the personification of disease, which lies here at the foundation. As the passive participle may here be taken in its proper signification, there is no occasion for appealing to the circumstance, that it is often used directly for the active participle ; e. g. ܐܬܚܝܐ, *tenentes*, Cant. 3: 8. ܒܬܝܗܐ *confidens*, Ps. 112: 7. ܙܒܝܪ *recordans*, Ps. 103: 14.*—The word ܚܝܐ, with Hholem here on account of the accent, otherwise ܚܝܐ, denotes not merely a disease produced by ordinary natural causes, but it is used also of *wounds*. Compare 1 Kings 22: 34. Jer. 6: 7. 10: 19. Hence it might also here signify *wounds*. Compare in verse 5, ܡܚܝܕܐ, *pierced*. But it is better to understand here disease, and also in what follows, as a figurative designation of severe sufferings of both body and mind. It often has this meaning, as e. g. Is. 1: 4—6. Ezek. 33: 10. Ps. 103: 3. Koppe and Annon suppose, and not without reason, that the figure is taken from the leprosy, which was not only one of the most terrible diseases, but was also in a special manner regarded as a divine punishment. This will explain many things in what follows.

The words ܐܝܢܝܢ ܕܡܚܝܕܐ are variously explained. The best mode is that which takes ܡܚܝܕܐ as a substantive, formed from the participle in Hiphil,† signifying *concealment*. “He was as a concealment of the face before it,” i. e. as a thing or person before whom a man covers his face, because he cannot endure the disgusting sight. In this case, the suffix in ܐܝܢܝܢ does not refer to the servant of God, but to the object of comparison. Martini follows this interpretation, except that he connects the clause with the one which follows: *Sicuti rem, a qua faciem avertunt, ita cum fastidio eum sprevimus*. Most interpreters regard ܡܚܝܕܐ as a participle in Hiphil for ܡܚܝܕܐ. Against this, however, it must be remarked, that this form with Tseri never occurs in the masculine singular, though sometimes in the feminine singular, and often in the plural ; but still only in the later usage, borrowed from the Aramaean dialect.‡—On the above principle these words have then been explained in various ways.

* Compare the examples in Michaelis, *Lumina Syriaca*, § 26.

† Gesenius *Lehrgeb.* p. 496.

‡ Gesen. *Lehrg.* §. 94, 8.

1. Some render the passage : " He was as one who conceals his face *before us*," so that the suffix in מְכַתֵּר is not to be taken as the suffix of the third person singular, but of the first person plural. So the Seventy, Vulgate, Chaldee, Aquila, Jarchi, Van der Palm, and Jahn. Those who render thus, find here either an allusion to the Mosaic law, according to which lepers must cover their faces, Lev. 3: 45 ; or to the custom of covering the face in mourning, 2 Sam. 15 : 30. Ezek. 14: 17 ; or to the concealing of the face for shame, Micah 3: 7. But this interpretation gives a feeble sense. Moreover, it cannot be the object of the whole passage to show, how the servant of God will demean himself, but how men will regard him and conduct themselves towards him.

2. Others suppose, that the expression is elliptical and stands for כַּאֲשֶׁר מְכַתֵּר מִפְּנֵי, *as one before whom he covers the face*, i. e. before whom a person covers his face. So Gesenius. But this forced exposition could hardly be justified in a philological point of view.

3. Others translate : *He was as one causing to conceal the face before him*, i. e. he occasioned others to cover their faces before him ; the sight of his suffering was so shocking that those who saw him covered their faces. So Rosenmüller among others, adopting the words of J. H. Michaelis, only with the modification, that he takes the alleged participle מִכְתֵּר in the neuter : *quod facit, ut alii abscondant faciem*, i. e. *sicuti res tam foeda et abominanda, ut homines eam adspicere dedignati faciem tegant et avertant*. This interpretation undoubtedly deserves the preference among the three which take מִכְתֵּר as a participle. Still, it is an objection to it, that the verb כָּתַר in Hiphil never signifies *to cause to conceal*, but always merely *to conceal* ; and the phrase הִכְתִּיר פָּנָיו often occurs in the sense, *to conceal or cover the face*, but never otherwise.—The form נִבְּחָה may be taken either as a participle in Niphal, as in the beginning of the verse, (so also Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, ἐξουδενωμένος, διὸ οὐκ ἐλογισάμεθα αὐτόν, Sept. ἡτιμιάσθη,) or it may be understood as the first person future of Kal. So the Syriac, ܢܒܚܐ.—The words לֹא הִשְׁתַּבַּחְהוּ may be translated either, *we esteemed him not*, or, *we esteemed him as nothing*. It is common, in Hebrew, to express the same thing first positively, and then, for the sake of greater energy, negatively.

VERSE 4. Those who have now become believers in the Messiah, acknowledge, in this verse, that they very greatly erred when they despised the servant of God, on account of his humiliation and sufferings.—*But he bore our diseases, and took our pains upon himself, and we regarded him as one afflicted of God, smitten and tormented of God.* The sense is: He from whom we turned away with abhorrence, because we concluded from his sufferings that he had been guilty of some flagrant crime, for the punishment of which God had inflicted this misery upon him, did not bear the punishment of *his own* sins, but of *ours*. The very thing that offended us, not only pertained to the work which God had committed to him, but constituted the most important part of it. The word אָבַן is *particula adversativa, verum, ast.* *He bore etc.* is a metaphor borrowed from an oppressive burden, which one takes from the shoulders of another and lays upon his own. *Our diseases, our pains*, are the diseases which we must have suffered, the pains which we must have endured. Diseases and pains are a figurative representation of the external and internal sufferings which the Messiah was to undergo in our stead, and thereby free us from the punishment of sin. The form אָבַנֵנוּ is the plural אָבַנִּים with the suffix, and would properly be written *plene* אָבַנֵנוּ.—Some would translate אָבַן *abstulit, removit*; but this would be contrary to the whole context and to the parallelism with אָבַן. The two members are perfectly synonymous, and differ only in the words. Besides, the verb אָבַן elsewhere, when connected with sin, signifies *to bear it or its punishment*. Comp. Ezek. 18: 19, לֹא אָבַן הָבֶן בְּעֵינָי, *the son shall not bear the sin of the father*. Num. 14: 33. Lev. 5: 1. 20: 17. Sept. φέρει. Symmachus, ἀνέλαβε.

These words are quoted by Matthew (8: 17) immediately after relating, that Christ had healed many persons of their corporeal infirmities. Modern interpreters have incorrectly drawn from this the conclusion, that Matthew did not at all refer the passage to the vicarious sufferings of Christ. But Matthew is certainly very far from intending to take away the principal reference, by this specific one. Christ was sent with the general design of removing, by a sacrifice of himself, the evil which sin had introduced into the world. This he accomplished, in the first place, when he removed corporeal diseases. In this he pointed also to his principal aim, which was, with the same power, to take away spiritual evil from man, through his vicarious satisfaction.

Calvin says :* “Matthew cites this prophecy, after having related that Christ had cured various diseases ; though it is certain, that it was not the object of his mission to heal the body, but rather the mind. For the prophet has in view spiritual maladies. But in the miracles which Christ wrought for the cure of the body, he gave, as it were, a specimen of that salvation which he brings to our souls ; and therefore Matthew transferred to the symbol, that which was in accordance with the reality itself.”—That Matthew was far from denying the spiritual application of our passage, appears from c. 20 : 28, ἡλθε δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν. Comp. verse 10.

The word נִגַּז contains in itself the subordinate idea, *smitten of God*, and therefore there is no need of supplying אֱלֹהִים from the following member. Comp. Ps. 73: 14. So the leprosy, which was regarded as a divine punishment, was called κατ' ἐξοχήν, נִגַּז. Many interpreters, as Jerome, directly explain נִגַּז as meaning *leprosus*. So also the ancient Jews, who derived from this passage the notion that the Messiah would be afflicted with the leprosy.† But there is no ground for this specific application. Theodotion translates aptly, μεμαστιγωμένος, *tormented with severe suffering*.‡

In the phrase אֱלֹהִים נִגַּז, *one smitten of God*, the genitive designates the efficient cause, as it often does elsewhere. The form נִגַּז is the construct state, the absolute state being נִגַּז. The latter is found in some manuscripts, and many Romish theologians§ were formerly prepossessed in its favour upon doctrinal grounds, because the passage would then contain a testimony for

* “Matthaeus hoc vaticinium citat, postquam retulit Christum varios morbos curasse, cum tamen certum sit, ipsum non curandis corporibus, sed animis potius destinatum esse. Nam de spiritualibus languoribus intelligit propheta. Sed in miraculis, quae sanandis corporibus edidit Christus, specimen prae-buit salutis, quam animis nostris affert, ideoque Matthaeus ad symbolum transfert, quod ipsi rei et veritati conveniebat.”

† Comp. in the Talmud the tract *Sanhedrin*, cap. XI. Also the book *Jalkut* on Isaiah c. 60.

‡ See the equivalent expression of Aeschylus, πληγὰς θεοῦ μάστιγι, in *Septem adv. Thebas*. Comp. Eccclus. 30 : 14. 40 : 9. Luke 7 : 21. See also, in Martini on the passage, examples from Arabic writers, who likewise regard suffering as a scourge or lash inflicted from God.

§ Bellarminus *de Verb. d.* II. 2. Galatinus, et alii.

the divinity of the Messiah, *a smitten God*. The verb נָקָה is used to denote divine punishments in general, but especially the infliction of diseases. Num. 14: 12. Deut. 28: 22.—We must supply, after all these three words, the idea, *on account of his own sins*. It was indeed true that God inflicted sufferings upon the Messiah; and the error was only in respect to the design of this infliction. The inference from great suffering to great guilt, was very common with the Hebrews. This arose from a misapprehension of the theocratic doctrine of retribution; inasmuch as they erroneously transferred the law of visible retribution, by which all events respecting the covenant people were determined, to the cases of individuals: without reflecting, that God might, according to his wise and holy designs, bring sufferings upon an innocent man, even without any preceding guilt.

VERSE 5. *And he was pierced for our iniquities, and was bruised for our sins; he was punished, that we might have peace, and by his wounds we are healed.*—The prophet here again includes himself with others, not by way of rhetorical figure, but from a consciousness of his sinfulness and need of redemption. The word מְחַלֵּץ is the Poal participle of the verb חָלַץ *to wound, to pierce*. מִן signifies, *on account of*. The verb דָּבַח *to bruise, to crush in pieces*, is used figuratively to denote the most severe internal and external sufferings. Sept. aptly, *μεμαλάκισται*. Aquila, *συνετριβη*. The phrase מוֹסֵר שְׁלוֹמֵנוּ properly means, *the punishment of our peace*, i. e. the punishment by which peace, salvation, and happiness were obtained for us, and by which our reconciliation with God was effected. The word מוֹסֵר has indeed elsewhere the sense also of *a chastising with words*; but here the whole context, in which severe sufferings are the prominent subject, and the parallelism, both require us to understand it as meaning *chastisement by deed*. This is favoured moreover by the use of עָלֵיו, which signifies, that the punishment lay as an oppressive burden upon the sufferer. Hence we see the incorrectness of the interpretation adopted by a certain theological school, which, in order to remove from the passage the doctrine of Christ's vicarious satisfaction, translates: "The instruction for our peace is in him," i. e. information how we may again become reconciled with God is to be obtained through him.* The word מוֹסֵר has moreover the subordinate idea of a punishment, which may serve as a warning to others.

* Compare Hassenkamp, Briefe über wichtige Wahrheiten der Religion, Duisburg 1794. Th. II. p. 161, sqq.

The noun *הַבְּרָה*, *wound, stripe*, is here a collective. The form *נִרְפָּא* is the praeter of Niphal, and properly signifies *it is healed to us*, or, *healing has happened to us*. This construction may be explained by a slight modification of the meaning of *רָפָא*, *to heal*, i. q. *to impart healing*. In a similar manner we may explain the construction, in verse 11, of *הַצְדִּיק* with *ל*, *to justify*, i. q. *to impart justification*. As suffering and the punishment of sin are frequently represented under the figure of disease, so deliverance from suffering and from the punishment of sin, is often represented under the figure of healing. Compare c. 19: 22. Jer. 8: 22. 30: 17.

VERSE 6. We have here the reason which induced the Messiah to take upon himself such severe sufferings; it was the miserable condition of mankind estranged from God, who were by his sufferings to be brought into a state of reconciliation with God. —*We all like sheep were going astray, we turned each to his own way; but Jehovah cast upon him the sins of us all.*—The sense is thus given by Calvin:* “In order to fix the benefit of Christ’s death the more firmly in the minds of men, he shows how necessary that healing was, which he had before mentioned.—There is here an elegant antithesis. In ourselves we are scattered abroad, in Christ we are brought together; by nature we are wandering away and rushing to destruction, in Christ we find the way which leads us to the gate of safety; our sins sink us down, but they are transferred to Christ, and by him we are disburdened.” The prophet represents the miserable condition of mankind, while alienated from God and sunk in sin and error, under the figure of sheep without a shepherd, which are exposed undefended to every danger. Theodoret remarks:†

* “Ut melius infigat animis hominum beneficium mortis Christi, ostendit, quam necessaria sit ista sanatio, cujus prius mentionem fecit.—Est hic elegans antithesis. Nam in nobis dissipati sumus, in Christo collecti; aberramus natura atque in exitium praecipites agimur, in Christo viam reperimus, qua ad salutis portam ducamur; obruunt nos scelera nostra, at transferuntur in Christum, a quo exoneramur.”

† Ούτε γὰρ ἴσα πάντων τὰ πλημμελήματα, οὐδὲ εἷς ὁ τρόπος, ἄλλα γὰρ τὰ Αἰγυπτίων εἰδῶλα καὶ ἄλλα τὰ Φοινίκων, καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἔτετρα καὶ ἄλλα τῶν Σκυθῶν· ἀλλ’ ὅμως, εἰ καὶ διάφοροι τῆς πλάνης οἱ τρόποι, πάντες ὁμοίως τὸν ὄντα θεὸν καταλελοιπότες, ἐρκειμεν προβάτοις πλανωμένοις καὶ προκειμένοις τοῖς λύκοις.

“Neither are the sins of all alike, nor is there merely one kind of error. For the Egyptians have one kind of idols, the Phœnicians another, the Greeks a third, and the Scythians still another. But, although the modes of error are various, we have all in like manner abandoned the true God, and resemble sheep going astray and exposed to wolves.”

The form זֶרַע , contracted from זֶרַע צֶדֶק , does not properly signify, *like a flock*, but, *like THE flock*. The article is not superfluous here, as it might seem. It is employed, among other uses, “when only individuals of a species are spoken of; but such individuals, as are clearly understood by the hearer to be definite in that species, from the circumstances of the discourse or the connexion of the words.* *We wandered like the flock*, i. e. we wandered like a wandering flock, a flock which had no shepherd. This signification of the article was noticed also by Kimchi. Comp. 1 Pet. 2: 25, $\eta\tau\epsilon\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \omega\varsigma\ \pi\rho\acute{o}\beta\alpha\tau\alpha\ \pi\lambda\alpha\nu\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$. In general, the figure of a flock without a shepherd is used to designate, at one time, the moral degradation, at another, the misery, of mankind while estranged from God. Comp. Ezek. 34: 5. Matt. 9: 36.

We turned each to his own way, etc. As a lonely wanderer pursues his way in sadness and exposed to numerous dangers, so we were going on through life alone, neither led by God nor united with brethren by his love. Augusti says:† “Each acted alone, he lived for himself, not for the common cause; there was no common spirit.” This is correct, if taken in the deeper sense; it is a common union with God that alone can unite us to one another; without this, there is nothing but self-will, caprice, and discord.—The verb יָצַח with אֵלָיו has sometimes the general signification, *to strike against some one, to hit him*; and again it means, *to strike against some one in a hostile manner, to assault him*. According to Kimchi and others, punishment is here described as an assaulting enemy. They take the word in the latter signification and translate, *hostiliter in eum irruere jussit*. Yet we may very well stop at the general idea, *he let it fall upon him*. The sense is, Jehovah let him bear, alone, the sufferings which we should have borne as a punishment for our sins. So Symmachus, $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\tau\eta\tilde{\nu}\sigma\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\eta\nu\ \alpha\nu\omicron\mu\iota\alpha\nu\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu\ \eta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$. The Vulgate, *posuit in eo iniquitatem omnium nostrum*. The word יָצַח here, as often elsewhere, in-

* Ewald Grammatik, p. 567.

† Exeg. Handbuch.

cludes also the idea of *punishment for sin*. The prevalent impression among the Hebrews, of an intimate connexion between sin and punishment, virtue and prosperity, has also stamped itself upon the language, and both ideas are often expressed by the same words.

VERSE 7. The prophet, in v. 2, had commenced the description of the Messiah's sufferings; but had interrupted it in verses 4—6, in order to point out the cause of these severe sufferings. Here he again resumes his description, and exhibits to our view the perfect meekness and patience of the great servant of God under his afflictions.—*He was abused, but he endured patiently and opened not his mouth; as a lamb which is brought to the slaughter, and as a sheep which is dumb before its shearers, he opened not his mouth.* The words נָגַשׁ וְהוּא בֶּעֱמָה are variously explained. The verb נָגַשׁ usually signifies, *to urge, to drive*, and is used particularly with respect to a *rigorous exaction of debts*. The first and more general signification is adopted by Van der Palm and an anonymous writer,* and according to them, נָגַשׁ means, *he was demanded*, and they translate: “They (the Jews) unanimously demanded his death, and lo, he suffered!” Against this, however, is the fact, that the verb נָגַשׁ never occurs just in the sense of *demanding*, which is quite diverse from that of *urging, driving*.—Others suppose, that there is an allusion to the special signification of demanding a debt. God, who visits the sins of men upon the Messiah, appears (it is said) as a creditor who demands his debt. So Hensler: “God demands the debt, and he, the great and righteous, suffers.” So Kuinöl, and also Jahn: *ille exactionem sustinuit v. solutio iniquitatum ab eo exacta fuit*. This explanation has indeed much to recommend it. The objection urged by Martini, that the metaphorical signification of the verb is unauthorized, is not valid; for it is very common to represent the punishment of sin under the figure of demanding a debt.† But still there is another interpretation adopted by Martini, Gesenius, and others, which seems to deserve the preference. According to this, the verb נָגַשׁ is taken in the signification, *to abuse, to afflict*. The participle נֹגֵשׁ is frequently used of those who abuse and afflict others. The praeter itself in Niphal occurs with a like sense,

* In der Bibliothek v. Theol. Letterkunde.

† Compare the Commentators on Matt. 6: 12. Luc. 13: 4. Buxtorf. Lex. Chald. s. v. נָגַשׁ und חֹרֵב.

in 1 Sam. 14: 24, וְאִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל נִגַּשׁ בְּיוֹם הַהוּא, *Israelitae afflicti erant illo die*. The pronoun וְהוּא has given interpreters trouble. Gesenius renders the clause: "He was abused, even he who was besides afflicted." In this case, וְהוּא is supposed to correspond to the Latin *isque*, נִעְנָה to denote the usual depressed condition of the Messiah, and נִגַּשׁ, the additional ill treatment which he received. "Already afflicted with disease and suffering, he must suffer still further abuse." To this it may be objected, that the assumed distinction between נִעְנָה and נִגַּשׁ can hardly be established. And besides, the verb נִעְנָה too is used to signify *severe ill treatment*. Comp. e. g. Gen. 16: 6. Ex. 22: 22. Ps. 105: 18. We obtain a far more appropriate sense, if, with Jahn and Steudel, we translate the sentence, *idem tamen vexari se patiebatur*. This sense is also expressed by Symmachus, προσήνεχθη καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπήκουσε, and also by the Vulgate, *oblatus est, quia ipse voluit*. The verb נִעְנָה has consequently in Niphal the secondary signification of *patient suffering*, which is found also in the adjectives נִעָנִי and נִעָנָה. Besides, the conjugation Niphal in general, has often a reflexive meaning. So in verse 12, נִמְנָה, *to be numbered*, with the secondary idea of *causing one's self to be numbered*. Ewald* supposes the reflexive signification to be the original one in Niphal; which however may still be justly doubted. Another circumstance particularly favourable to this interpretation is, that thus the *patience* of the Messiah under his suffering is described in this clause, as well as in all the remaining part of the verse.

The relative אֲשֶׁר is to be supplied after כִּשְׁהָ. Comp. Jer. 11: 19, "I was as a lamb that is brought to the slaughter."—Gesenius, after the example of Luther, refers the second וְלֹא יָדָעָהּ פִּי to the lamb. This however is not admissible, because יָדָעָהּ, of the masculine gender, will not agree with the feminine וְלֹא יָדָעָהּ, and must therefore be referred back to the more remote subject, שְׁהָ. And besides, such a repetition has a peculiar charm, and not unfrequently occurs. Thus in Judges 5: 16, the words לְפָלְגוֹת רְאוּבֵן גִּדְּוָלִים חֲקָרִי יָב are repeated, and in such a manner, that the repetition is not useless, but gives a certain emphasis to the discourse. With a similar emphasis we find יִצְוֵנִי עֲלֶיהָ in Gen. 49: 4. Such repetitions often occur also in the second part of Isaiah. In general, repetition in Hebrew serves to give energy and prominence to an idea.† The Seventy also refer the expression to the servant of God, οὐτως

* Gramm. p. 191.

† Comp. Ewald l. c. p. 636.

οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα. With reference to this passage, John the Baptist calls Christ *the Lamb of God*, John 1: 29. Comp. 1 Pet. 1: 18, 19. Acts 8: 32, 35. In sense also the passage in 1 Pet. 2: 23 agrees with what is here said; ὃς λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντιλοιδόρει, πάσχων οὐκ ἡπείλει, παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως. Christ did indeed open his mouth, but not to threaten, not to rebuke, but only to glorify God, to attest his love, to pray for his enemies.

VERSE 8. Sense: A violent death terminated the sufferings which he took upon himself for the sins of the people.—*By oppression and a judicial sentence he was dragged to punishment; (yet who can declare his posterity?) he was torn away from the land of the living for the sins of my people, upon whom the punishment should have fallen.*—The word פָּצַע properly signifies a shutting up, confinement, then, violent oppression. The noun מִשְׁפָּט means judgment, judicial decision; then, as determined by the connexion, sentence to punishment, as in Jer. 1: 16. 2 Kings 25: 6; and punishment itself, as in Deut. 21: 22. Ezek. 5: 8. Jer. 48: 1. It never has directly the sense of suffering, which Gesenius ascribes to it. The most correct view and the one which is adopted by many interpreters, as Döderlein, Kuinöl, and others, is, that the terms *oppression* and *judgment* are here employed by way of Hendiadys, to denote an oppressive, unjust, judicial procedure. So in 1 Kings 19: 12, *silence and a voice*, for a low voice. Jer. 29: 11 *futurity and hope*, for a hopeful futurity.* The verb פָּצַע occurs with the sense of a violent carrying away to punishment in 1 Kings 20: 33. Prov. 24: 11, and of a violent taking away in general in Ezek. 22: 25. Similar verbs are also used in Arabic to express the idea of a violent carrying away to death or to captivity.† Consequently, פָּצַע, *he was dragged away to punishment.*—*Judicii violentia ad supplicium rapitur*; so Döderlein and Dathe. Yet, with Rosenmüller and others, we may translate, *He was taken away*, scil. from this life, as is said in the second hemistich. Comp. Ezek. 33: 4, 6. This explanation is indeed more favoured by the parallelism, than the former.

The older interpreters, for the most part, refer the preceding words to the exaltation of the Messiah. They take מִן not as causative, but in the sense of *from*; and render the verb פָּצַע

* Gesen. Lehrs. p. 854.

† Comp. examples in Martini p. 79.

either to exempt, to free, or, to take up, to take away, viz. to God. So the Vulgate, *de angustia et judicio sublatus est*. Jerome on the passage has it, *de tribulatione atque judicio ad patrem victor ascendit*. J. H. Michaelis, *exemptus et ad dextram majestatis assumptus est*. The interpretation of Gesenius is similar; "death at last delivered him from his distresses." This is borrowed from Martini, who paraphrases thus: *exanillatis cruciatibus et diris animam efflavit*. But this explanation is opposed by the whole context. It would make the words, even here, refer to the better condition of the Messiah, whereas the description of this first commences with verse 10. That the words must mean a violent death, is evident from verse 9, where it is said that the wicked, not satisfied with his being murdered, endeavoured to insult him even in his death. And moreover, even admitting that in some places לָקַח does not signify a violent death; yet in the present instance, the parallel member, "he was torn away from the land of the living," shows that we must here understand it in that sense, or at least as denoting a procedure which causes violent death. Consequently מִן must here designate the *causa efficiens*, the efficient cause, as it does in מִפֶּשַׁע, and several times elsewhere in this section, as e. g. in v. 5.

The words which follow are difficult, וְאֵת-דְּוֹרוֹ מִיְּשׁוּקָהּ. The verb שׁוּקָהּ or שִׁיתָ signifies, (1) *to reflect*, and (2) *to relate, to announce*. The most prevalent interpretations are as follows.

1. Many, as Luther, Calvin, Vitringa, and others, translate: "Who will express the length of his life?" i. e. who can define the duration of his future life? There is no ground for objecting to this, as many have done, that the prophet would in this case anticipate himself, because the annunciation of the Messiah's glory first commences with verse 10. For, according to every interpretation, the words here stand out of the connexion, and contain an incidental idea, which must be put in a parenthesis. There is more weight in the remark, that the word דֵּוֹר is never used to denote *length of life*.

2. After the example of Storr, others, as Döderlein, Dathe, Martini, Rosenmüller, and Gesenius, explain thus: "Who of his contemporaries will consider," or "did consider?" According to them, וְאֵת-דְּוֹרוֹ is to be regarded as the accusative absolute, equivalent to the nominative absolute, *quod attinet aequales ei homines*. To this there are the following objections: (a) "That אֵת can never designate the subject; for this would be directly contrary to its origin and nature. The examples which

are alleged in support of such a use, show rather that **אֵל**, according to the meaning of the writer, was employed as a designation of the object; and the cases which are certain and correct, must here be carefully separated from the few real deviations.* But granting that this assertion is not in its full extent true; (for even Ewald himself must admit, that the later less exact writers sometimes used **אֵל** to denote the subject;) still so much as this must at least be conceded, that in most cases where **אֵל** is usually understood to be a designation of the subject, it is really a designation of the object. Hence it follows, that we ought not so absolutely, nor without an urgent necessity, to understand this particle as a sign of the subject. (b) According to this exposition we must suppose a hard ellipsis: "Who of his contemporaries considered," scil. the true cause of his death? Gesenius indeed, after the example of Martini, endeavours to get over this difficulty, by connecting these words with what follows:† "Who of his contemporaries considered, that he would be taken away from the land of the living for the sins of my people?" But this would destroy the evident parallelism between **לִקְחָהּ** and **בְּגִזְרֵי אֶרֶץ חַיִּים**.

3. Lowth, Van der Palm, and others translate: "Who of all his contemporaries spoke?" i. e. there was no one among all his contemporaries, who uttered a word in his defence. The first objection brought against the preceding interpretation, may also among others be urged against this.

4. Le Clerc translates: *Vitae ejus in his terris praestantiam, quis est qui pro dignitate laudare possit.* Against this it may be remarked, that **דִּיר** never signifies *manner of life*.

5. Others translate, and this appears to be the best interpretation: "Who can express his kindred, the number of his posterity?" So also the Sept. *ὅτι γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται.* In like manner Kimchi: *quis dicturus esset ejus generationem tam magnam fore?* The prophet, as it were hastening on before himself, points, by an incidental remark, from the deepest humiliation of the Messiah to his exaltation. The word **דִּיר**, *generation, race*, is frequently used to signify *posterity*; e. g. Lev. 23: 43. For the sense here, compare **יְרֵאָה זֶרַע** in verse

* Ewald Gramm. p. 596.

† "Hominum istius aetatis quis est, qui ad animum revocet mortem adeo ipsam virum illum non propter sua ipsius crimina, sed propter populi mei scelera subiisse." Martini.

10. It has been objected that the verb שִׁנָּה, when used in the sense of *reflecting* and *speaking*, is connected with בָּ. But this objection is not valid; (compare the remarks above on c. 52: 15;) particularly since verbs entirely similar are construed both with בָּ and with the accusative. E. g. the verb הִנָּה is synonymous with שִׁנָּה, stands in parallelism with it in Ps. 77: 13. 143: 5, and has moreover nearly all its significations in common with it.* The verb הִנָּה is usually construed with בָּ; but in Ps. 2: 1 and Isa. 33: 18, it occurs with the accusative.

The particle בִּי is here not causal, but merely connects what precedes with what follows. So not unfrequently, as e. g. in 1 Sam. 2: 21, בִּי פָקַד יְהוָה אֶת־חַנָּנָה, "and Jehovah visited Hannah." Ezra 10: 1, בִּי בָכוּ הָעָם, "and the people wept."†—The verb נִגְזַר, properly *to be cut off*, *to be torn away*, never occurs in the sense of a *peaceful and natural death*, not even in the passages quoted as examples of such a meaning, viz. Ps. 88: 6 and Lament. 3: 54; but it always denotes a *violent, premature death*. This figurative expression seems to be employed here, with reference to the previous figure of a *shoot* or *sprout*, introduced in verse 2.—Paulus, following the example of many of the older interpreters, incorrectly concludes from the word עָמִי in the last member of the verse, that Jehovah here again speaks. But Jehovah is not again introduced as speaking until verse 11. The expression, *for the sins of my people*, is nothing more than, *for our sins*. The speaker does not put himself in opposition to *his people*, but he includes himself with them.—The word לָמִי, a poetic form for לָהֶם, must be referred to the collective noun עָם. The relative אֲשֶׁר is to be supplied before נִגְזַע, thus: "For the sins of my people, to whom punishment," scil. was determined or belonged. Many interpreters understand the suffix in לָמִי as singular, and translate: "For the sins of my people punishment has fallen upon him." Gesenius and Rosenmüller, on the contrary, after the example of Abenezra and Abarbanel, maintain that לָמִי can never be singular. They translate, "For the sins of my people is punishment to *them*," and hence conclude, that the subject of the passage cannot be a single individual, but must be a collective. But Jahn on the other hand very

* Comp. Gesenius Lex. under הִנָּה.

† Comp. Noldii Concordant. Partic. p. 395. No. 6.

aptly remarks:* “The discourse would be too abrupt, if, in what precedes and what follows, the servant of God was addressed in the singular number, and now in this single intermediate sentence there was a sudden change to the plural.” And even admitting that the assertion with respect to *לְמַר* is correct, still no argument can be derived from this clause against the Messianic interpretation; for, as Gesenius himself must concede, no objection could arise against the correctness of the former exposition, according to which *לְמַר* is taken as plural. But the assertion itself is not correct. “Although *מַר* is properly plural, yet it has gradually lost its etymology and its signification, and is used also, though seldom, for the masculine singular. That it has this improper usage cannot be denied. In all probability it is singular in Job 20: 23. 27: 23, where the whole connexion of ten or twenty verses, in which the singular is constantly used, favours this opinion. But the following cases are certain, viz. Isa. 53: 8, where the connexion exhibits the singular only and exclusively; 44: 15, where the plural is not at all adapted to the sense, and the poet himself in the same connexion, v. 17, explains *לְמַר* by *לִי*; Ps. 11: 7, where *his countenance* can refer only to God. Habakkuk, in c. 3: 4, explains the *לְמַר* of Deut. 33: 2 by *לִי*.”† In Ethiopic also, the suffix *מר*, which usually designates the plural, is sometimes used likewise as singular. E. g. Luke 2: 4. John 19: 27. Acts 1: 20.‡ The Seventy translate *לְמַר* by *εἰς θάνατον*, probably because they regarded it as an abbreviation for *לַמּוֹת*. Many interpreters have erroneously followed them.

VERSE 9. *They appointed for him among the wicked his grave; (but he was with a rich man after his death;) although he had done no unrighteous deed and there was no guile in his mouth.* Sense: Not satisfied with his sufferings and his death, they intended to insult him, the innocent and the righteous, even in his death, by interring his corpse among criminals. It is then incidentally remarked, that this design was not accomplished. Christ was interred by Joseph of Arimathea, who is

* “Nimis abruptus esset sermo, si in praeceidentibus et subsequentibus in singulari numero compellaret dei servum, nunc in hac unica intermedia sententia subito verteretur in pluralem.”

† Ewald Grammatik p. 365.

‡ Comp. Ludov. de Dieu *Oratio de convitiis in Judaeos*,—ad calcem *Observat. miscel.* Leovard. 1714. p. 56.

called, as here עָשִׂיר, so in Matt. 27: 57, ἀνθρώπος πλούσιος. This exposition has, after Cappell, been supported by many interpreters, particularly by Pfeiffer,* Dathe,† Jahn, and Van der Palm. According to this, the verb נָתַן is here to be taken in the sense of *determining, appointing*, a signification which it often takes from the context. Comp. e. g. c. 55: 4. Gen. 15: 18, where the verb נָתַן denotes determination and purpose; Jer. 1: 4. Verbs frequently also have an inchoative meaning,‡ as *I give*, equivalent to *I design to give*.§ Indeed Abenezra says, *Textus dicit, Et dedit scil. in cogitatione sua.*|| The form נָתַן either stands as an impersonal verb, *he gave*, for *some one gave*; (comp. Ps. 72: 15. Eccl. 2: 21;) or the subject must be supplied from the foregoing noun עַמִּי, *my people appointed*.—Others supply the word *Jehovah* as the subject, and render נָתַן, *he appointed*, equivalent to *he seemed to give*. *Et dedit sepulchrum ejus cum maleficis (ut videretur fore), at etc.* The sense then would be, One would naturally suppose that he who died as a criminal, would also be buried as a criminal. But this interpretation is encumbered with many difficulties. The אֵת before רָשָׁעִים is not a sign of the accusative, but the preposition *cum, with*. The objection of Rosenmüller, that this particle after the verb נָתַן always serves as a designation of the accusative, has but little weight. For the verb נָתַן in this respect stands on a level with all other active verbs; and that אֵת after them not unfrequently has the sense of *cum*, is evident from examples like Gen. 43: 32. 15: 18. etc.¶ Criminals, רָשָׁעִים, received among the Hebrews a disgraceful burial. So Josephus:** “Let him who blasphemes God be stoned and then hanged for a day, and let him have a disgraceful and ob-

* *Honor divitis Christo cum impiis sepeliendo in morte obtinens, ad Es. 53: 9.* Erl. 1762.

† Ad Glassii *Philologiam Sacram*, T. I. p. 180.

‡ See examples in Iken on the passage in the *Bibl. Hagana*, II. p. 245.—Glassius *Philol. S. III.* Tract. 3. Can. 7, 8.

§ Yet we may with Iken translate: “They prepared for him a grave.” The verb נָתַן often signifies, *facere ut quid sit*. Comp. examples in Iken. l. c. p. 247 sq.

|| והכתוב אמר ויהן על מחשבתי

¶ Comp. Iken on the passage.

** Antiq. IV. 8. 6. Ὁ δὲ βλασφημήσας θεὸν καταλευσθεὶς κρεμάσθω δι’ ἡμέρας, καὶ ἀτίμως καὶ ἀφανῶς θάπτεσθω.

scure burial." Maimonides remarks :* "Those who are condemned to death by a judicial tribunal, are not interred in the sepulchres of their ancestors, but two places of burial are appointed for them by the court, one for those stoned and burned, another for those beheaded and strangled." As now the prophet had said in the preceding verse, that the Messiah would die a violent death like a criminal; so he here adds, that a burial also was appointed for him, or, according to Iken's interpretation, was prepared for him, in common with the executed criminals. "The prophet," says Iken, "being under the influence of the Spirit, sees those to whom this charge was committed, engaged with their utmost efforts in making all necessary preparations, that they might bury the dead body of the Saviour in a disgraceful manner; and what he thus sees, he communicates to his readers by saying: *They prepared his grave with criminals.* How vivid, how perspicuous!"†

The וְ in וְאֵת is adversative—BUT he was *with a rich man in his death*, where *he was* must be supplied. The plural מוֹתֵי is used instead of the singular, as in Ezek. 28: 8, 10. So also in many other words; as in Job 21: 32, *he is borne to the graves, for the grave*. Such a use of the plural for the singular is peculiarly frequent in poetry. Examples are furnished in the grammars of Gesenius and Ewald.‡ Paulus, Gesenius, and Rosenmüller, after the example of Abarbanel and Rabbi Lipmann, would prove from this plural that the subject of this prophecy must be a collective one. But in that case, not the *noun* but the *suffix* ought to be plural. The expression מוֹתֵי means *AFTER his death*. This is demanded by the parallelism with קִבְרוֹ. For the use of אַ in the sense of *after*, see e. g. Isa. 16: 14, "*in three years*," for *after* three years; Lev. 11: 31, "*every one who touches them in their death*," for every

* In Iken l. c. "Interfecti a domo judicii nequaquam sepeliuntur in sepulchris majorum suorum, sed duo sepulchreta a domo judicii ordinata sunt pro iisdem, unum pro lapidatis et combustis, alterum pro decollatis atque strangulatis."

† "Videt propheta, spiritu agitatus, eos, quibus cura haec incumbat omni nisu jam occupatos, ut cuncta pararent, mortuumque servatorem inhoneste sepelirent, et quod videt lectoribus suis enarraturus ait: Parant cum maleficis sepulchrum ejus. Quam vive, quam perspicue!"

‡ Gesen. Lehrgeb. p. 665. Ewald Gramm. p. 326.

one who touches them *after* they are dead.* The objection is thus removed, which has often been urged against our interpretation, that in his death Jesus was with transgressors; in the grave, with a rich man.

The particle עַל here signifies *although*; comp. Job 16: 17, עַל לֹא הָמַס בְּכַפִּי, *quamvis non sit injuria in manibus meis*. So also in Job 10: 7. 34: 6. Jer. 2: 34. It does not refer to the second member, standing in a parenthesis, but to the first. Most interpreters who follow this exposition understand עַל in the sense of *because*, and refer it to the second member of the verse. But to this it may be objected, first, that the second member cannot be appropriate here, except it be taken, like וְאֶת־דִּדְרוֹ מִי יְשׁוּחָהּ in the preceding verse, as a parenthesis, in which the prophet as it were anticipates himself. For this verse belongs to the description of the Messiah's sufferings, which is still continued; and the description of his reward first commences with the following verse. Secondly, it would give a very weak sense to say: "The servant of God is buried with a rich man, *because* he was perfectly righteous."

He had done no unrighteous deed, etc. He had sinned neither in word nor in deed, a poetic enumeration for the purpose of expressing his entire innocence. In accordance with this passage, Peter says, ὅς ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ. 1 Pet. 2: 22.

The arguments which Martini, Rosenmüller, and Gesenius, after the example of Iken,† have brought against this interpretation of the whole verse, so far as they merit attention, we have already refuted in establishing this exposition. Arguments like the following refute themselves; viz. (a) that הָיָה or הָיָהּ ought not to be wanting after עָשִׂיר,‡ though they are in fact omitted in numberless instances; (b) that the expression, *he was with a rich man after his death*, cannot mean so much as *he was interred with a rich man*, notwithstanding prophetic poetry allows infinitely bolder expressions than this, and the clearness of historic prose cannot be demanded of prophecy; (c) that the grave and death are here put in opposition, and clearly distin-

* See many other examples in Noldii *Concordant. Partic.* p. 157. No. 20, and in Rosenmüller on the passage.

† L. c. p. 272 sq.

‡ Comp. on the contrary Glassius III. 3. Can. 56.

guished from each other ; whereas it is the fact rather, that the two stand in a parallelism with each other, and hence there is no reason why we should not understand the true rendering of *בְּמוֹתוֹ* to be, *after his death*, in which case, the Hysteron-proteron urged particularly by Iken, disappears ; (d) finally, that a prophecy so definite is contrary to the analogy of prophecies, as they do not usually have so specific a reference. This has already been sufficiently refuted, by what was brought forward in the general introduction.

Let us now direct our attention to the more recent expositions of this verse.

1. Gesenius, after the example of many others, interprets : "They gave to him his grave with the ungodly, and with a wicked one in his death," scil. they gave to him his grave. According to this interpretation, the word *עֲשִׂיר* must mean *a wicked person*.* Many endeavour to show that it has this sense, by a comparison of the Arabic *عائز*, *stumbling*. But that this word means *sinning*, in the sense assumed, is very doubtful. Castell indeed gives this signification, but he has not succeeded in supporting it by examples. What Rosenmüller alleges, after Martini, does not prove the point. And besides, the sense of *criminality* does not occur in the other derivatives of the verb *عائز*. In addition to this, it is contrary to a fundamental principle with respect to the comparison of dialects, to endeavour, without an urgent necessity, to obtain in this way in a solitary passage, and for a word of so frequent occurrence, a new meaning,—one which is not connected with the others that are certain. Gesenius himself remarks against this comparison : "I have some scruple about applying this word, since it is not otherwise, in point of etymology, at all related to the Hebrew *עֲשִׂיר*." Several interpreters, as Luther, Calvin, and finally Gesenius, would deduce the sense of *ungodly* from the Hebrew usage itself. Now it is certainly true, that the words in Hebrew which denote power and wealth, often have the secondary idea of *haughty arrogance and violence* ; as *vice versa* the words which signify poverty and weakness, stand also for *innocence*. But that the word

* So Rabbi Jona in Salomoh B. Melech on the passage. Also Calvin, as likewise Luther in a marginal gloss : "A rich man, one who gives himself to the pursuit of wealth, i. e. an ungodly man." Lakemacher *Obs. Phil.* VIII. 5. 5.

עָשִׂיר, a rich man, can signify directly an *ungodly man*, thus setting aside entirely its principal idea, has by no means been proved, and is in itself altogether improbable.* In the passage of Job, c. 27: 19, to which an appeal is made, the secondary idea of *haughtiness* and *crime* is indicated with sufficient distinctness by the connexion, and the principal idea of wealth still remains. But here, on the contrary, the principal idea would so completely disappear, that we could not at all translate, a *rich ungodly man*. And besides, the singular עָשִׂיר shows that the word is not to be taken as in a parallelism with the plural רַעֲשִׁים. But if, notwithstanding these difficulties, this interpretation is still adhered to, yet the verse would contain nothing that could militate against the Messianic exposition. We need only translate: *They appointed for him among criminals his grave, and with the ungodly when he was dead.*

2. Martini translates:† “They prepared for him a sepulchre with the wicked, a sepulchral tumulus with the violent, though he had done violence to no man and had been without guile.” According to this, the ב in בְּמוֹתָיו must be regarded as a radical, and not as a servile; and בְּמוֹת *hillock* is equivalent to *tumulus*. Abenezra and Oecolampadius adopted also this interpretation, and it has since received the approbation of Zuingle, Schindler, Drusius, Iken, Lowth, Kuinöl, Ammon, and many others. But the following objections lie against it. (a) That the first Kamets in בְּמָה is impure (as if from a verb בּוֹם) and therefore it can never be changed into Sheva.‡ The form with a suffix is בְּמוֹתֵימוֹ, Deut. 32: 29, and in the construct state, בְּמוֹת יָצַר, Micah 3: 12. (b) But even if we admit here a change of vowels, (for which however there is no sufficient reason,) after the example of three of De Rossi’s manuscripts, still it is an objection to this interpretation, that the noun בְּמוֹת, which occurs also as singular, never has the sense of a sepulchral *tumulus*; and indeed such a meaning would have little analogy with the usual significations of the word. For בְּמוֹת does not mean a *mound* of earth, such as it was usual to throw up over a grave, but a *hill*, an *eminence*.

* Comp. on the contrary, Iken, l. c. p. 267 sq.

† “Pararunt illi sepulchrum cum scelestis, tumulum sepulchralem cum violentis, quanquam ille vim nemini intulerat et a fraude fuerat alienus.”

‡ Gesenius Lehrs. p. 594.

3. Rosenmüller translates: "He left to the ungodly his burial, and to the wicked he committed it, after he was dead." But to this exposition there are many objections. What adaptation has the phrase *he left, he committed*, to the phrase *although he had done no unrighteous deed*? which last evidently demands, that what precedes should have respect to some injury inflicted. How can it be said of a person who is already dead, that he *committed*, entrusted, his burial? How could the heathen, who are (according to Rosenmüller) still speaking in this verse, call themselves רִשְׁעִים? Moreover, the noun קֶבֶר never signifies the *act* of interment, but always the *place*. Finally, the same arguments are valid against this interpretation, which we have adduced against the first one above examined.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

ART. V. ON THE LETTER ATTRIBUTED TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS, RESPECTING THE PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF CHRIST.

By the Editor.

THERE has often been printed a letter attributed to Publius Lentulus, a supposed proconsul or procurator of Judea, directed to the Roman Senate, and professing to give a description of the character, actions, and personal appearance of our Saviour. Every few years, this letter commonly goes the round of our public journals; and as it is usually accompanied with remarks setting forth its great interest and probable antiquity, those who are not further acquainted with the subject, may easily be induced to assign to it a greater authority than the real facts in the case will warrant. It is in this way and for this reason, probably, that it has sometimes been appended to books intended for the religious instruction of the young,—not with any design to present it as having any positive authority, but merely as an interesting relic of antiquity, which might possibly, for aught that was known, be authentic. Indeed, the means of tracing its authenticity are not very accessible in this country. It stands in Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible, where it is pronounced to be spurious; but no testimony is there afforded to

enable the reader to judge for himself on this subject. Nor am I aware of any other book in the English language, which furnishes the materials for doing this. Here, as in many other cases, we are compelled to look to Germany for all the works which afford the means of investigating such points; and since these books are generally the productions of former centuries, and have become rare, they are for the most part accessible among us only in some of our more important public libraries. The principal works necessary for such an investigation are contained in the library of the Theological Seminary in Andover; and having thus the means, I have thought it would not be uninteresting, nor perhaps unprofitable, to lay before the readers of this work the results of my inquiries, in respect to the authenticity of the epistle in question.

The following translation of the epistle is from Calmet's Dictionary, article **LENTULUS**.

"There has a man appeared here, who is still living, named Jesus Christ, whose power is extraordinary. He has the title given to him of the Great Prophet; his disciples call him the Son of God. He raises the dead, and heals all sorts of diseases. He is a tall, well proportioned man; there is an air of serenity in his countenance, which attracts at once the love and reverence of those who see him. His hair is of the colour of new wine from the roots to his ears, and from thence to the shoulders it is curled, and falls down to the lowest part of them. Upon the forehead it parts in two, after the manner of the Nazarenes. His forehead is flat and fair, his face without any defect, and adorned with a very graceful vermilion; his air is majestic and agreeable. His nose and his mouth are very well proportioned, and his beard is thick and forked, of the colour of his hair; his eyes are grey and extremely lively; in his reproofs he is terrible, but in his exhortations and instructions amiable and courteous; there is something wonderfully charming in his face, with a mixture of gravity. He is never seen to laugh, but he has been observed to weep. He is very straight in stature; his hands are large and spreading, and his arms very beautiful. He talks little, but with great gravity, and is the handsomest man in the world."

Whatever now may be the view which we have been accustomed to entertain, respecting the personal appearance of the Saviour while he was on earth; and however much the soul,

when once awakened to a sense of its sins, and rejoicing in the pardon of those sins and in the salvation purchased for it by the great atoning Sacrifice, may be disposed in imagination to deck that Saviour, while here below, with all those corporeal graces which are described as belonging to him in his state of exaltation ; still, to the intelligent reader, who peruses the preceding description without prejudice, it cannot appear otherwise than *legendary*, and therefore of suspicious authenticity. The whole tenor of the scriptural representations of the Messiah, so far as they make any allusion whatever to his person while in a state of humiliation, goes to discredit the description here given. The Redeemer of the world was to be “despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, as one from whom we turn away our faces in disgust ;” (Is. 53: 3 ;) he “made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant ;” (Phil. 2: 7 ;) he had not where to lay his head ; he was every where exposed to the scoffs and taunts and ill usage of his enemies ; and, so far as we know, was either wholly neglected by the Roman magistrates, or, at most, was subjected to their condemnatory sentence. All this indeed *proves* nothing ; but still the impression naturally derived from it is, that there was nothing in the mere corporeal appearance of Jesus, which distinguished him from other teachers, or even from the many false Messiahs with whom the Roman governors had to deal. Hence, when a Roman magistrate, a heathen, is represented as coming forward and describing Jesus to the Roman Senate as “the handsomest man in the world,” we are surely justified in asking, How can these things be?

On this point, however, it is not necessary to dilate here, as we shall naturally be led to recur to it hereafter. The general plan of this discussion will be, to give, first, the literary history of the letter in question ; then to exhibit the original Latin, with the more important variations and various readings ; and afterwards present several considerations, which may aid in determining the true character of the epistle.

The first time that the epistle appeared in print, was in an edition of the works of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, who died A. D. 1109. The book is in quarto, without date and without the name of the place where it was printed ; but, judging from the form and appearance of the type, it would seem to have been executed at Paris, about the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century. This edition contains two books *de Imagi-*

ne Mundi, which were not written by Anselm, but by Honorius of Autun ; and which are therefore not contained in the standard edition of Anselm's Works by Gerberon, (Paris 1675,) but are given in the editions of the works of Honorius. To these are subjoined, in the edition above described, two short tracts, one of which is inscribed, *Invocatio matris virginis Mariae simul et filii ejus* ; and the second, *Ex gestis Anselmi colliguntur forma et mores beatae Mariae et ejus unici filii Jesu*. In this last tract, we find a description of the person of Jesus, interwoven with the praises of his mother, and agreeing word for word with the letter of Lentulus, except a slight variation at the beginning ; but it is not given as a separate piece, *nor under the name of Lentulus*. It is important here to note the phrase *ex gestis Anselmi colliguntur*, in the inscription. These tracts also are not found in the edition of the genuine works of Anselm by Gerberon.

The next edition of the epistle is in that great work, the Ecclesiastical History of the *Centuriatores Magdeburgenses*, Basil. 1559. fol. It is there printed at the end of the history of the first century (p. 344), without note or comment, as a sort of document, among other similar ones, such as the Acts of Pilate, and the noted extract from Nicephorus, which will be cited below. It is also retained in the subsequent editions of that work by Lucius and Semler, Basil. 1624. fol. and Norimb. 1757. 4to.—From the *Centur. Magd.* it appears also to have been copied by Michael Neander in his *Apocrypha*, appended to his Greek version of Luther's Catechism, Basil. 1567. p. 410 sq.

A text differing in some respects from that of the *Cent. Magd.* is given by J. Jac. Grynaeus, in his *Monumenta S. Patrum orthodoxographa*, Basil. 1569. fol. The source from which he copied is unknown ; but the text appears to be one of the most correct extant.

In the course of the 16th century, the Jesuit Hieronymus Xavier composed a History of Christ in the Portuguese language ; which was translated into Persian by a certain Abdol Senarin Kazem, in aid of the Catholic missions. This history was filled with many fabulous accounts, and contained, among other things, the epistle of Lentulus now under consideration. A manuscript copy of the work in Persian having come into the possession of Golius, he put it into the hands of De Dieu, who determined to publish a Latin version of it, with notes, in order to show to the world the kind of Christianity, which was propagated among the heathen by the emissaries of the Romish

church. It was accordingly printed at Leyden in 1639, under the title given in the note below.*—This translation of De Dieu is inserted by Fabricius in his *Codex Apocr. Nov. Test.* T. I. p. 301. From this version, too, the English translation above given was made, which therefore differs slightly from what it would have been, if made from the Latin text hereafter exhibited; as will be obvious to those who compare the two.

In 1672, J. Reiske of Jena published his work entitled *Exercitationes historicae de imaginibus J. Christi*, in quarto, which was reprinted in 1682. In this work he gives two different copies of the epistle of Lentulus; one taken from the *Orthodoxographa* of Grynaeus; and the other, from the Jena manuscript which is described in the next paragraph. Buxtorf, the grandson, has also inserted this epistle in his *Catalecta philologico-theologica*, Basil. 1707, 8vo. p. 242.

John Christopher Mylius, librarian of the university of Jena, published in 1746, in the *Memorabilia Bibliothecae Academiae Jenensis*, a copy of the epistle under consideration, taken from a manuscript in the university library, and accompanied by a description of the manuscript itself. This manuscript was written on paper of a reddish colour, with golden letters, and appended to a valuable parchment manuscript containing several *evangelia festalia*, and ornamented with elegant pictures by Lucas Cranach. There was also a likeness of Christ, corresponding to the description of Lentulus; but this was bound in, like the other leaves, and covered with a plate of glass. It was said to have been formerly given by Pope Leo X to Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony. This manuscript is said by Fabricius to have been written in the beginning of the 16th century, the time when Lucas Cranach lived. About seventy or eighty years ago, and since the publication of Mylius, this copy of the epistle was taken from the parchment manuscript to which it was appended, and is lost. It is referred to below as *Ms. Jen. 1.*—Another manuscript of the same epistle, and apparently of about the same age, is still extant in the library of Jena; which also is quoted below as *Ms. Jen. 2.*

In 1777, John Benedict Carpzov, Professor of Theology

* *Historia Christi, Persice conscripta simulque multis modis contaminata a Hieronimo Xavier, Latine reddita et animadversionibus notata a Ludovico de Dieu, Lugd. Bat. 1639. 4to.* The epistle is printed in Persian and Latin. See J. G. Walchii *Biblioth. Theologiae selecta*, Vol. III. p. 405.

at Helmstadt, gave a reprint of the letter from the text of Grynaeus, in a Programm with the following title : "De oris et corporis Jesu Christi forma Pseudo-Lentuli, Johannis Damasceni ac Nicephori prosopographiae, obiter Neo-Zopyrorum Christi icones, inducuntur. Helmst. 1777. 4to."

The next occasion for an edition of the epistle, was the circumstance, that about the year 1817 public attention was again drawn to it, by a report that an important document had been discovered in a manuscript in the library of the Vatican, viz. an epistle from the governor of Judea to the Roman Senate, not only making mention of Christ, but also describing his person ; and "which, in the silence of the Roman historians Tacitus and Suetonius, was of double interest." It was thus brought forward as something new and hitherto entirely unknown ; although Fabricius had mentioned, a century before, the existence of such a manuscript in the Vatican library. It was published as a novelty in the British Monitor about that time, in the original Latin, and thence copied into the *Weimar Oppositionsblatt* for 1818, No. 253.

To counteract any impression which might thus be made in Germany, in favour of the importance or authenticity of the epistle, Prof. Gabler of Jena published in 1819 a Programm with the following title : "In ἀνθεκτῖα epistolae Publii Lentuli ad Senatum Romanum de Jesu Christi scriptae denuo inquit J. Phil. Gabler, Jenae 1819. 4to." In this work he gives the text of Grynaeus with various readings, and also the Latin version of De Dieu made from the Persian of Xavier, together with a very full discussion of the arguments against the genuineness of the epistle, which he very decidedly pronounces to be spurious. The pamphlet presents a great body of facts, but all thrown together without order or method, and with very many repetitions. —To this work and to that of Fabricius, the Editor has been principally indebted in the composition of the present article.

Besides these printed editions, and the manuscripts at Rome and Jena already mentioned, Fabricius states* that other manuscripts of the epistle exist in various libraries in England, France, Italy, and Germany ; in the two latter countries, at Padua and Augsburg, in addition to Rome and Jena.

Thus it appears that there are three distinct printed texts of the epistle, the sources of which are not known, viz. the edition

* Codex Apoc. N. T. I. p. 302.

of *Anselm*, of the *Cent. Magd.* and of the *Orthodoxographa* of Grynæus. There are also three other distinct texts now existing in manuscripts, or printed from them, viz. that of *Ms. Jen.* 1, that of *Ms. Jen.* 2, and that of the *Ms. Vaticanus*.

The Latin text which follows, is that of Grynæus; and underneath it are arranged the principal various readings, from all the other texts above mentioned. It may be thought that these variations are here given with unnecessary minuteness; but since this is a case where an important part of the argument for or against the authenticity of the piece, must be drawn from internal evidence, it is essential to a complete investigation, that all this evidence should be exhibited. Still, many slighter variations, which are merely verbal, are here omitted.

LENTULUS HIEROSOLYMITANORUM PRAESES,

S. P. Q. ROMANO S.¹

Apparuit temporibus nostris et adhuc est homo magnae virtutis, nominatus Christus Jesus, qui dicitur a gentibus propheta

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¹ In the inscription and in the first words of the epistle, there is a very great dissimilarity in the various texts, which it is important to exhibit.

Ms. Jen. 1 reads thus: "Temporibus *Octaviani* Caesaris, *Publius* Lentulus, Proconsul in partibus Iudaeae et Herodis regis, senatoribus Romanis hanc epistolam scripsisse fertur, quae postea ab Eutropio reperta est in annalibus Romanorum."

Ms. Jen. 2 has this preface: "Epistola reperta in annalibus urbis Romanorum, quae missa fuit Senatui per *quendam* Lentulum, qui tunc offic. IV. imperator Romani populi, in Iudaeae partibus morabatur, quam super conditionibus Christi scripsit. Cum moris erat, quas ex universis mundi partibus compererat et provinciis Senatui scribere novitates occurrentes."

Ms. Vatic. prefixes these words: "*Quidam* Lentulus Romanus, dum esset Officialis in provincia Iudaeae pro Romanis tempore *Tiberii* Imperatoris, et Christum videret ejusque magnalia opera, praedicationes, infinita miracula, et alia stupenda de ipso notaret, scripsit Senatoribus Romanis sic."

The *Centur. Magdeb.* have this inscription: "Lentuli epistola ad Imperatorem Tiberium, quae apud Eutropium in annalibus Senatorum Romanorum extat." This differs from all the copies in making the letter to be addressed to the emperor, and not to the senate.

Lastly, the *Ed. Anselm.* connects this as a description to a simi-

veritatis, quem ejus discipuli vocant filium Dei, suscitans mortuos et sanans languores.² Homo quidem staturae procerae,³ spectabilis, vultum habens venerabilem, quem intuentes possunt et diligere et formidare: capillos⁴ vero circinos et crispis aliquantum caeruleiores et fulgentiores, ab humeris volitantes,⁵ discrimen habens in medio capitis juxta morem Nazarenorum:⁶ frontem planam et serenissimam, cum facie sine ruga [ac] macula aliqua, quam rubor moderatus venustat. Nasi et oris nulla prorsus est reprehensio, barbam habens⁷ copiosam et rubram,⁸ capillorum colore, non longam, sed bifurcatam,⁹ oculis variis¹⁰

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lar one of the Virgin Mary: "Sed filius ejus unigenitus erat homo magna virtutis, nominatus Jesus Christus, qui a gentibus dicebatur propheta veritatis, quem ejus discipuli vocaverunt filium Dei. Suscitavit mortuos, et sanavit omnes languores, homo quidem statura procerus, mediocris, et spectabilis. Vultum habuit venerabilem, etc." In other respects this copy accords literally with the others.

² *Ms. Jen. 1, Cent. Magd. and Ed. Anselm.* read 'omnes languores.' *Ms. Vatic.* has 'languentes.'

³ So also *Centur. Magdeb.* But *Ms. Jen. 1* and *2*, also *Ms. Vatic.* and *Ed. Ans.* read 'statura procerus, mediocris, spectabilis.'

⁴ *Ms. Jen. 1* differs widely here: 'Capillos habens coloris nucis avellanae prematurae et planos usque ad aures, ab auribus vero circinos, crispis etc.' With this manuscript reading agree also *Ms. Jen. 2* and *Ms. Vatic.* as also the *Cent. Magd.* and *Ed. Anselm.*—The text of the *Centur. Magd.* differs only through a typographical error; by which *cunctanos* is put for *circinos*, and *subgemiores* for *fulgentiores*.

⁵ All the other copies read 'ventilantes,' not *volitantes*.

⁶ For the reading *Nazarenorum*, in which all the three manuscripts agree with the text of the *Orthodoxographia* above given, the editions of the *Centur. Magd.* and the *Ed. Anselm.* read 'Nazaraeorum.'

⁷ *Ms. Vatic.* reads 'habet,' and *Ed. Anselm* reads 'habuit.'

⁸ All the other copies read 'impuerem,' not *rubram*.

⁹ All the other copies insert after *bifurcatam* these words: 'Aspectum habet simplicem et maturum.'

¹⁰ *Ms. Jen. 1* and *2* and *Ed. Anselm.* before *variis*, insert the word 'glaucis.' The *Centur. Magd.* read only 'oculis claris existentibus;' and *Ms. Vatic.* instead of 'oculis variis,' reads 'oculis honestis.'

et claris existentibus.¹¹ In increpatione terribilis, in admonitione placidus et amabilis, hilaris servata gravitate, qui nunquam visus est ridere, flere autem saepe.¹² Sic in statura corporis propagatus,¹³ manus habens et membra¹⁴ visu delectabilia, in eloquio¹⁵ gravis, rarus, et modestus, speciosus inter filios hominum. Valete.¹⁶

We come now to the investigation of the question, Is the preceding epistle authentic? Is it truly, as it purports to be, the production of a Roman magistrate in Jerusalem during the ministry of our Saviour; or is it the spurious fabrication of some later age?

It must be admitted, in the first place, that the only evidence *in favour* of its authenticity, consists in its own declarations, and in the simple fact of its existence. The former of these we shall consider more fully hereafter. The mere fact that it exists, without the support of any other external evidence whatever, cannot be of much weight in this case, even if there were no opposing evidence; since, of the six different copies or texts, two at least (the Jena manuscripts) are con-

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¹¹ After the word *existentibus*, the *Ms. Jen. 1* alone inserts the words: ‘Nasi et oris nulla prorsus est reprehensio, quem rubor moderatus venustat.’ But all the other copies, viz. *Ms. Vatic. et Jen. 2, Cent. Magd. and Ed. Anselm.* agree with the text above given, in placing these words in an inverted order immediately after the words ‘macula aliqua.’

¹² The word *saepe* is found only in the three printed editions; but not in either of the manuscripts.

¹³ All the other copies add here, ‘*et rectus.*’ *Ms. Jen. 2*, apparently by a slip of the pen, reads *rectas*, which would refer it to *manus*.

¹⁴ All the other copies read ‘*brachia,*’ instead of *membra*.

¹⁵ All the other copies read more correctly ‘*colloquio,*’ instead of *eloquio*.

¹⁶ The word *Valete* is wanting in all the other copies.—The *Ms. Jen. 2*, appends here a singular clause, which has yet proved unintelligible to all critics: “Explicit epistola de Columpna anno Domini MCCCCXXI reperta in annalibus Romae, in libro antiquissimo in Capitolio doctissimo Domino Patriarchae Constantinopolitano.”—

fessedly not older than the fourteenth century; and the third, in the *Ed. Anselm.* does not even represent the piece in question to be an epistle, nor ascribe it to Lentulus, but to Anselm, who died in the beginning of the twelfth century. As to the other three copies, (viz. the Vatican manuscript and the editions of the *Centur. Magd.* and of Grynæus, which latter were taken from manuscripts of which we have no account,) it is of course impossible to determine the antiquity of the sources from which they were derived. There is certainly no evidence extant that they were ancient; this is not even affirmed of them; while, on the other hand, the sources of the other three texts, which are of equal value, and, for aught that is affirmed, of equal antiquity, are confessedly modern. It may therefore safely be said, that the balance of probability would, in the absence of all other evidence, be in favour of the modern origin of the sources of all these different copies. There remains therefore no claim, nor positive evidence, in favour of its authenticity, except its own declarations.

We turn now to the arguments which may be adduced *against* the authenticity of the professed epistle of Lentulus. These may be best arranged under several distinct heads.

I. The first peculiarity which strikes us, and which may justly awaken a strong suspicion against the authenticity of the epistle, is the very great diversity, and even direct contradiction, manifest in the *inscriptions* of the different copies; and this in several particulars.

1. The *Ms. Jen.* 1 reads: "*Temporibus Octaviani Caesaris Publius Lentulus, Proconsul in partibus Judææ et Herodis, Senatoribus Romanis hanc epistolam scripsit, quæ postea ab Eutropio in annalibus Romanorum reperta est.*" This title is, of course, in direct contradiction with the known facts of history as narrated in Luke 3: 1; from which it appears that Jesus entered on his ministry under the reign of *Tiberius*, and not of *Octavius* Caesar; and also while *Pilate* was *procurator* (not *proconsul*) of Judea. As therefore Pilate held this office when Jesus began his public ministry, and was also the magistrate who delivered him over to be crucified, it follows, that Lentulus could not at that time have sustained the office of procurator or governor of Judea. He must then, if *proconsul*, have been *proconsul* of *Syria* and not of Judea; but whether he actually sustained this office, we shall inquire hereafter.—The text of Grynæus, on the other hand, has the

inscription : "Lentulus Hierosolytanorum Praeses, etc." as if he was the prefect or governor of Jerusalem alone, an office of which there is no trace in history ; while, on the contrary, the whole tenor of the history in the New Testament implies, that Pilate was at that time governor, not only of the city, but of the whole province of Judea.—The Vatican manuscript again reads : "*Quidam* Lentulus Romanus, dum esset *officialis* in provincia Judaeae pro Romanis in tempore *Tiberii* imperatoris." This is so far more correct than the title in the *Ms. Jen.* 2, as it refers the letter to the times of Tiberius. The appellation *officialis* is here apparently not used in its proper Latin sense ; for the writer does not mean to say, that Lentulus was simply a *servant* of the magistrates, *apparitor* ; but rather in the ecclesiastical sense, where it signifies *judex episcopalis* ; and it is here applied in this later Latin sense to Lentulus, as being the Roman judge in the province of Judea. So much for the discrepancies relative to the *office* of Lentulus.

2. A second, and not less important discrepancy, exists in regard to the *persons* to whom the epistle is said to be *addressed*. All the copies describe it as directed to the Roman *senate*, except that of the *Centur. Magd.* which represents it as addressed to the *emperor* Tiberius. The latter only can be the correct reading ; for, after Augustus had made a new division of the provinces, leaving to the senate and people those which were peaceable and less exposed, and reserving to himself the more hostile and powerful, the persons sent to govern the latter, among which was Syria including Judea, made their reports directly to the emperor, and not to the senate.—The general arrangement of the provinces was to this effect. The provinces of the senate and people, (*provinciae senatoriae et populares*,) were governed by magistrates called *proconsuls* appointed by the senate ; those of the emperor, (*provinciae imperitoriae vel Caesarum*,) by persons delegated by the emperor and called *Legati Caesaris pro consule*, *Consulares Legati*, etc. They were usually selected from among the senators ; they had much greater powers than the proconsuls of the senatorial provinces ; and continued in command during the pleasure of the emperor. In each province, besides the governor, there was an officer called *Procurator Caesaris*, who managed the affairs of the revenue, and had also a judicial power in matters that concerned the revenue. These procurators were chosen from among the *equites*, and sometimes from among

freedmen ; and were sent not only into the provinces of the emperor, but also into those of the senate and people. Sometimes, moreover, a procurator discharged the office of a governor, (vice praesidis fungebatur,) especially in a small province, or in a part of a large province where the governor could not be present ; as Pilate did, who was *procurator* or *praepositus* of Judea, which was annexed to the province of Syria.* Hence he had the power of punishing capitally ; which the *procuratores* did not usually possess.†

3. Finally, a third and equally material discrepancy occurs between the *Centur. Magdeb.* and *Ms. Jen.* 1, on the one side, and all the other copies on the other, in respect to the mention of *Eutropius*, which is found only in the two former. These again are at wide variance between themselves ; the *Ms. Jen.* 1 affirming that the epistle “postea ab Eutropio reperta est in annalibus Romanorum ;” while the *Cent. Magd.* read, “quae apud Eutropium in annalibus Senatorum Romanorum extat.” According to one inscription therefore Eutropius *discovered* this epistle in the Roman annals ; while, according to the other, he received it into his own annals of the Roman senate, where it is still extant.

The question which presents itself here is, Who then is this Eutropius to whom we are thus indebted for the preservation, or at least for the discovery of this epistle ? In reply to this question, the most natural course is to inquire, Whether it can be the Roman historian of that name, the author of the *Breviarium Historiae Romanae* ? as has been supposed by some. This writer flourished under the reigns of Julian the apostate and Valens, (i. e. about A. D. 350—375,) to the latter of whom his work is dedicated. There is therefore nothing in the nature of the case itself, which would render such a supposition improbable. But, in the first place, the only work of Eutropius is entitled *Breviarium*, and not *Annales* ; and it is, what its name imports, an *epitome* of the Roman history. Nor is there any where a hint, that he ever composed any other work, especially *Annals* of the Roman senate. And, further, the work of Eutropius, as it has come down to us, does not contain the epistle of

* Tacit. Annal. XII. 23. Sueton. Vesp. 4.

† See on this whole subject, Adam's Rom. Antiq. Phil. 1807. p. 165 sq. Fischer Prolus. de Vitiis Lex. N. T. p. 17 sq. Jahn Bib. Arch. § 241. Ernesti Excursus ad Suetonii Vit. Augusti c. XLVII.

Lentulus, nor any allusion to it. To those acquainted with these matters, it is known, that the editions of Eutropius may be arranged in three classes; viz. the *very corrupt*, from manuscripts which Paul Warnefrid or the Deacon had interpolated with large extracts from the works of Paul Orosius and other like writers; the *less corrupt*, in which these interpolations were printed separately; and the *corrected* or *genuine*, first by Schonhov, Basil. 1646, then by Vinetus, Petav. 1653, and subsequently by Sylburgius and others, with the aid chiefly of the Greek *metaphrase* of Paeanius, and of the more correct manuscripts of Bourdeaux and Fulda.* But none of all these editions, whether genuine or corrupt, exhibits the least trace of the epistle or person of Lentulus, either in the accounts of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, or any where else. Nor does Paul Orosius himself, who is mentioned above, and who flourished in the fifth century, make any mention of Lentulus or his letter; although in his History, he speaks of the pretended epistles of Pilate to Tiberius respecting Christ.† On these grounds, therefore, it would seem that the reference in the above inscription cannot be applied to the historian Eutropius.

The attempt has several times been made, to fix upon some other Eutropius, to whom the discovery of the epistle may be referred. There have been several writers of this name; but no one among them has yet been found, with whose history the circumstances of the case entirely accord. There was an Eutropius, a presbyter, in the fifth century, a disciple of Augustin, and who wrote epistles to "two sisters, handmaids of Christ."‡ He has, by some learned men, been supposed to be the same with the author of the *Breviarium*; but as the latter was evidently a heathen, and dedicates his book to the emperor Valens, who died A. D. 378, when Augustin was only twenty three years of age, there can be little hazard in pronouncing the supposition to be without foundation. Another Eutropius was bishop of Valentia in the sixth century, and wrote two epistles, one *de unctione Chrismatis*, the other *de distinctione Monachorum*.§

* For the *Notitia Literaria* of Eutropius, see the preface to the edition of Verheek, Lugd. Bat. 1762. 8vo.

† See Fabricius Cod. Apoc. N. T. I. p. 298.

‡ Gennadius de Viris illustribus, c. XLIX.

§ Honorius Augustodun. de Scriptoribus ecclesiasticis, lib III. c. 38. Isidorus Hispalensis de Script. eccles. c. 32.

In the preface to the pretended apostolical history of Abdias, falsely attributed to Julius Africanus, mention is made of an Eutropius,* a disciple of Abdias; but this person, as well as the history itself, is justly pronounced by Fabricius and all other critics to be fictitious. The history is full of trivial fables; and contains no allusion to the epistle of Lentulus.†—Indeed, neither of these, nor any other Eutropius mentioned in history, wrote *annals* of the Roman Senate, as is affirmed by the inscription; and it may be remarked in passing, that there is no earlier Christian writer, who asserts, that such a letter ever was discovered by Eutropius or any other person, or received into any historical work.

Thus much for the *inconsistencies* in the inscription of the epistle before us; and whatever may be the character of the letter itself, we are surely warranted to conclude, that the inscription cannot be genuine, and that it was probably prefixed, in its various forms, at a late period, by persons who had no certain knowledge of the character and critical value of the epistle.

II. But we have not yet done with the inscription. We are now prepared to advance another step, and show that there never existed, at or near the period specified, either a proconsul of Syria, or a procurator of Judea, (and of course no governor of Jerusalem,) by the name of Lentulus; and further, that there was at that time, so far as history affords any traces, no public or private individual of that name, to whom such an epistle could be referred, with the least show of probability.

It will be perceived that the different copies of the inscription vary as to the first name of Lentulus; the *Ms. Jen.* 1 alone reading *Publius* Lentulus; while the *Cent. Magd.* and *Orthodoxographa* read *Lentulus* only; and the *Ms. Vatic.* and *Ms. Jen.* 2, *quidam* Lentulus. This, however, is of little importance, in itself; and has the less weight here, because the point to be established embraces *all* individuals, who may have borne the name of Lentulus.

In conducting this inquiry, it would be in all respects sufficient and satisfactory, to confine it to the comparatively short period of our Lord's ministry, from his baptism to his crucifixion; since it was during this period that the epistle purports to have

* Fabricius, Codex apoc. N. T. I. p. 391.

† Ibid. p. 388 sq.

been written. We know from the New Testament and other sources, that Pilate was governor of Judea and Jerusalem during the whole of this interval; as also for some years before and after. But in order to cover the whole ground, and remove all possible occasion for doubt, we will take a period of *sixty* years, commencing with the *seventh* year of the Christian era, (when according to most chronologers Jesus must have been eleven years of age,) and embracing nearly thirty years after his death.

The *Legati Caesaris, Praesides*, or *Proconsules*, to whom the government of Syria, including Judea, was entrusted by the emperors, after the departure of Caius Sentius Saturninus and Quinctilius Varus, the latter of whom was recalled A. D. 7, may be arranged in the following order.*

- I. Silanus QUIRINUS, or as he is sometimes called, P. Sulpicius QUIRINUS, the CYRENIUS of Luke, A. D. 7—11.†
- II. Quintus Caecilius SILANUS Creticus, A. D. 12—17.
- III. Cneius [Calpurnius] PISO, A. D. 17. He was appointed to supersede Silanus Creticus, in order to counteract the popularity of Germanicus in the east; Silanus being a relative of the latter.
- IV. Cneius Sentius SATURNINUS a second time as *Prolegatus*, after Germanicus had been poisoned, A. D. 19—22.
- V. Pomponius FLACCUS, appointed because he had held out a carouse of two days with Tiberius, A. D. 22—34, when he died.

* Jos. Ant. XVII. 5. 2. In both the following lists, the chronological dates are given from the work of Gabler above mentioned, p. 372. They rest on the authority of Antonius Pagi, who has investigated the subject with great accuracy, in his *Critica in Baronii Annales ecclesiasticos*, T. I. p. 32 sq. ed. Colon. Allobr. With him agrees Isaac Casaubon in his *Exercitationes ad Baronii Ann. eccles.* All the persons in both lists are mentioned by Josephus also, except the Syrian proconsuls Piso and Flaccus, for whom the reader may consult Tacit. Ann. II. 43. Sueton. in Theb. 42. The return of Saturninus as *pro-legate* is not mentioned by Josephus.

† Jos. Ant. XVIII. 1. 1. The following are the passages where the *first* mention of the several proconsuls occurs in Josephus, viz. Silanus, XVIII. 2. 5. Vitellius, XVIII. 4. 2. Petronius, XVIII. 8. 2. Marsus, XIX. 6. 4. Longinus, XX. 1. 1. Ummidius, XX. 6. 2. Compare the preceding note; and also Joseph. Bel. Jud. II.

- VI. VITELLIUS, A. D. 35—39.
- VII. Publius PETRONIUS, A. D. 39—42.
- VIII. Vibius MARSUS, A. D. 42—45.
- IX. C. Cassius LONGINUS, A. D. 45, for a short time.
- X. T. UMMIDIUS [Vinidius] Quadratus, A. D. 45—60.

The *Procuratores* or governors of Judea,—which as a province was connected with Syria, and was therefore in general under the power of the *Legati* of Syria, but whose governors nevertheless were appointed by the emperor and made their reports directly to him,—begin with Coponius, who was sent out at the same time with Quirinus.* They may be ranged as follows.

- I. COPONIUS, A. D. 6—9.
- II. Marcus AMBIVIUS, A. D. 9—12.
- III. Annius RUFUS, A. D. 12—15.—These three were appointed by Augustus; the two following by Tiberius.
- IV. Valerius GRATUS, A. D. 15—26.
- V. Pontius PILATUS, A. D. 26—36.
- VI. MARCELLUS, sent by Vitellius, the governor of Syria, in place of Pilate, A. D. 36—37.
- VII. MARULLUS, sent by Caligula, A. D. 37—40.
- VIII. Publius PETRONIUS, who was at the same time governor of Syria, managed the affairs of the Jews himself, A. D. 40—42. Under his successor Marsus also, there seems to have been no distinct procurator of Judea for two or three years.
- IX. Cuspius FADUS, sent by Claudius, A. D. 45—46.
- X. Tiberius ALEXANDER, A. D. 47—49.
- XI. Ventidius CUMANUS, A. D. 49—51.
- XII. A. Claudius FELIX, A. D. 51—58.
- XIII. Portius FESTUS, under Nero, A. D. 58—62.
- XIV. ALBINUS, A. D. 62—64.
- XV. Gessius FLORUS, the last procurator of Judea, A. D. 65.

* Jos. Ant. XVIII. 1. 1. The places in Josephus where the *first* mention of the several procurators occurs, are the following, viz. Ambivius, Rufus, Gratus, Pilate, XVIII. 2. 2. Marcellus, XVIII. 4. 2. Marullus, XVIII. 7. 11. Fadus, XIX. 9. 2. Alexander, Cumanus, XX. 5. 2. Felix, XX. 7. 1. Festus, XX. 8. 9. Albinus, XX. 9. 1. Florus, XX. 11. 1.

The preceding lists contain the names of *all* the governors of Syria and Judea, of whom there are any traces in history, during this period, but that of Lentulus is not among them. There is in this case not only no reason for supposing that history has passed over any one in silence, but, on the contrary, there is every reason for believing that all are enumerated; because not only is the succession complete and the interval of time filled out, but also Josephus, who was writing the history of his own country and partly of his own times, and who mentions particularly all the procurators above named, cannot be supposed, had other individuals held the same office, to have passed them over without any notice whatever. The main fact however is absolutely certain, viz. that during the whole time of our Lord's ministry, the very period when the epistle purports to have been written by Lentulus, governor of Jerusalem and Judea, that office was held by Pilate, as also during several previous and subsequent years.

It may however be said, that all this does not prove but that there might still have been a Lentulus, a Roman, in some public station or military office at Jerusalem, who might have been the author of the letter. But even granting this, it is a departure from the tenor of the inscription, which represents him as president or judge of Jerusalem and Judea, and makes him send this letter as a report to the emperor or senate; which did not fall within the duty of an inferior officer. But this point also we will examine more closely, and see if among all the *Lentuli* of whom history has preserved traces, there is any one to whom such a supposition can be applied.

The seventeen *Lentuli*, of whom Ernesti in his *Clavis* has collected notices from the works of Cicero, must here all be left out of the question; for as Cicero died B. C. 43, an interval of at least seventy years had already elapsed between that event and the entrance of Jesus upon his ministry. Glandorp also has collected, out of the Roman history, notices of not less than *forty-three* individuals who bore the name of Lentulus;* but of all these there are only *four*, who belong to the reign of Tiberius. Among these four there is only one, to whom such an epistle could with any shadow of probability be ascribed, viz. Cneius Lentulus Gaetulicus, to whom indeed some have ventured to as-

* *Onomasticum Historiae Romanae*, Francof. 1589, fol. p. 226 sq.

sign it.* He was consul under Tiberius, together with C. Calvisius, A. U. C. 779, or A. D. 26;† and in A. U. C. 787, or A. D. 34, he had command of the legions in upper Germany, whose affections he won in a very high degree;‡ but having afterwards joined in a conspiracy against Caligula, he was detected and put to death.§ This Cneius Lentulus Gaetulicus was a writer of history, and also of sportive verses (*carmina lura*).||—But all this does not advance a single step towards making him the author of the epistle in question. In order for this, he must have lived in Jerusalem, and had an opportunity of observing the person and character of Christ, and have written this letter to the emperor or senate, between A. D. 26, when he was consul, and A. D. 34, when he was in upper Germany,—a supposition in support of which there is not a particle of evidence.—It should be further remarked, that his name was not *Publius*, but *Cneius*, with the surname *Gaetulicus*; an appellation which would in all probability not have been omitted in an official letter, as this purports to be.

The considerations thus far adduced would seem to be decisive, so far as to shew that no credit whatever can be attached to the inscription of the epistle. But there still remains the question, whether, after all, the body of the epistle may not be of ancient date; and whether, although not proceeding from the public functionary to whom it is attributed, it may not, nevertheless, have been written at that time, and exhibit a true statement of facts. The considerations which we have yet to urge, will bear upon this point.

III. As we have thus far been dealing with historical matters, we will also begin here with the historical argument against the antiquity and authority of the epistle itself. This argument lies in the compass of a nut-shell; and consists simply in the entire silence of all writers, as to the existence of such an epistle, before the fifteenth century. Not a hint or an allusion of any kind, which could in any way imply its existence, is found in

* “Lentulum—fuisse dicunt alii historicum non incelebrem cognomento Gaetulicum, eumque vixisse Tiberio imperante.” Grynaeus Praef. ad Orthodoxogr.

† Tacit. Annal. IV. 46.

‡ Tacit. Annal. VI. 30.

§ Sueton. Vita Claudii. c. 9.

|| Sueton. Vita Caligulae c. 8. Plinii Epist. V. 3.

Christian writers, nor in those of Greece and Rome, in all these earlier ages ; although other supposititious epistles, as those of Pilate to Tiberius, and of Abgar to Jesus with the replies of the latter, are mentioned and referred to by Justin, Tertullian, Hegesippus, and Eusebius ; and although this epistle, if then in existence, might have been appealed to with advantage by Christian writers, such as Tertullian, Origen, Minutius Felix, and Lactantius, in their controversies with the heathen. Eusebius and Augustin, moreover, openly confess and lament their entire ignorance respecting the form and appearance of Christ ; but how could they do this, if this epistle had been known to them ? The writers of the middle ages too are equally silent ; as Curo-palates, Theophanes, Cedrenus, and Georgius Syncellus, among the Greeks ; and Lambertus Schaffnaburgensis, Marianus Scotus, and Walafrid Strabo, among the Latins. Even Nicephorus Callisti, surnamed Xanthopulus, the Greek ecclesiastical historian who flourished in the fourteenth century, makes no allusion whatever to the *prosopographia* of Jesus contained in this epistle ; although he himself gives a description of Christ not very unlike to it, which, he says, “ has come down from the ancients ;” and although, could he have adduced the direct and definite authority of an ancient epistle, we cannot doubt that he would have done it.*

* This *prosopographia* of Nicephorus is subjoined in Latin to the letter of Lentulus, in the *Centuriatores Magdeburgenses*, Cent. I. p. 244. The original Greek, with the not very close Latin version of J. Langius are inserted here, as a matter of curiosity ; but I have not thought it of importance enough to be at the trouble of making an English translation. Further information as to the value of this description of Christ, (if any one is disposed to regard it in any other light than as a legend,) and also as to the legendary character of the writings of Nicephorus in general, may be found in the work of Reiske already quoted, *Exercitationes de imaginibus Jesu Christi*, III. p. 165 sq.—Both the Greek and Latin of the following extract are from *Nicephori Callisti Xanthopuli Ecclesiastica Historia*, ed. Front. Ducaeo, Paris. 1639, fol. lib. I. c. 40. Ἡ μέντοι διάπλασις τῆς μορφῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς ἐξ ἀρχαίων παρειλήφαμεν, τοῖα δέ τις ὡς ἐν τύπῳ περιλαβεῖν ἦν, ὥραϊος μὲν ἦν τὴν ὄψιν σφόδρα. Τὴν γε μὲν ἡλικίαν εἰ τὸν ἀναδρομὴν τοῦ σώματος, ἐπὶ σπιθαμῶν ἦν τελείων. Ἐπίξανθον ἔχων τὴν τρίχα, καὶ οὐ πᾶν δασείαν. Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ οὖλον μετρίως πως ἀποκλίνουσιν, μελαίνας δέ γε τὰς ὀφρῦς

The first allusion to the letter in question, or to its contents, is the use made of it in the spurious edition of the works of Anselm described above on p. 369; and there, this description of the person of Christ is said to have been collected *ex gestis Anselmi*, who died in the beginning of the twelfth century. This reference to Anselm would seem to imply that he was regarded as the author; but the tracts in which this description is contained, were not thought worthy of insertion by Gerberon, in the genuine edition of Anselm's works.

The first writer who alludes to this epistle under the name of Lentulus, is Laurentius Valla, in the fifteenth century; and he at the same time pronounces it to be supposititious.* Since that

εἶχε, καὶ οὐ πᾶν ἐπικαμπής, τοὺς δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς χαροποὺς τινας καὶ ἡρέμα ἐπιξανθίζοντας, εὐόφθαλμος δ' ἦν καὶ ἐπιθόγιος τὴν μέντοι τρίχα τοῦ πώγωνος ξάνθην τινα εἶχε, καὶ οὐκ εἰς πολὺν καθειμένην. Μακρότερον δὲ τὴν τρίχα κεφαλῆς περιέφερον· οὐδέποτε γὰρ ξυρὸς ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ χεῖρ ἀνθρώπου, πλὴν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ νηπιάζοντος. Ἠρέμα ἐπικλινῆς τὸν ἀνχένα, ὡς μηδένα, ὡς μηδὲ πᾶν ὄρθιον, καὶ εὐτεταμένην ἔχειν τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦ σώματος· σιτόχρους δὲ καὶ οὐ στορογγύλην ἔχων τὴν ὄψιν ἐτύγγανεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ὑποκαταβαίνουσαν, ὀλίγον δ' ἐπιφοινισσομένην, ὅσον ἐπιφαίνειν τὸ σεμνόν τε καὶ τὸ συνετὸν τοῦ ἡθους καὶ ἡμερον, καὶ τὸ καθάπαξ ἀόργητον. Κατὰ πάντα δὲ ἦν ἐμφορὴς τῇ θεῷ καὶ πανασπίλῳ ἐκείνου μητρὶ. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τουτοῖς. "Porro effigies formae Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sicuti a veteribus accepimus, talis propemodum, quatenus eam crassius verbis comprehendere licet, fuit. Corporis statura ad palmos prorsus septem. Caesariem habuit subflavam, ac non admodum densam, leniter quodammodo ad crispas declinantem; supercilia nigra, non perinde inflexa. Ex oculis fulvis et subflavescentibus mirifica prominebat gratia. Acres ii erant, et nasus longior. Barbae capillus flavus, nec admodum demissus. Capitis porro capillos tulit prolixiores. Novacula enim in caput ejus non ascendit, neque manus aliqua hominis, praeterquam matris in tenera duntaxat aetate ejus. Collum fuit sensim declive, ita ut non arduo et extento nimium corporis statu esset. Porro tritici referens colorem, non rotundam aut acutam habuit faciem, sed qualis matris ejus erat, paulum deorsum versus vergentem, ac modice rubicundam; gravitatem atque prudentiam cum lenitatem conjunctam, placabilitatemque iracundiae expertem, praeferentem. Persimilis denique per omnia fuit divinae et immaculae suae genitrici. Ac haec quidem hactenus."

* In his *Declamatio contra donationem Constantini Magni* he says: "Epistola nomine Lentuli improbe ementita est."

time it has been not unfrequently reprinted, as appears from the list of editions given above on p. 370 sq. and has also not unfrequently been subjected to critical examination. It is a fact fatal to its credit, that of all those critics of any note who have turned their attention to it, as Valla, Du Pin, Varenius, Reiske, Fabricius,* every one has pronounced it to be destitute of all authority.

IV. The propriety of such a decision we cannot well call in question, after the view which we have thus far taken of the historical arguments; nor shall we probably be disposed to adopt any different opinion, if we look also to the internal evidence against the antiquity and authority of the epistle. We begin with the *style and mode of expression*. The letter purports to have been written in the age of Tiberius, while the Latin language was yet in its most flourishing state; it purports to have been written, if not by a Lentulus, yet by a Roman citizen of intelligence and standing. Can we suppose that such an one would altogether neglect the character and purity of the Roman tongue, upon which all Romans were so much accustomed to pride themselves? or that he would prefer to adopt a style marked with barbarisms, and coloured with those faults which give a character to the Latin style of the middle ages? It would be out of place here, to enter into an analysis of all the words and forms; it is enough to point out a few, which are peculiar to the *later ecclesiastical Latin* of the Christian church, and are borrowed from Hebraisms of the New Testament. Such are, in the beginning of the epistle, the forms *propheta veritatis* (*προφήτης τῆς ἀληθείας*), and *filius Dei* (*υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*); and also at the close, *fili hominum* (*υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*). Expressions like these, which are wholly repugnant to the *usus loquendi* of the Latin language in its purity, might be expected from a monk of the middle ages, who was familiar with the Vulgate and with the Latin fathers; but not from a Roman writer in the age of Christ.

* E. DU PIN in his *Nouvelle Biblioth. des Auteurs ecclesiast.* Paris 1699, T. I. p. 23. "Il n'est pas besoin, de montrer la fausseté d'une lettre attribuée à Lentulus—touchant les actions de Jesus Christ; la supposition en est evidente."—Aug. VARENIUS in *Rationario theologico de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, Rostoch. 1669. p. 159 sq.—J. REISKE in the work above quoted, p. 160.—J. A. FABRICIUS, *Codex apoc. N. T.* I. p. 302. "Haec commentitia epistola—aperta spuria atque—improbe ementita."

V. In addition to this, the whole *argument*, or contents of the epistle, is of such a nature, as to render the question of its antiquity more than doubtful. We must here also bear in mind, that it purports to have been written in the time of Christ by a Roman magistrate, or at least by one who was not himself a follower of Jesus. But how could such an one affirm, “*Jesum Christum dici a gentibus prophetam veritatis, et a discipulis filium Dei?*” Who then are these *gentes*, and these *discipuli*? If the phrase *disciples* is here meant to include *all* the followers of Christ, then *gentes* must be understood of all those who were not his followers, whether Jews or heathen. But that these all, or indeed any part of them, acknowledged or regarded Christ as a *true prophet*, or a divine messenger, is too obviously false to require contradiction. We have only to appeal to the whole history of our Saviour’s life as exhibited in the New Testament.

A further difficulty arises also here from the circumstance, that Jesus is said to have his “hair parted on the forehead, *juxta morem Nazarenorum.*” Are these the *Nazarenes*, the inhabitants of the city Nazareth in Galilee, where Jesus was educated, and whence he himself was called a *Nazarene*? Matt. 2: 23. Or if the reading of the *Centur. Magdeb.* is preferred, viz. *Nazaraeorum*, are then these the *Nazarites*, (Heb. נָזִיר,) i. e. those separated and devoted to God by a vow? or are they rather the Christians themselves, who were thus called *Nazarites* or *Nazarenes*, οἱ Ναζωραῖοι, after Jesus, in contempt? Acts 24: 5. Whichever of these three meanings we assume, the sense must in either case remain inept.—If we prefer the *first*, then the implied fact, that the parting of the hair on the forehead was a peculiar custom of the inhabitants of Nazareth, is not only destitute of all evidence, but is contrary to all analogy. Such a custom might perhaps be supposed to be prevalent in a district of country, where the inhabitants were distinguished by other peculiarities, as in Galilee for instance; but surely not in any single city, which is no where represented as having peculiarities of its own, distinct from those of the adjacent region.—If we take the *second* meaning, and suppose the *Nazarites* to be here meant, who were set apart to the service of God by a vow, still the implication of the epistle is again false, viz. that Jesus was a Nazarite. Whether Jesus suffered his hair to grow, as was required of the Nazarites, (Num. 6: 5,) is no where said, nor is it of any importance; that he did not go about with his head shorn or bald, we are authorized to pre-

sume, because baldness was a disgrace among the Hebrews.* There is therefore no reason for supposing, that Jesus departed from the usual customs of the Jews in regard to the manner of wearing the hair; certainly none for assuming, that, like the Nazarites, he suffered no 'razor to come upon his head.' That he did not observe the other laws to which the Nazarites were subjected,† is manifest from the sacred history itself. He neither abstained from wine at the nuptial banquet (John c. 2) nor at other feasts; but on the contrary he was called by his enemies a *wine-bibber*, *οἰνοπότης*, (Matt. 11: 19. Luke 7: 34,) and was contrasted by them in this respect with John the Baptist who was a Nazarite, Luke 1: 15. Neither did Jesus shun the approach or contact of a dead body; as in the cases of those whom he restored to life; Mark 5: 41. Luke 7: 14. Comp. Num. 6: 6 sq. Our Saviour therefore was not externally a Nazarite. Besides, even if that had been the case, there is no where any hint that the Nazarites wore their hair in any particular manner; their only obligation was to let it grow, without suffering it to be cut off.—Or if we choose the *third* meaning mentioned above, and understand the whole body of Christians under the term Nazarenes, the expression will still involve a supposition which is untenable and improbable; first, by implying that the followers of Christ, even during his life time, were distinguished and well known by the name of Nazarenes, and had adopted this mode of wearing the hair as distinctive of their peculiar religion; and then, in describing the head of a sect by a token peculiar to his followers, as such.—The name *Nazaraei* was indeed applied also in the first and following centuries to a sect of heretics; but these cannot here be brought into the account, in judging of an epistle which is professedly contemporary with Jesus.

We may subjoin another consideration. This epistle contains a description of Christ, which represents him as being "the handsomest among the sons of men." We have already alluded to this topic in part, on p. 369 above; but we may now go further and look at it in its historical bearings. If now this description had been extant and acknowledged in the early ages of Christianity, it is singular that it should have escaped the no-

* Jahn Bibl. Archaeol. Th. II. 149. Amer. ed. § 125.

† Michaelis Mosaisches Recht, (Commentaries on the Laws of Moses,) Th. III. § 145.

tice of the Christian writers and fathers of those days, who were learned and intelligent men, and whose views on this subject seem to have been of an entirely opposite nature. Thus Tertullian, speaking of the body of Christ,* admits that "all the things" he has enumerated "are only signs of a terrestrial origin, and were in Christ, and veiled in him the Son of God.—But I perceive nothing new, nothing strange. It was on account of his words and deeds, his doctrine and virtue only, that men wondered at the man Christ.—It was nothing unusual or admirable in his bodily appearance, which caused his other qualities to be admired, when they exclaimed, Whence has he this doctrine and these signs? Indeed, this was the exclamation of persons who despised his form and appearance. So that his person possessed nothing either of human beauty, or of celestial splendour."—Nor did Clement of Alexandria form a different estimate of the personal appearance of our Lord; since he affirms† that "the Spirit testifies by Isaiah (c. 53), that our Lord himself was without form or comeliness;" and also asserts in another place,‡ that "it was not without good reason that the Lord preferred to assume an abject form of body."—Origen also openly declares,§ "It is confessedly written, that the person of Jesus was without comeliness."—The source of all these views of the fathers respecting the alleged deformity of Christ's person, is doubtless the representation given in Isaiah c. 53; and hence

* Tertullianus *de carne Christi*, Opp. ed. Rigalt. p. 316. "Haec omnia (quae enumeravimus) terrenae originis signa et in Christo fuerunt, et sunt quae illum Dei filium celavere.—Sed nihil novum, nihil peregrinum deprehendo. Denique, verbis tantummodo et factis, doctrina et virtute sola, Christum hominem obstupescabant.—Sed carnis terrenae non mira conditio ipsa erat, quae cetera ejus miranda faciebat, cum dicerent, Unde huic doctrina et signa ista? Etiam despicientium formam ejus haec erat vox. Adeo nec humanae honestatis corpus fuit, nedum coelestis claritatis." To this view Rigalt also assents in his notes, and in a dissertation *de pulcritudine Christi* appended to his notes on Cyprian, p. 236 sq.

† Clemens Alexandrinus *Paedagog.* III. 1. *Τὸν Κύριον αὐτὸν τὴν ὕψιν αἰσχρὸν γεγονέναι, διὰ Ἰσαΐου τὸ πνεῦμα μαρτυρεῖ.*

‡ *Stromat.* lib. VI. *Κύριος οὐ μάτην ἠθέλησεν εὐτελεῖ χρήσασθαι σώματος μορφῇ.*

§ Origenes *contra Celsum*, lib. VI. *Ὁμολογουμένως τοίνυν γέγραπται περὶ τοῦ δυσειδὲς γεγονέναι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ σώμα.*

Abarbanel strives to establish, as far as possible, the opinion of his comeliness, in order that he may deny with more appearance of truth the application of that prophecy to Jesus. But however this may be, we cannot well doubt, that if the epistle before us had been current in the days of these fathers, and been received as of good authority, they would have given a far different representation of our Lord's personal appearance; and had it then been extant only as a supposititious production, we may reasonably presume, they would at least have made some allusion to its contents.

To dwell for a moment on the topic thus casually introduced. While the view which these fathers have thus taken of Christ's personal deformity* seems to rest on a false interpretation of the passage in Isaiah above quoted, or depends rather on improperly taking that passage in a *literal* and *extreme* sense; so also there appears to be no solid ground for the opinion of those,† who, applying in the like literal manner the language of the 45th Psalm to the person of Jesus, represent him as having been distinguished by the greatest comeliness and personal beauty. As in most other cases, so also here, it is perhaps better to adopt the middle course, and represent to ourselves the Saviour while on earth as not particularly distinguished from other men, by either the deformity or comeliness of his person, any more than by his mode of living. We are entitled to draw this conclusion from his interview with Mary, recorded John 20: 14 sq. where she mistakes him for the gardener. Luther, in his usual vigorous manner, seems to express the same idea.‡ “It is very possible, that some

* So Rigalt l. c. and Salmasius; comp. Th. Bartholini *Hypomnemata de cruce Christi*, Hafn. 1651, in praeef.

† See the passage of Nicephorus above quoted. Also Joh. Fechtii *Noctae Christianae*. Exercit. X. p. 359—387. Aug. Calmet in *Prolegom. et Dissertatt. in S. S. Latine a Mansio versa*, Lucc. 1729. fol. T. I. p. 543 sq. See also others in J. G. Walchii *Histor. Ecclesiast. N. T.* p. 166. et ejusd. *Biblioth. theologiae selecta*, T. III. p. 439 sq.

‡ Opp. T. VI. ed. Altenb. “Das ist wohl möglich, dass einer am Leibe wohl so schön gewesen ist, als Christus. Auch sind vielleicht wohl Andre schöner gewest, als Christus. Denn wir lesen nicht, dass sich die Jüden über des Herrn Schönheit verwundert haben.” The same view is supported by Francis Vavassor, in a treatise *de forma Christi dum viveret in terris*, Paris 1649, reprinted with notes by J. Arndt, Rostock 1666, and also extant in the works of Vavassor, Amsterd. 1710.

one else has been as comely in person as Christ. Very possibly too, others have been more comely than Christ. For we do not read, that the Jews ever wondered at our Lord's comeliness."

At the close of this discussion, it remains only to suggest in a few words the most probable origin of a production like that which we have been considering. It is well known that images of our Saviour and of the Virgin Mary have, in all later ages, been current in the catholic church, both in the form of crucifixes, and as pictorial representations. The authority of these is indeed very slender; there being none at all in the case of the Virgin; and the only alleged sources, in the case of Christ, being the pretended votive statue of the Syrophenician woman at Cesarea Philippi, the portrait sent by Christ to Abgar king of Edessa along with his letter, and the impression of his countenance left upon the handkerchief of the holy Veronica. It is however a fact deserving of notice, that in all the representations of the person of Jesus, by the most distinguished artists of various countries, a general resemblance runs through the whole, arising probably from a species of silent professional tradition. But such pictures existing, nothing would be more natural, or better adapted to the monkish leisure of the middle ages, than to write out in full a description corresponding to such a representation, in the manner in which the letter of Lentulus appears in the edition of Anselm's works.* It there appears simply as a description, blended with a similar one of the Virgin Mary; and is said to have been gathered *ex gestis Anselmi*. Whether it may not thus have been originally composed by Anselm, or with his concurrence, is more than can now be determined. Who it was that first referred it to a spurious Lentulus, as governor of Jerusalem, cannot be known; nor the time when this took place. Most probably it was done in the period between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, i. e. between the time of Anselm and the date of the Jena manuscripts. Whether too it was done through monkish ignorance, or as a pious fraud, we have no means of judging.

The result of our inquiry into the authenticity of the epistle of Lentulus, may be summed up in few words. In *favour* of its authenticity, we have only the purport of the inscription; there is no external evidence whatever. *Against* its authenticity, we

* See p. 369 above.

have the great discrepancies and contradictions of the inscription; the fact that no such official person as Lentulus existed at the time and place specified, nor for many years before and after; the utter silence of history in respect to the existence of such a letter; the foreign and later idioms in the style; the contradiction in which the contents of the epistle stand with established historical facts; and the probability of its having been produced at some time not earlier than the eleventh century.

It may perhaps be thought, that in pursuing this investigation to such an extent,—an extent far greater indeed than I had anticipated,—I have bestowed a useless expense of time and labour, on a subject of comparatively trivial importance. But it should be remembered, that it is the tendency of the human mind, to attach a disproportionate value to objects of which it knows not the intrinsic worth; and that, especially in regard to religious objects, and above all in regard to an object so dear, so precious, so thrilling to the christian heart, as is the ‘Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world,’ there is a proneness to yield not only that faith ‘which maketh wise unto salvation,’ but a faith which may easily pass over into superstitious credulity. Traces of this are not wanting already, even in our own country; and, I may add, in relation to this very epistle. To counteract such a tendency, as much as lies in his power, is surely the duty of every Christian, who loves the truth in its simplicity and sincerity. Besides, so far as I am aware, and as I have said above, there exists in the English language no treatise or work whatever, which furnishes the means of determining the proper character of the epistle in question. This want I have now attempted to supply, in such a manner that every one who reads may judge for himself. And whatever may be our different views in respect to the personal appearance of our Saviour while on earth, may we all, both writer and readers, through the grace of God, have a like interest in the blessings which were purchased by the offering up of his ‘natural’ body; that so we may all be admitted, at last, to the beatific vision of our Lord and King, in his state of ‘spiritual’ exaltation and everlasting glory!

ART. VI. THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN ITALY.

By Prof. Tholuck of Halle. Translated by the Editor.

SECOND ARTICLE.*

The Roman University was founded by pope Boniface VIII, near the end of the thirteenth century. It is called, in solemn style, *l'Archiginnasio Romano*; but in common life its usual appellation is *la Sapienza*, from the inscription, *Initium sapientiae timor Domini*, which is read over the portal of the majestic university building, erected by Michael Angelo under Leo X; to which Alexander VII added the church and a building for the library. The university, according to the constitution given to it by Leo XII, is certainly an establishment capable of yielding much good fruit, provided the administration of it corresponded to the constitution. It numbers not less than forty-eight professors, who are divided into four faculties. We give here, from the catalogue of lectures in 1827, the lectures announced in the faculties of theology and philosophy.

CLASSIS THEOLOGICA.

I. Sacra Scriptura. R. P. M. Thomas Moralia de Onelia Ord. Eremitarum S. Augustini. De Archaeologia et Hermeneutica Biblica et Praeceptis Exegeticis. Textus: Scripta ejusdem Professoris intra Triennium a die Rescripti typis evulganda.

II. S. Theologia Dogmatica. Rmus P. M. Franciscus Ferdinandus Jabulot Parmen. Proc. Gen. Ord. Praed. et pro Eo R. P. M. Johannes Baptista Galleani Januen. ejusdem Ordinis. De Gratia et Justificatione; ubi de Fide, Spe, et Charitate. Textus: Opus P. Petri M. Gazzanica secundae editionis Bononiensis.

III. S. Theologia Scholastica. R. P. M. Antonius Maria Latini Alatrinus Ordinis Minorum Conventualium S. Francisci. De Sacramentis in genere. De poenitentia; de indulgentiis et extrema Unctione. Textus: Opus Fr. Andreae Sgambati ejusdem Ordinis de Theologicis Institutis.

IV. S. Theologia de Locis Theologicis. R. P. M. Carolus Thill

* From Tholuck's "Literarischer Anzeiger" for 1831. This is strictly a continuation of the article on the same subject, contained in the first volume of this work, No. I. p. 177 sq. A further continuation of it is also promised.

Islesuis Ord. Eremitarum S. Augustini. Textus: Opus ab eodem Professore typis evulgatum anno 1820.

V. S. Theologia Moralis. R. P. M. Placidus Tadini Alexandrinus Ordinis Carmelitarum Calceatorum. Absolvuntur officia in Deum. Tum de Officiis Hominis erga se ipsum. Textus: P. Gabriel Antoine e societate Jesu Theologia Moralis Universa.

VI. Historia Ecclesiastica. R. P. M. Paulus del Signore Romanus Canonicus Regularis Sanctissimi Salvatoris. A Carolo Magno ad Concilium Lateranense primum. Textus: Scripta ejusdem Professoris intra Triennium, ut supra, typis evulganda.

VII. Eloquentia Sacra. Vacat.

VIII. Physica Sacra. R. D. Felicianus Scarpellini Fulginas. De divinis. Operibus quinti et sexti diei Mosaicae Cosmogoniae. Textus: Scripta ejusdem Professoris intra Triennium, ut supra, typis evulganda.

CLASSIS PHILOSOPHICA ET PHILOLOGICA.

I. Logica et Metaphysica. R. D. Raphael Bonomi Romanus. Textus: Opus ab eodem Professore typis evulgatum, quoad aliter statuatur.

II. Ethica. Rmus P. M. Joannes Baptista Piccadori Reatimus Vicarius Generalis Clericorum Regularium Minorum. Textus: Scripta ejusdem Professoris intra Biennium, ut supra, typis evulganda.

III. Algebra et Geometria. R. D. Jacobus Rischebach Romanus, Elementa Matheseos. Textus: Elementi de Mathematica di Enrico Giamboni.

IV. Physica experimentalis. D. Haverus Barlocci Romanus. Textus: Scripta ejusdem Professoris intra Triennium, ut supra, typis evulganda.

V. Introductio ad Calculum. D. Alexander Pieri Romanus. Textus: Opus Letterii.

VI. Calculus sublimis. D. Joseph Oddi Romanus (ad formam Rescripti) Elementa Calculi Differentialis et Integralis. Textus: Opus ab eodem typis evulgatum.

VII. Mechanica et Hydraulica. Idem Jos. Oddi, Elementa Staticae et Dynamicae. Textus: Opus Venturoli, ab ipso Oddi illustratum.

VIII. Optica et Astronomia. R. D. Joseph Cottele Romanus. Elementa Trigonometriae Sphaericae. Textus: Opus ab eodem Professore typis evulgatum.

IX. Architectura Statica et Hydraulica. D. Nicolaus Cavalieri Comaclensis.

X. Geometria Graphica, et Hydrometria. D. Carolus Sereni Ferrariensis.

XI. Mineralogia. D. Petrus Carpi Romanus. Textus: Scripta ejusdem Professoris intra triennium, ut supra, typis evulganda.

XII. *Archaeologia*. D. Antonius Nibby Romanus. Pars III. *Antiquitates Romanae*. Textus: Nardini *Roma antiqua* et Adam *Antiquitates Romanae*.

XIII. *Eloquentia Latina et Italica et Historia Romana*. R. D. Aloysius Rezzi Placentinus. Textus: *Lectiones Rhetoricae* ab Ugone Blairio compositae ac in Italicam linguam versae, enarrationibusque locupletatae a D. Francisco Soave, ac praeterea *Opera praecipuorum Auctorum*, qui Latina et Italica oratione tum soluta, tum legata scripsere.

XIV. *Lingua et Literae Hebraicae*. D. Aemilianus Sarti Romanus. *Exercitationes in Pentateuchum et Libros Josue, Judicum, ac Regum*.

XV. *Lingua et Literae Graecae*. D. Jacobus de Dominicis Romanus. *Exercitationes in Selecta e Xenophonte, Isocrate, et Homero*.

XVI. *Lingua et Literae Arabicae*. R. D. Michael Angelus Lanci Fanensis. Textus: *Grammatica Erpenii*.

XVII. *Lingua et Literae Syro-Chaldaicae*. R. D. Andreas Molza Mutinensis. Textus: *Grammatica Syriaca*, nec non selecta e sacris profanisque Syrorum scriptis, ab eodem Professore intra triennium typis evulganda.

On looking over this list, one must confess, that so far as attention to the different subjects comprehended in the *disciplines* of the theological and philosophical faculties is concerned, the university is not so badly planned. In theology, one only misses the richness in exegetical lectures, which the German catalogues exhibit; and in philology, the interpretation of classical authors. For this, indeed, the necessary knowledge of the languages is wanting among the students; since in Greek, at least, the professor must still occupy himself with elementary instruction. But the main point here is, after all, *how* the sciences are studied; and in this respect there remains very much to be desired. In the natural sciences only, in mathematics and the medical department, there seems to be more interest and excitement; in all other branches there is a complete stagnation. Theology is very naturally all according to law; and how could it well be otherwise, when every word of the teacher stands under the censorship of ecclesiastical inspectors? But the study of languages is also at a low ebb; one hears here nothing of progress, of development, of new forms and modifications;—the literary ardour is wanting, and with it all proficiency and advancement. Not that the instructors are wanting in knowledge; there fails only the impulse. One of the profes-

sors, to whom the writer was complaining that it was so difficult for him to study in the summer heat at Rome, replied : “ *Eh, Signore, nella state non si lavora*, But who then would work in summer ?” This summer indolence, however, seems also to extend itself over other seasons. The following anecdote serves to illustrate this same sluggish temperament. A very intelligent professor of the oriental languages had sent for Michaelis’ Syriac Grammar. Instead of it he received Hoffmann’s, with the assurance, that this had taken the place of the other, as being far more complete. He read it, but soon requested permission to exchange it again for Michaelis. “What is so large a grammar good for ?” was his idea ; “ *la grammatica è per i principianti*, —grammars are for beginners ; the rest one must learn *ex usu*.” On the same principle, also, he rejected the *Lehrgebäude* of Gesenius, and maintained, that Buxtorf’s Hebrew Grammar is still better.

But even if a professor of the university should be desirous of distinguishing himself by literary zeal, still he would be left unsupported ; for this activity and ardour would at once awaken the suspicion of a tendency to innovation. The writer became acquainted with a professor, who in another country and with the encouragement of government or of public opinion, would make uncommon advances ; but here he pines away disregarded and unknown.

In addition to the want of literary motives, these learned professors suffer from the want of literary intercourse. It is only in the department of the fine arts and of the antiquary, that there exist associations for intercourse and mutual improvement ; and these last have been principally established, and are mostly supported, by Germans. Individuals indeed feel this deficiency ; but mutual distrust, founded generally in party-spirit, shuts up the door of mutual intercourse. This distrust, this anxious weighing of every expression, this mutual watching over one another, makes a very unpleasant impression upon strangers ; and if one has never done it before, he is now led to thank God for a government, under which he may freely breathe and freely speak.

Besides the university, there is also another separate papal seminary, in which likewise theologians are educated. It is called the *Seminario di S. Apollinare*, or *Seminario Romano* ; and was formerly located in the splendid building called the *Collegio Romano* ; which last is now occupied by the Jesuits. In this

seminary, the students receive also a complete course of theological education. It stands under the cardinal-vicar, and has generally at least one very respectable and efficient instructor in the languages and in theology.

As schools for theological education, are still to be mentioned the colleges, which are established for students from various foreign countries; as the German, the English, the Scotch, the Irish colleges, etc. These have all been founded by donations from pious individuals. They have in general a Principal, who is of the same nation respectively; they stand under the supervision of a cardinal, and receive the special attention of the head of the Romish church. The students live singly, in small and somewhat meanly furnished cells; and all take their meals together, while some one at the same time reads aloud, and thus imparts intellectual and spiritual nourishment. The autumnal holidays, they usually spend in some of the beautiful country-seats in the vicinity, in Monte Porzio, Marino, etc. They receive a complete course of instruction in theology; and not unfrequently are young men of intelligence and well cultivated minds. That particular care is taken in respect to their education, is no wonder; since it is among them that those clergymen are trained, on whom Rome must place her chief dependence in foreign lands. In a special manner, converts from foreign countries, who are distinguished for talents and intelligence, are here sure of a good reception; and such persons are constantly to be met with in these institutions.

One institution of special importance, and which also is much more known in other countries, is the *Propaganda Fidei*, which stands under a separate congregation. This establishment, whose activity in former times extended over so wide a field, was founded A. D. 1622 by Gregory XV, and was afterwards enlarged by Urban VIII. From the latter it received a capital of 615,000 Scudi,* and a yearly revenue of 24,000 Scudi. This pope also assigned to it the building which it now occupies, the *Collegium Propaganda Fidei v. Urbani*, a splendid palace in the vicinity of the *Piazza di Spagna* or Spanish place. The first occasion for this important establishment, was a foundation given by the Spaniard Vides, for ten young men of different nations.

* The Roman Scudo is precisely equal to the Spanish dollar. In the papal money, the decimal division is also current; one Scudo containing 10 *paoli* or 100 *bajocchi*. EDITOR.

To this was annexed in 1637, a new foundation of cardinal Onofrio for twelve pupils; who were to be selected from among Georgians, Persians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Melchites, and Copts. In 1639 the same cardinal added yet another fund, for thirteen Ethiopians and Brahmins. To all these came still a foundation for Chinese and Japanese; but as it was found that the converts from these countries could not bear the climate of Rome, the establishment for them was transferred to Naples. Of this we shall speak further hereafter.

The establishment at Rome has at the present time about eighty pupils; and among them are eighteen Armenians, five Maronites, several Hollanders, Illyrians, and Germans from different provinces; among whom the writer found again several former protestant theologians from the duchy of Weimar. The pupils live generally two in one cell, are required to be very diligent, and stand under close supervision. It is only with very special permission, that they can ever go out alone. They are obliged to make all their excursions in companies, walking two and two together. They wear black dresses with five red buttons,—the five wounds of Christ,—with long black strips hanging down the back, and a red belt around the body,—the symbol of that sacrifice of life, to which the missionary devotes himself.

Some years ago, this institution had a remarkable pupil within its walls, the present eccentric Jewish missionary Wolf. He, as is well known, first exchanged his Jewish faith for that of the Roman catholic church, presented himself to Count Stolberg, and then went to Rome; where, by the vivacity of his character and his decided talents, he made a very favourable impression, and insinuated himself especially into the favour of the devout and gentle cardinal Litta. He even had the honour of personally paying his respects to his Holiness. He was very joyfully received, as a pupil, into the Propaganda; in the expectation of finding in him an efficient labourer, for the missions among the schismatic Christians of the East. But the vivacity and frankness of the young man's character, soon gave occasion for suspicion. He disputed against the doctrines of the church and the authority of tradition, with a freedom which astonished them, and which would have sooner drawn down upon him an expulsion from the establishment, had he not been sustained and protected by the good will of his mild patron, the cardinal Litta. At last, however, he came out boldly with the conjecture, whether the holy Father himself were not Antichrist. An idea so monstrous

could, of course, no longer be tolerated in a pupil of the Propaganda. Besides, his correspondence with foreigners was also discovered and opened; and in consequence, in the year 1818, he was conveyed out of Rome at midnight.—In 1824 appeared in London the “Memoirs of Wolf;” which contain many interesting details in respect to life and manners and mind in Rome, and especially respecting the Propaganda.

In regard to the plans and operations of the Propaganda, very little becomes known to the public. The secretary of the congregation lays before it, every year, a report of the proceedings of the institution. One of these reports, however, made at the very period when the catholic church had the richest harvest of proselytes, (at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century,) and by the secretary of the Propaganda, Urban Cerri, has nevertheless seen the light. A copy of it fell into the hands of the celebrated sir Richard Steele, who procured it to be translated by Michael de la Roche, (author of the “Memoirs de Litterature,”) and printed it with a witty and sarcastic dedication to pope Clement XI, under the title: “An account of the state of the papist religion through the world; written for the use of Innocent XI, by Mons. Cerri; published from the Italian manuscript. Lond. 1714.” There is in this report, in reality, something grand and imposing. All heathen lands, and those countries which have fallen away from the pope, are regarded as rebellious provinces, which, by degrees indeed, but yet in due time without fail, must be brought under the dominion of their rightful sovereign. The map of the whole world lies spread out before the Propaganda; and of each land it is announced, how far the hand of the dial has advanced towards the meridian sun of papacy. Among others, there was then much hope expressed of Denmark; while of Sweden and Hamburg it was said, that the papal chair might well nigh give them up forever.—Even at that time, the efforts of the Propaganda seem to have been much more directed towards heretical and schismatic Christians, than towards the heathen; although, at that period, the countries of Tonquin and China presented so much room for hope. Still more, at the present day, does the activity of the Propaganda seem to be directed towards schismatic Christians,—towards England, Scotland, Ireland, the Greek Christians in Dalmatia, in Wallachia, and the Turkish empire, the Armenians, Nestorians, Copts, etc. But the account given some years ago in the newspapers, that the Coptic patriarch had acknowledged

himself subject to the chair of Rome, is entirely without foundation. It arose out of a boyish trick, which was put upon the college of cardinals, and of which they were the dupes,—a thing which does not often happen.—Of late also, the pope has been doing a good deal for North America.

That which may properly be called the business of *missions*, or labours among the heathen, has of late years been left principally to the French missionary establishment; which received its principal support from the late court of France, and must therefore be at present in a very low state. But the library of the Propaganda at Rome, also, contains many noble memorials of their former extensive missionary enterprises; including a fine collection of oriental books and manuscripts; among which are many Chinese volumes, and also many valuable Syriac works. One of these treasures the Bible Society of London, in a spirit of christian harmony, desired to share with them. It will be recollected that there is a current opinion, that in the earliest times the Christianity of the Nestorians found its way into Thibet, and that the religion of the Grand Lama is only a corruption of the former christian faith. As early, therefore, as the 17th century, the Jesuits had made an attempt to restore this supposed former Christianity; and in the beginning of the 18th century, the Capuchins renewed the same enterprise with better success. The Pater Francesco Orazio della Penna dei Billi, who lived twenty-four years in Thibet, first sent a Thibetian alphabet to Rome; the cardinal Beluga caused a fount of type to be cast for this language, and several works were printed in it. Other works, however, composed in the same tongue, are still preserved in manuscript. Among these is a translation of the Scriptures into the language of Thibet. This work the British and Foreign Bible Society offered to reprint, as it is; because, according to the genuine christian principle upon which that society is founded, its only object is, to extend in every way the circulation of the Word of God. Their offer, however, was not accepted on the part of the Romish church. It would indeed have been truly a pleasing spectacle, to behold thus once at least catholics and protestants labouring together as brethren; since, in the present instance, this could in no way have contravened their mutual convictions. Only policy and a miserable intolerance could here place obstacles in the way.

To this account of the Propaganda at Rome, we subjoin some further particulars respecting the establishment at Naples, formerly connected with this, and intended for the education of Chinese converts. This missionary school was first established by a priest, Matteo de Baroni Ripa, in 1692, under the title : "Congregazione Collegio e Seminario della sacra famiglia di Gesu Christo;" and was afterwards enlarged by various benefactors, especially by Charles III and pope Benedict XIV. This congregation is composed of Neapolitan clergy, who, besides the usual exercises of a cloister, devote themselves to the education of young Chinese, East Indians, and other Orientals, and especially also Greeks, in order to train them up as missionaries to those countries respectively. The *procurator* of the 'Propaganda Fidei' in Macao, who is at the head of the Romish missionary establishment there, first receives the young Chinese from the missionaries who reside in the different provinces of the 'celestial' empire, in order to make trial of their capacities and of their call to a missionary life. For this purpose they spend two or three months in a convent at Macao. They must too be descendants of Chinese catholic Christians, and must have received permission from their parents or guardians to proceed to Europe. If now these young persons are found qualified, the procurator sends them, at the cost of the Neapolitan congregation, to Naples. Here the young Chinese first of all learn Latin, from an older Chinese; and at the same time, Italian. After this, they begin, in the first year, the course of studies with rhetoric and philosophy, under a clerical instructor of the congregation; in the following years, they pursue theological studies. Then follows an examination, either in the Propaganda at Rome, or by the archbishop of Naples. Their vows are six,—chastity, poverty, obedience, the priesthood, constant activity in the service of the Propaganda, and perseverance in the missionary life until death. In China, every missionary receives from the Propaganda a yearly support of eighty ducats; the ducat being equal to about 80 cents. The mission house in Naples is distinguished for neatness and an appearance of comfort; there are in it, at present, nine Chinese and four Greeks. Among the three or four instructors, are some men of very pleasing manners; but they seem not to be penetrated with ardent zeal, either for the cause of science or for the spread of the gospel.

Although the steady and persevering aim and effort of the

Romish church, directed unwaveringly towards a single point, must ever be a source of pain and alarm to protestants ; yet, on the other hand, there lies undeniably in this idea, something grand and imposing. Neither the diplomacy of Venice, nor of France, can be compared with the diplomatic schemes of the Roman court. With the most sagacious calculation, it knows exactly how to find the points where it may seem to yield, and where again it must stand immovable. Now it apparently recedes ; but it only turns for a moment aside, in order to fall back again, with a still firmer step, into the former track. At another time it gives up really a hand's breadth of its dominion ; but only, in order to subdue a whole province in another part. In the whole succession of its chiefs, there exists but one single person. You suppose, that the powerful stream of the spirit of the age, must carry the Romish church along with it,—you are mistaken ! From the shore she pursues with her falcon glance its windings ; and if she seem at times to follow the current, this is only until an opportune moment arrives, when she may again arrest its progress by an opposing wall. What is lost to her in France, is regained in England ; what Protestantism conquers from her, she reconquers from the Nestorians. Every political power has one resident at each foreign court, to watch over and calculate its interests ; the papal power has hundreds. Reports, composed with the keenest diplomatic sagacity, uncover every weak point and expose every open place in the army of the enemy. It is however true, that infidelity, which has made inroads upon the catholic church itself, is a hindrance to this zeal. Still, a substitute for this is found in the eager desire of temporal advantage.

The longer the writer has occupied himself with the study of the catholic church, the more strikingly has its resemblance in many respects to the *Jewish* church, become apparent to him. The Jewish religion, standing in the midst between heathenism and Christianity,—the sanctuary, as it were, between the outer court and the holy of holies, as it is represented in Heb. 9: 8 sq.—is a step or degree in religion, which serves as an excellent means of religious education, for men still sunk in the contemplation and comprehension of that only, which is external and sensible. It is calculated indeed for mankind while yet in their minority. Among the earlier Christians, also, there were many for whom the spiritual Christianity was far too spiritual,

too etherial ; they felt the need of something more tangible ; and since they had not strength enough to let themselves be led of the Spirit into the holy of holies, which Christ had laid open for mankind, they fell back again into the flesh, and remained in the outer tabernacle,—as it is called in the Epistle to the Hebrews, 9: 2. Hence, in the fifth century, there arose again in the christian church an external priesthood, and external sanctuaries, to which pilgrimages were made with the feet instead of with the heart ; there arose an external sacrifice, inasmuch as Christ, who having once suffered and gone to the Father had procured an eternal redemption, was ever represented as offered up anew ; there arose anew the burthen of the law, and the dominion of the letter.

On this ground we may also well explain, how catholic Christianity might find, and actually has found, among rude nations, occupied chiefly with external things, an easier admission than Christianity in its purer forms. In the catholic missionary reports, Indian converts relate with enthusiasm, how much more imposing is the appearance of a *pater* than of a preacher. The catholic father approaches with a measured step ; he is clothed in a venerable robe, which at once distinguishes him from the world ; without wife, without child, he seems, in the strictest sense, to be a stranger upon earth ; he bears in his hand a consecrated symbol, the Saviour on his cross, as it were a spiritual sword, which he presents to all to kiss ; the very touch of his hand imparts a blessing. On the other hand, the evangelical preacher comes in his blue coat ; lives in the next hut with wife and children, like other mortals ; possesses no prerogative of supernatural consecration ; and carries in his hand only a book, out of which one must learn with great labour, and, when he has learnt, must first *experience*, in order to become a member of that church, which is only there, where the Spirit is. If, besides this, we call to mind, how easy the catholic clergy make conversion and entrance into their church,—and that because, according to them, the church must first exist, and then the Spirit,—who can wonder, that they should be able to speak of thousands of converts, where evangelical missionaries can reckon only single ones !

As now the writer came to live, for a considerable time, in the central point of the Romish church, and could thus daily observe it with his own eyes, he must confess that the impression upon his mind was only strengthened, that on the whole the catholic

religion presents nothing more than a Judaizing Christianity ; which, however, is not only as far above the Christianity of rationalism, as Judaism is above heathenism, but still higher ; without, nevertheless, being itself the holy of holies to mankind.

That in which the ordinary Italian lives and moves, and which is to him the very centre of all his religion, is the *ceremonial* of his church, so carefully arranged, so comprehensive and applied to every object, and the result of so much calculation, even in its minutest details. In the arrangement of splendid ecclesiastical festivals, in the draperies of the churches, in the elegance and dignity of ornament and costume, the catholic clergy in general, like the Jewish of old, and especially the Roman clergy, are masters. The ceremonial of the church is described in prolix volumes ; and many a prelate, who has become indifferent to every thing else, will speak of the *riti solennissimi della Santa Gerarchia*, as he would of a savoury viand. Of many of these ceremonies, it may also truly be said, that they include in themselves an important symbolical meaning ; but how few are there, who think of this ! A principal epoch in this cycle of ceremonies, is the choice of a pope. With what delight do the Roman clergy follow on, from beginning to end, in the long chain of solemnities, which the death of a pope brings with it !

ART. VII. FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

Extracts from a Letter to the Editor from Prof. HAHN of Leipsic.

LEIPSIC, OCT. 8, 1831.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I little thought to write to you again, before I should send off the article which I promised you for your noble (*herrliches*) Repository ; and still it must be so. From the preface to the Hebrew Bible, of which a large number of copies go at the same time with this letter, you will see how I have hitherto been occupied with the publication of that work. I have neither found the time, nor has my conscience permitted me, along with my official duties, to think of any new labour. Of this, however, you may be assured, that I enrol myself with the greatest pleasure in

the number of contributors to your theological Journal. You have introduced me too favourably to your countrymen, in your preface to my article on Interpretation.—Be so good as to present to Professor Stuart my most heartfelt thanks for his excellent supplementary article; it is as if he had read my very soul; so fully must I acknowledge and adopt, in all essential points, his illustrations and additions. How much his name is esteemed among us, especially on account of his Commentary on the Hebrews, you have probably long since informed him.

The revolutionary movements upon the continent of Europe, and also those in our otherwise so honoured, peaceful, literary, mercantile Saxony, draw off the attention greatly from science and literature. Nevertheless, amid all the ruins of systems and edifices erected by man, whether of politics, or science, or of the arts, the invisible hand of the Lord seems to be introducing a new epoch, and many are seeking and inquiring, Where the kingdom of God is? But still we must reply, as once the Lord himself, that it is neither here nor there; because it does not come with outward signs, wherever it is really set up. The rationalist sect of *Philalethæ*, of which I wrote in my former letter that it was endeavouring to extend itself from Kiel, has not been very successful. Even the rationalists disapprove of that earnestness, which is ready to separate itself externally from the church, because it has withdrawn from the faith of the church.—At present, much attention is excited by the fact, that the Pastor and Prof. Scheibel of Breslau, Prof. Henry Steffen, and others, strict Lutheran Christians in Breslau, (it is said, near 300 families,) have been declared *Separatists*, because they will not assent to the Agenda and Union. The former is *ad interim* suspended from his office; and the latter has published a very interesting pamphlet, under the title: *How can I again become a Lutheran, and what is my Lutheranism?* Breslau 1831. pp. 181. 8vo. It is properly a confession of faith. Some pretend to say, that Dr Scheibel, with quite a number of families, will emigrate to North America.

Among the newest theological publications, besides those of Tholuck, there are two or three which are very highly esteemed; viz. *Olshausen's Commentar über d. drey ersten Evangelien*, Königsb. 1831. 8vo. and *Der Brief an die Römer erläutert von W. Benecke*, Heidelb. 1831. 8vo. 316 pp. The latter is a private man of letters at Heidelberg, who, without being a theologian,

gian by profession, from love to the cause, has written this excellent work.

I hope soon to write more fully ; and to send the above-mentioned article. The blessing of God upon your labours and your family.

With heartfelt love and esteem, your friend,

AUGUSTUS HAHN.

ART. VIII. LITERARY NOTICES.

1. *BIBLIA HEBRAICA, secundum editiones Jos. Athiae, Joannis Leusden, Io. Simonis aliorumque, imprimis EVERARDI VAN DER HOOGHT, recensuit, sectionum propheticarum recensum et explicationem clavemque Masorethicam et Rabbinicam addidit AUGUSTUS HAHN, Theol. D. et Prof. publ. ord. in Acad. Lipsiensi. Editio Stereotypa. Lipsiae, Sumptibus et Typis Caroli Tauchnitz, 1831.*—In the first number of the Biblical Repository, p. 187, the Editor had the pleasure of announcing to the American public, the expected appearance of this beautiful edition of the Hebrew Bible. It is now with peculiar satisfaction that he is able to state, that the work was completed in October last ; and two hundred copies have been received and already sold in this vicinity. The typographical execution is superior even to what was anticipated. The paper is white, firm, and good ; the type is new, clear, and handsome ; the vowel points, especially, are perfectly clear and distinct. The forms of some of the letters, perhaps, might have been made of more graceful proportions ; but even in this respect there is no cause of complaint ; while, in all respects, there is abundant cause for congratulation. The work is stereotyped, and can therefore be afforded very low. Indeed, this elegant Hebrew Bible may be, and is, imported and sold here, for a price less than that of our common English Bibles of the same form and size. We may therefore hope, that the time is not far distant, when the table of every minister of the gospel, who is able to appeal to the word of God in the original, will be adorned with a Hebrew Bible, as well as a Greek Testament ; at least the excuse of scarcity and high price will not much longer be of any avail. May we not

hope too, that as the means of studying the original Scriptures are thus multiplied and made accessible, the number of those who are disposed to employ these means, will also be multiplied?

As editor of this edition, it has been the object of Prof. Hahn to follow sedulously the text of Van der Hooght, correcting only the typographical errors. His words are: "Nos igitur hanc nobis scripsimus legem, ut ipsum *textum Hooghtianum* intactum relinqueremus, nisi ubi vitiose esset exscriptus." The reason assigned for the choice of this text, is the uniform approbation with which it has been viewed, by all succeeding editors and scholars. Indeed all later editors, (except Jahn,) as Simonis, Rosenmueller, Judah d'Allemand, and Haas, have preferred to follow the judgment of Van der Hooght; so that this text may now be regarded as the *Textus Receptus* of the Hebrew Scriptures.

2. *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae. Editio ab B. Niebuhr instituta.* The republication of this great work was undertaken a few years since at Bonn, under the auspices of Niebuhr; and the authors already published, bear testimony to the learning and diligence of the respective editors. Since the lamented death of Niebuhr, the work is continued, and is to be completed, under the auspices of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin; of which Niebuhr was an efficient member.

3. *Der Prophet Joel übersetzt und erklärt von KARL AUGUST CRELNER, Professor der Theologie zu Jena.* Halle 1831. 8vo. pp. 316.—The author of this work is a theologian of the neological school; but the work itself is a storehouse of philological and historical illustration respecting this prophetic book. One fault, however, is the very superabundance of materials; which are all presented *en masse*, without that proper selection and condensation, which are the results, not of study and learning, but of exegetical tact and judgment.

THE
BIBLICAL REPOSITORY.

No. VII.

JULY, 1832.

ART. I.—ON THE CANONICAL AUTHORITY OF THE EPISTLE
TO THE HEBREWS.

By Joseph John Gurney.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

THE following article is the first of a series of dissertations contained in a work published in London 1830, by Joseph John Gurney, a member of the Society of Friends. The title is, "Biblical Notes and Dissertations, chiefly intended to confirm and illustrate the doctrine of the Deity of Christ." A review of this work in the London Christian Observer for November 1831, written apparently by the able editor of that Journal, employs the following language in respect to Mr Gurney's book. "This is an admirable work. It contains a series of notes and dissertations on various passages of Holy Scripture connected with the doctrine of the Deity of our blessed Lord. It is also unique; there being no work, the production of a member of the Society of Friends, which fixes on so important a subject, and pursues it with such clearness of argument, such depth of sound critical knowledge, and such sobriety and discretion. The respected author is already advantageously known to the public by his Essays; but he will now take a yet higher place. That work elevated him above the peculiarities of the religious body to which he belongs, and ranked him amongst the ablest defenders of our common Christianity and of the great truths of which that revelation consists. Our readers will have observed

in that volume the prominence given to the great articles of the Divinity of Christ, and the Atonement of his death. These articles are pursued in the present publication, which will raise the author to a yet higher rank amongst solid, able, and learned theologians."—Of the following article in particular the reviewer says, it "is of itself worth the price of the volume—calm, deliberate, conclusive—a beautiful specimen of inductive reasoning."

Although this language may appear somewhat too strong, yet the article cannot fail to interest theological students, as a plain and lucid discussion of the subject in question, and a concise and perspicuous exhibition of the various species of evidence on which a decision of it must rest. The author has evidently pursued the study of the Bible with deep interest and much success; although he does not appear to have acquired those large views in respect to the principles of interpretation, nor that familiarity with the practical application of them, which different circumstances would have placed within his reach. He exhibits great modesty; and has very just views of the nature and influence of biblical criticism. In his preface he thus expresses himself: "My own attainments in biblical criticism are by no means great. Yet I know enough of that pursuit, to be thoroughly convinced, that, when conducted on just principles, it will never support those novel explanations of Holy Writ, which have been seized upon, with eagerness, by modern writers of a speculative turn. If I am not greatly mistaken, it condemns all the floating fancies of the sceptic, and ranges itself on the side of that sound and simple interpretation of Scripture which has been familiar, in all ages of the church, to the humble followers of a crucified Redeemer."

The reviewer in the *Christian Observer* proceeds to make some general observations, which are in themselves so forcible and just, and are besides so applicable to our own country and times, that the Editor cannot deny himself the gratification of quoting them here. Another motive also for inserting them is, that they express in language more appropriate than he himself could select, the views and feelings by which his own mind was influenced in the establishment of the *Biblical Repository*. May the grace of God enable him ever to conduct the work upon like principles!

"We are led to observe, how much more valuable are the labours of good men, when devoted to grand and command-

ing truths, than when exhausted on subordinate and perhaps doubtful topics. Supposing our author to have given all this mass of attention to the defence of his own amiable, but to our view erroneous, body of Christians: what would have been the result? how jejune his own mind, how feeble in comparison all his efforts, how narrow the benefit conferred, how imminent the danger of a spirit of party, of overstatements, of irritation, of division and heart-burning. The Christian would sink into the combatant and the partizan, as was in some degree the case with so eminent a man as Robert Hall. But now every thing vies with the topic he has selected; the discussion becomes large, useful, permanent, catholic and invaluable. The Christian stretches himself to the measure of his gifts, employs himself on what will be effective, teaches the whole Christian church, and insensibly draws nearer together those whom other topics would have alienated and separated. This is a point which we would earnestly press. Subordinate matters are for subordinate bounds, and subordinate places and occasions. They are best left as they are. Let each christian body employ to purpose, and with all diligence, its several means of doing good; instead of merely endeavouring to set other bodies right, let each labour to improve itself, to benefit the universal church, to glorify God, to save souls, and to promote godly union and love in the world.

“These things are needful for this end,—not to overstate our own particular points of doctrine and discipline, not to attack other bodies, and not to mingle a spirit of secular politics and unlimited agitation with our discussions. He that errs in these points, will do little good in his generation, and may do much mischief. The magnifying of inferior matters, the assaulting all who differ from us, the imbibing a political temper which will carry a point at all hazards; these are the evils which are eating as doth a canker in the present day.”—EDITOR.

CANONICAL AUTHORITY OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

EVERY student in theology must be aware that there are, in the epistle to the Hebrews, many important passages, which directly or indirectly relate to the divinity of our Saviour. In the first chapter, more especially, the writer's whole argument is built on the doctrine—allowed, no doubt, by those whom he

was addressing—that the Son of God is infinitely superior to the angels; and that it is HE who in certain passages of the Old Testament, is described under the name and character of GOD, the Creator and Ruler of all things. On this account, as well as for other reasons, it is a question of great interest to the inquirer after christian truth, whether the Epistle to the Hebrews may, like the rest of the books included in the canon of Scripture, be received as a work given by inspiration of God—whether the canonical authority, now generally ascribed to this treatise, rests on such grounds as will satisfy the mind of an honest and deliberate inquirer?

The doubts entertained by some persons, on this subject, have obviously arisen from the circumstance, that the epistle is anonymous; and appear to have been uniformly connected with the question, *whether the apostle Paul was its author?* Now, if there are sufficient reasons to convince us that Paul was the author of this epistle, we must of course rest satisfied of its canonical authority. I shall therefore, in the first place, briefly state the evidences by which this hypothesis is supported.

I. The first evidence to be adduced on this subject, although of a nature somewhat indirect and uncertain, is worthy of our close attention on the ground of its antiquity and authority. It is the testimony of the apostle Peter, who, in his second epistle, writes as follows: “Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look for such things, be diligent that ye may be found of him in peace, without spot, and blameless; and account that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation; even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you; as also in all his epistles speaking in them of *these things*; in which are some things hard to be understood (*δυσνόητά τινα*), which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, to their own destruction.”¹

The first point to which we must here advert is this—that the apostle, in the passage now cited, distinguishes, from the rest of Paul’s epistles, some one epistle written by him to that very people, whom Peter is himself addressing. Who then were this people? I answer, THE JEWS. The persons to whom the first epistle of Peter is inscribed were οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ παρεπίδημοι διασπορᾶς, “the elect strangers of the dispersion, in Pontus,

¹ 2 Peter iii. 14—16.

Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia,"¹ and that his second epistle was also written to them, appears from 2 Pet. iii. 1, "This second epistle, beloved, I now write *unto you*; in (*both*) *which* I stir up your pure minds, etc." Now I conceive that these elect strangers of the dispersion must have been the same people as were addressed by the apostle James, under the appellation of αἱ δώδεκα φυλαὶ ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ, "the TWELVE TRIBES in the dispersion."^{*}

The παρεπίδημοι διασπορᾷς, in the phraseology of a Jew writing soon after the christian era, could be no others than his *countrymen* in the dispersion, and the ἐκλεκτοὶ παρεπίδημοι διασπορᾷς, were doubtless, that portion of this scattered people, which had embraced Christianity.† This conclusion is satisfactorily confirmed, first, by the consideration that Peter was the apostle of the Jews,—secondly, by the contents of the two epistles, which abound in familiar illustrations derived from the history, law, and prophecies of God's ancient people,‡—thirdly,

¹ 1 Pet. i. 1.

* The peculiar sense of the word διασπορά appears to be well ascertained, and is thus stated by Schleusner: "Καὶ ἐξοχὴν in N. T. ita dicuntur loca in quibus Israelitæ exulabant; regio quam διασπαρύντες Ἰουδαῖοι s. dispersi Judæi inhabitabant. Fuerunt enim, Christi et apostolorum ætate, Judæi per totum fere terrarum orbem dispersi, et in omnibus celebrioribus Asiæ urbibus suas synagogas et prosuchas habebant, teste Josepho, *De B. J.* viii. 3. 3. Et hoc sensu vox capienda, Jac. i. 1, Ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ, omnibus Christianis ex Judæis conversis extra Palestinam habitantibus. 1 Peter i. 1, Παρεπίδημοις διασπορᾷς." Schleusner then proceeds to observe, that in John vii. 35, διασπορά, by metonymy, denotes the Jews themselves who were thus dispersed—"μὴ εἰς τὴν διασπορὰν τῶν Ἑλλήνων μέλλει πορεύεσθαι, ubi διασπορά τῶν Ἑλλήνων sunt ipsi Judæi inter Græcos per totum terrarum orbem dispersi. *Comp.* 2 Mac. i. 27, ἐπισυνάγωγε τὴν διασπορὰν ἡμῶν,—also Ps. cxlvii. 2. See also Rosenmüller and Gill in loc.

† *Comp.* Rom. xi. 7, "Israel hath not obtained that which he seeketh for; but the *election* hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded."

‡ Among the many examples of this nature, afforded by these epistles, 1 Pet. i. 18. deserves particular notice. "Forasmuch as ye know ye were not redeemed by silver and gold, etc." Here there is an oblique reference (which could scarcely be intelligible to any but Jews) to the money which the Israelites were required to pay as a ransom for their souls, and in order to redeem their first

by the fact, that, in his first epistle, the persons addressed by the apostle are mentioned as living *amongst* the Gentiles, but not as forming a part of them,*—and lastly, by the testimony of Eusebius, who, without hesitation, pronounces this epistle to have been inscribed “*to the Hebrews*.”¹

From our premises it follows, that the epistle here referred to by the apostle Peter, as the work of Paul, was addressed, like those of Peter himself, to *Jews*; and to *Jews only*. Now, since none of the thirteen epistles universally acknowledged to be Paul's were so addressed,—since we have no ground for supposing that any such work of Paul's once existed, and is now lost,—and since, on the other hand, this description precisely applies to the epistle to the Hebrews,—there is a good *prima facie* reason for believing that this was in fact the epistle to which Peter alluded. It is true that the epistle to the Hebrews (as I shall afterwards endeavour to shew) was probably addressed to the Jewish Christians of Palestine, whereas those of Peter were written to the Jews of “the dispersion;” yet, since this treatise was, in its general design, *encyclical*—applicable to the condition and adapted for the instruction of the believing Jews *wherever situated*,—it was by no means unnatural that Peter, in the practical application of his beloved brother's doctrine, should overlook this particular distinction. Converted Jews, *as such*, were, in these instances, the common and exclusive objects of the addresses of *both* apostles.

The question however remains, Whether any passage in “the Hebrews” corresponds with the subject on which Peter was

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. cap. 4.

born sons. See Exod. xxx. 12—15; Num. iii. 40—51. Striking in the same point of view is the allusion, in 2 Pet. ii. 22, to the true proverb,—“The dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.” The first part of this proverb is Solomon's—the latter is evidently of Jewish use and extraction. It is remarkable also, that extracts are, in these epistles, given from the O. T. as of allowed authority, and perfectly familiar to the reader, without any accompanying word to denote their being quoted. See 1 Pet. i. 24; ii. 7, 8, 24, 25; iii. 10—12; 2 Pet. iii. 8, etc.

* See 1 Pet. ii. 12, “Having your conversation honest among the Gentiles, etc.” iv. 3, “For the time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, etc. . . . wherein *they* think it strange that ye run not *with them* to the same excess of riot,” etc.

writing, in such a manner as to justify his reference? This question may be safely answered in the affirmative. I conceive that Peter's allusion to the doctrine of Paul is not connected with the immediately preceding words *alone*, but with the whole exhortation of which they form a part.—“*Seeing that ye look for such things*, be diligent, that ye may be found of Him, in peace, without spot and blameless, and account that the long suffering of our Lord is salvation.” The things here described as *looked for* are, the second coming of our Lord, and the destruction or purification of the visible world by fire; and in the prospect of these things, the apostle exhorts his readers to a life of diligence, peace, holiness, and patience. Now, this subject does not appear to be unfolded in any part of Paul's epistles with so much clearness and fulness, as in the following passages of “the Hebrews.” “As it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment; so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that *look for him shall he appear the second time* without sin (or a sin-offering) unto salvation.”¹ “Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus . . . let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience . . . let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, etc. . . . for if we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, but a certain fearful *looking for* of judgment and *fiery indignation*, which shall devour the adversaries. . . . Cast not away therefore your confidence, which hath great recompense of reward. For *ye have need of patience*, that, after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promise. For *yet a little while, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry*.”² “Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run *with patience* the race that is set before us . . . follow *peace* with all men, and *holiness*, without which no man shall see the Lord . . . *looking diligently* lest any man fail of the grace of God.”³ “See that ye refuse not him that speaketh . . . whose voice then shook the earth: but now he hath promised, saying, *Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but*

¹ Heb. ix. 27, 28.² x. 19—36.³ xii. 1, 14, 15.

also heaven. And this word, Yet once more, signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain. Wherefore we, receiving a kingdom which cannot be moved, let us have grace whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear; for our God is a consuming fire."¹

The analogy between these passages and the whole of the third chapter of the second epistle of Peter, is of a close and striking character. As a further confirmation of the opinion that Peter has there referred to the epistle to the Hebrews, it has been observed, *first*, that, although the whole of Paul's writings contain abundant internal evidences of their divine origin, yet the description of being written "according to the wisdom given unto him," applies with peculiar force to the epistle to the Hebrews, a treatise in which the inspired author has displayed an extraordinary depth of divine knowledge, and a pre-eminent skill in unfolding the deeper and more abstruse parts of the christian system;—and, *secondly*, that the "things hard to be understood" (*δυσνόητά τινα*), of which Peter speaks as contained in the epistles of Paul, are most conspicuous in that to the Hebrews, the writer of which expressly denominates certain parts of his own doctrine "things hard to be interpreted"² (*λόγος δυσσερμηνευτος*).*

¹ Heb. xii. 25—29.

² Heb. v. 11. *Owen on the Hebrews*, Exerc. 2.

* The doubts mentioned by Eusebius, as entertained by some persons, respecting the genuineness of the second epistle of Peter, (*Eccl. Hist.* lib. iii. 25. vi. 25.) had probably disappeared in the christian church, before the council of Laodicea, (A. D. 363,) by which this epistle was regarded as part of the canon of Scripture. The simple ground on which Lardner states himself to be convinced of its genuineness is this—that it plainly professes, in its opening salutation, and more indirectly in some other passages, to be the work of this apostle, and must therefore be either the genuine production of his pen, or a gross forgery. Now the moral and doctrinal contents of this epistle (especially of the first and third chapters) are of so weighty and elevated a character, as totally to preclude the probability of the latter alternative. And this, I doubt not, is the main reason why this epistle, as well as the general epistle of James, (which also was reckoned by Eusebius among the controverted books,) have been, for so many ages, universally received by Christians as of canonical authority.

This general argument, however, is satisfactorily confirmed by the

II. The next evidence to be adduced, in support of the opinion that the epistle to the Hebrews was written by Paul, is that

comparison of various expressions contained in *both* the epistles ascribed to Peter. The following examples may suffice to elucidate the subject.

Comp. 1 Pet. i. 2, *Χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εὐοχή πληθυνθείη*, with 2 Pet. i. 2. *The same words.*

Comp. 1 Pet. i. 18, *ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς*, with 2 Pet. iii. 11, *ἐν ἀγίαις ἀναστροφαῖς*.

Comp. 1 Pet. iii. 21, *σαρκὸς ἀπόθεις ῥύπον*, with 2 Pet. i. 14, *ἀπόθεις τοῦ σκηνώματος*.

Comp. 1 Pet. iv. 3, *ἐν ἀσελείαις*, with 2 Pet. ii. 18. *The same words*; ἀσελγεία is generally used in the singular.

Comp. 1 Pet. i. 17, *χρόνον ἀναστροφῆτε*, with 2 Pet. ii. 18, *τοὺς ἐν πλάνῃ ἀναστροφόμενους*.

Comp. 1 Pet. iii. 20, *ἐξεδέχeto ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ μακροθυμία ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε, κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ, εἰς ἣν ὀλίγοι (τουτέστιν ὁ κτῶ) ψυχαὶ διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος*, with 2 Pet. ii. 5, *καὶ ἀρχαίου κόσμου οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλ' ὁ γδοον Νῶε δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα ἐφύλαξας, and iii. 15, καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν μακροθυμίαν, σωτηρίαν ἡγεῖσθε*.

Comp. 1 Pet. iii. 17, *Κρεῖττον γὰρ ἀγαθοποιῶντας, . . . πάσχειν*, with 2 Pet. ii. 21, *Κρεῖττον γὰρ ἢν αὐτοῖς, μὴ ἐπεγνωκέναι, κ. τ. λ.*

Comp. 1 Pet. v. 4, *κομιεῖσθε . . . τῆς δόξης στέφανον*, with 2 Pet. ii. 13, *κομιόμενοι μισθὸν ἀδικίας*.

Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 11, *τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν*, with 2 Pet. ii. 18, *δεδεάζουσιν ἐν ἐπιθυμίαις*.

Comp. 1 Pet. i. 20, *ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων*, with 2 Pet. iii. 3, *ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν*.

Comp. 1 Pet. iv. 3, *πεπορευμένους* (in the sense of *vitam agentes*) *ἐν ἀσελγείαις*, with 2 Pet. ii. 10, *ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ μiasμοῦ πορευόμενοι*.

Comp. 1 Pet. v. 10, *Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς . . . ὑμᾶς στήριξεί*, with 2 Pet. i. 12, *ὑμᾶς . . . ἐστήριγμένους ἐν . . . ἀληθείᾳ*.

Comp. 1 Pet. iv. 12, *ὡς ξένου ὑμῖν συμβαίνοντος* (in the sense of *happening*) with 2 Pet. ii. 22, *συμβέβηκε δὲ αὐτοῖς*.

Comp. 1 Pet. iii. 20, *ὁκτώ ψυχὰς* (in the sense of *persons*) with 2 Pet. ii. 14, *δεδεάζοντες ψυχὰς ἀστηρίκτους*.

Comp. 1 Pet. i. 14, *τέκνα ὑπακοῆς*, obedient children, with 2 Pet. ii. 14, *κατάρας τέκνα*, cursed children.

Comp. 1 Pet. i. 4, *τετηρημένην ἐν οὐρανοῖς*, with 2 Pet. ii. 17, *εἰς αἰῶνα τετήρηται*.

Although the expressions here cited are not in general *peculiar* to

of ecclesiastical tradition. The Greek and eastern fathers are unanimous in ascribing the epistle to Paul. The earliest authority amongst them, applying to the subject, is that of Pantaenus, president of the christian school at Alexandria, who flourished A. D. 180. From a passage in the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius,¹ we find that this ancient presbyter spoke of the epistle to the Hebrews as the work of Paul, and accounted for the apostle's not attaching his name to it, on the ground of modesty, and because his peculiar office was that of ministering to the *Gentiles*.¹

Pantaenus was succeeded in the school of Alexandria by Clement, (A. D. 192,) whose testimony to the Pauline origin of this epistle is also preserved by Eusebius, and is quite explicit.² Origen, (A. D. 230,) the successor of Clement in his office, received the epistle as written by Paul, and expressly declares that it was handed down as such by the *ancients*.³ Now the ancients (*οἱ ἄρχαιοὶ ἄνδρες*) to whom this father refers, were probably Christians who lived in apostolic times, or very soon afterwards; whence we may conclude that even in the primitive age of the church, the epistle to the Hebrews was received as the work of Paul. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the earliest versions which were made of the *canonical* scriptures of the New Testament—viz. the Syriac Peshito, the Sahidic, and the Vetus Itala, contain this epistle. Here it should be observed, that the testimony of Clement of Alexandria and Origen on this subject is by no means confined to the declarations now alluded to; for there are to be found in their extant works numerous passages of the epistle to the Hebrews, which they currently adduce as *scripture*, and as the words of Paul.

After Origen we have Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, A. D. 247; Theognostus, of the same place, A. D. 282; Methodius, A. D. 292 (probably); Pamphilus, of Cesarea, A. D. 294; Archelaus, bishop of Mesopotamia, A. D. 300; Hierax, a learned Egyptian, A. D. 302; Alexander, A. D. 313; Eusebius,

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. cap. 14.

² *Ib.* lib. iii. cap. 38.

³ *Ib.* lib. vi. cap. 25.

the apostle Peter, they are sufficiently marked and numerous to evince a strong similarity in style between the two epistles; and independently of other arguments, render it probable that the same person was the author of them both.

of Cesarea, A. D. 315 ; Athanasius, A. D. 326 ; Adamantius, A. D. 330 ; Cyril, of Jerusalem, A. D. 348 ; Serapion, an Egyptian bishop, A. D. 347 ; Titus, bishop of Bostra in Arabia, A. D. 362 ; Epiphanius, A. D. 368 ; Basil, A. D. 370 ; Gregory Nazianzen, A. D. 370 ; Amphiloehius, A. D. 370 ; Gregory Nyssen, A. D. 371 ; Diodorus, of Tarsus, A. D. 378 ; Didymus, of Alexandria, A. D. 378 ; the author of the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, A. D. 390 ; Theodore, of Mopsuesta, A. D. 394 ; Chrysostom, A. D. 398 ; Maximin, the Arian bishop, *circa* A. D. 400 ; Severian, A. D. 401 ; Victor, A. D. 401 ; Cyril, of Alexandria, A. D. 412 ; Theodoret, A. D. 423 ; and many others. By these numerous fathers, the epistle is attributed to Paul. Many of them, like Clement and Origen, without hinting at the existence of any doubts on the subject, have quoted the words of this epistle as *his* words ; others, in lists of the canonical books of scripture, have included it among *his* epistles. The testimony of the Greek fathers, thus general and explicit, is confirmed by that of Ephrem the Syrian, A. D. 370 ; also by that of the general council of Christians held at Laodicea, A. D. 363.¹

It may be proper to advert somewhat more particularly to the evidence of Eusebius. In that celebrated passage of his *Ecclesiastical History*, in which he divides the books of the New Testament, into “ those universally allowed to be genuine (*ὁμολογούμενα*) ” and “ those of which the authority was disputed (*ἀντιλεγόμενα*), ” the epistle to the Hebrews is not distinguished by him from the other epistles of Paul, and is therefore included *with them*, in the class of *ὁμολογούμενα*.² In strict accordance with this classification, Eusebius has, in other passages of his works, quoted this epistle as *divine scripture* and as written by Paul.³ On one occasion however, at the same time that he expresses his own judgment that Paul was the author of the epistle, he informs us that the contrary opinion existed : “ There are,” he says, “ fourteen epistles of Paul manifest and well known (*πρόδηλοι καὶ σαφεῖς*), but yet there are some, who reject that to the Hebrews, alleging in behalf of their opinion, that it was not received in the church of Rome as a writing of Paul’s.”⁴ And in another place he says, “ to this very time by some of the Romans,

¹ *Lardner's Works*, 4to. iii. 329, 330. ² *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. cap. 25. ³ *Ib.* lib. ii. cap. 17. *De Martyr. Palest.* cap. 11. ⁴ *Ib.* lib. iii. cap. 3.

this epistle is not reckoned to be the apostle's."¹ Accordingly it appears, that some of the earliest Latin fathers did not receive the epistle as Paul's. Caius, A. D. 212, supposed to have been a Presbyter at Rome, mentions the epistles of Paul as being only thirteen in number;² and Tertullian, who wrote at the same period, ascribed this epistle to Barnabas. We are also informed by Stephen Gobar, as cited by Photius, that Irenaeus bishop of Lyons, and his disciple Hippolytus, did not receive this treatise as a work of Paul's.³ Eusebius however states that Irenaeus, in one of his works (now lost), appeals to certain declarations (*ὁμολογία*) in the epistle to the Hebrews.⁴

With regard to the disposition to reject the epistle, which existed in the church at Rome during the fourth century, it might possibly arise (as is stated by Philaster of Brescia A. D. 380) from opposition to the Novatians—sectarians, who grounded on Hebrews vi. 4—6, their determination not to re-admit into the church, on repentance, those who had once fallen from the faith of Christ.⁵ Jerome, (A. D. 392,) although he mentions the doubts which existed on the subject, himself received the epistle as the work of Paul;⁶ and the later Latin fathers, including Hilary, (A. D. 354,) Ambrose, (A. D. 374,) and Augustin, (A. D. 400,) are as unanimous as the Greeks, in favour of the same opinion. On the whole, therefore, it appears, that the records of antiquity decidedly support that opinion. With the exception of a few of the western fathers, and some persons at Rome in the fourth century, whose objection has been accounted for by an incidental circumstance, *it appears to have been the prevailing and nearly universal judgment of the early christian church, that Paul was the author of the epistle to the Hebrews.*

III. We have now to consider the internal evidences, by which this judgment is confirmed: and (1) in the first place we may observe, that the little which can be collected from the epistle to the Hebrews, respecting the *personal circumstances* of its author, is coincident with the history of Paul. The intimate knowledge which the author displays of the Old Testament and of the whole Jewish institution, affords a strong presumption that he was a Jew, and a Jew of great learning: this was eminently

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. cap. 20. ² *Ib.* lib. vi. cap. 20. ³ *Bibl.* p. 904.

⁴ *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. p. 26. ⁵ *Lardner's Works*, vol ii. p. 523. ⁶ *Ib.* vol. ii. p. 558.

the case with Paul, who was as "touching the law a Pharisee," and who was brought up in all the learning of the Hebrews, at the feet of Gamaliel.

In the latter part of his epistle, the writer exhorts the Hebrews to pray for him, and the rather to do this "*that he might be restored to them the sooner*," adding almost immediately afterwards,¹ "*they of Italy salute you.*"* It appears, therefore, that this writer had been with the Hebrew Christians in Judea (to whom it is nearly certain that his epistle was addressed)—that he desired to be restored to them—and that he was then absent from them, *in Italy*: now we know that Paul frequently visited the Christians in Judea; and that he was at last separated from them and carried a prisoner to *Rome*. The evidence which this coincidence affords is strengthened by Heb. xiii. 23, "*know ye that our brother* (τὸν ἀδελφόν) *Timothy is set at liberty*;" for Paul frequently calls Timothy *our brother* (ὁ ἀδελφός),² and from the commencement of his epistles to the Colossians and the Philippians, we learn, that *when Paul was in Italy, Timothy was there also*. It ought moreover to be observed, that the date of the epistle to the Hebrews, (as indicated by internal evidence hereafter to be adduced,) was probably shortly subsequent to that of Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, which took place about the year of our Lord 63.

2. It has often and justly been observed, that a *mind* extremely similar to the mind of Paul displays itself throughout the epistle to the Hebrews. That boldness, fervour, and decision; that zeal for Christ; that rapid accumulation of ideas; those perspicuous and authoritative statements of christian truth; those comprehensive views of the character and offices of the Son of God, and more especially of the doctrine of *atonement*; that prevailing sense of the efficacy of faith; that clear insight

¹ Heb. xiii. 19, 24.

² 2 Cor. i. 1; Col. i. 1; 1 Thes. iii. 2.

* Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας. "They of Italy." I believe that ἀπὸ is here rightly rendered "of." The idiom is not considered to denote that the persons spoken of came from Italy, and *were then elsewhere*, but only that Italy was their country or home. Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας may there be understood as signifying the Italian Christians, including, of course, those of Rome. The same idiom is employed in Matt. xxi. 11; Acts xvii. 13; etc. So in Philo, οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας, signifies, the Alexandrians. Vid. *Rosenmüller in loc.* *Schleusner in voc. ἀπό*, No. 19. *Gill, etc.*

into the introductory nature of the Jewish law, and of the superior and permanent claims of the gospel; by which the apostle Paul was so eminently distinguished—distinguished the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews.

3. The manner in which the subjects of this epistle are arranged indicates that Paul was its author. Many of the acknowledged epistles of that apostle admit of a clear division into two parts; the first relating to doctrine, the second to practice. In the former part of the epistles to the Romans, the Galatians, the Ephesians, and the Colossians, we find statements of christian doctrine, which, in the latter part of them, are closely followed up by a series of practical exhortations. A similar arrangement is not to be observed in the epistles of James, Peter, or John, but is very conspicuous in that to the Hebrews, of which the first eleven chapters (except the sixth, which is parenthetical) are chiefly occupied by a statement of doctrine, clear, comprehensive, and argumentative, like the statements of Paul, and the two last chapters consist almost entirely of exhortations. It may also be observed, that these exhortations relate to several of those subjects on which, in the preceptive part of his epistles, Paul was most accustomed to dwell—namely, diligence, courage, and perseverance in the christian course;¹ peace and love;² hospitality;³ chastity;⁴ contentment, as opposed to the love of money;⁵ stability in doctrine;⁶ and prayer on his own behalf.⁷

4. There are a variety of highly characteristic particulars, in which this epistle admits of a close comparison with the acknowledged writings of the apostle Paul. In Heb. i. 2, we read that God appointed his Son *heir of all things* (*κληρονόμος πάντων*); an assertion which agrees with the declaration of Paul, that Christians are “heirs of God and *joint heirs of Christ* (*συγκληρονόμοι Χριστοῦ*).⁸ In Heb. i. 3, Christ is denominated “*the express image*” (*χαράκτις*) of the person (or substance) of God; so Paul declares that he is “*the image* (*εἰκών*) of the invisible God,” and that “*in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily*.”⁹ In the same verse of our epistle, we read that the Son of God *upholdeth all things by the word of his power*; com-

¹ Ch. xii. 3, 12, 13.—*comp.* Gal. vi. 9; Eph. iii. 13. ² Ch. xii. 14, 15.—*comp.* 1 Cor. xiii. 1—13; 2 Cor. xiii. 11. ³ Ch. xiii. 2.—*comp.* Rom. xii. 13. ⁴ Ch. xiii. 4.—*comp.* Eph. v. 3—5. ⁵ Ch. xiii. 5.—*comp.* Eph. v. 3; Col. iii. 5; 1 Tim. vi. 6—10. ⁶ Ch. xiii. 9.—*comp.* Eph. iv. 14. ⁷ Ch. xiii. 18.—*comp.* Eph. vi. 19; 1 Thes. v. 25, etc. ⁸ Rom. viii. 17. ⁹ Col. i. 15; ii. 9.

pare the doctrine of Paul, that “by him (the Son of God) *all things consist*” (συνέστηκε).¹ In Heb. i. 3, 4, it is said that the Son of God, “when he had himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high; being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.” This is precisely the doctrine of Paul, who declares that God raised Jesus “from the dead and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above every name that is named not only in this world, but also in that which is to come.”² In Heb. i. 5, we find applied to Jesus the words of the second Psalm, “*Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*; and of all the apostles or evangelists, Paul alone has so applied that remarkable prophecy.³ In Heb. i. 6, Christ, under the title of πρωτότοκος, first-born or first-begotten, is described as the object of the worship of angels. So Paul, when treating of the divine nature and super-eminence of Christ, calls him πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως—“the *First-born* or *First-begotten* of the whole creation.”⁴ The application to Jesus Christ of the description of *man*, contained in the eighth Psalm,—an application which we find in Heb. ii. 7, 9,—is striking and extraordinary; but that Paul so applied the same description, we learn from 1 Cor. xv. 27. Paul compares the *word of God* to a sword.⁵ So the author of our epistle describes this *word*, as “sharper than a two-edged sword.”⁶ In Heb. iv. 13, 14, the first principles of religion are figuratively represented as *milk*, and the more recondite doctrines of christianity, as *strong meat*: the same remarkable figures are adopted by Paul, in 1 Cor. iii. 2. In Heb. vii. 18, 19, the gospel is described as that which succeeded, and thereby abrogated the Jewish law (ἐπισημογραφία)—a doctrine which accords with the declaration of Paul, that the law was “*our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ*,” and that “*after that faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster*.”⁷ So again, in Heb. viii. 5, x. 1, the sacrificial ceremonies of the Jewish law are declared to be “*a shadow of good things to come*”—a declaration, precisely similar to that which Paul has made respecting some other branches of the same institution: “Let no man, therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holiday, or of the full moon, or of the Sabbath days; which are a *shadow of things to come*; but

¹ Col. i. 17. ² Eph. i. 20, 21. So also Phil. ii. 9. ³ Acts xiii. 33.

⁴ Col. i. 16. ⁵ Eph. vi. 17. ⁶ Heb. iv. 12. ⁷ Gal. iii. 24, 25.

the body is of Christ.”¹ Paul was frequently led to illustrate the conflicts and hopes of a Christian’s life, by language borrowed from the public games and exercises, so common among the ancients; and similar illustrations are made with great force and elegance, in the epistle to the Hebrews.² Again, the apostle says of himself and his brethren, “we are made a *spectacle* (θέατρον) unto the world and to angels and to men;”³ and we find the same idea in Heb. x. 33, in which passage the persecuted Christians are described as being made a *gazing stock* or *spectacle* (θεατροιζόμενοι). From Heb. vii. 25, we learn that Christ, who is made higher than the heavens, “*ever liveth to make intercession for us*”—a doctrine which Paul alone has declared with the same clearness: “It is Christ that died; yea rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, *who also maketh intercession for us.*”⁴ In like manner in the epistle to the Hebrews, our Lord is repeatedly described as *the Mediator* (μεσίτης);—a title which is elsewhere applied to him *only* by the apostle Paul.⁵ There is scarcely any thing in this epistle more peculiar, or which has excited more critical discussion, than the manner in which the author illustrates the covenant of God in Christ, by the circumstances of a man’s *testament*,—the word διαθήκη being used to denote both a *covenant* and a *will*.⁶ It is remarkable that the same illustration appears to be adopted by Paul.⁷ Between the account given of the faith of Abraham and its consequences, in Rom. iv. 17—20, and that which we find in Hebrews xi. 8—12, there is an oblique yet striking correspondence. The participle νενεκρωμένος, applied to Abraham in both these passages, occurs nowhere else either in the Septuagint, or Greek Testament. “*The God of peace*” is an expression frequent in the acknowledged writings of Paul, nor is it elsewhere used except in the epistle to the Hebrews.⁸ Finally, the whole conclusion of the epistle,—the message of mutual salutation,⁹ the farewell “*grace be with you all,*”¹⁰ and the comprehensive and apostolic blessing by which it is preceded, are all after the manner of Paul.¹¹

¹ Col. ii. 16, 17. ² *Comp.* Acts xx. 24; 1 Cor. ix. 24; Phil. iii. 12—14; 2 Tim. ii. 5; iv. 6—8, with Heb. vi. 18; xii. 1—4, 12. ³ 1 Cor. iv. 9. ⁴ Rom. viii. 34. ⁵ *Comp.* Heb. viii. 6; ix. 15; xii. 24; with 1 Tim. ii. 5. ⁶ Heb. ix. 15, 16. ⁷ Gal. iii. 15, 17. *Schleusn. Lex. in voc. διαθήκη.* ⁸ Ch. xiii. 20. ⁹ Ch. xiii. 24. ¹⁰ 25. ¹¹ *Comp.* Rom. xv. 33; xvi. 25—27; Eph. iii. 14—21; vi. 23, 24, etc. etc. *Macknight’s Dissertation on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, and *Lardner*, 4to. vol. iii. 332.

While these points of correspondence afford a strong evidence in favour of the opinion that Paul was the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, it ought not to be concealed that doubts on this subject have often been suggested to inquiring minds, by a certain perceptible difference of *style* between this epistle and the acknowledged writings of Paul. The Greek of "the Hebrews" is more elegant and finished than that in which the apostle commonly wrote. There is indeed no other part of the New Testament, in which is displayed the same care and skill in the formation of sentences, or the same nicety in the tasteful selection of words.

This difficulty was felt by ancient ecclesiastical writers, no less forcibly than by modern critics. Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, and Jerome, account for the diversity in question, by supposing that the epistle was originally written in Hebrew, and was afterwards translated into Greek—by *Luke*, according to Clement; by *Clement of Rome*, according to Eusebius.¹ Origen accounts for the Greek style of the epistle somewhat differently: "To declare my own opinion," says this learned father, as quoted by Eusebius, "I should say that the sentiments are the apostle's, but that the language and composition are to be ascribed to some one who made notes of what the apostle said, (*σχολιογραφήσαντος*) and carefully reduced to writing the declarations of his master."²

There are good reasons for our not acceding to either of these traditions, or rather hypotheses. The conjecture of Origen is evidently an improbable one, and the notion that the epistle to the Hebrews, as we now read it, and as it was read at the close of the first century by Clement of Rome, is only the translation of a Hebrew original, appears to be untenable for several reasons. In the first place, no mention is made in the works of the fathers, or in the history of the church, of the actual existence of any such original;—secondly, the *paronomasia* which occur in this epistle can scarcely be supposed to have flowed from the pen of a translator;*—thirdly, the writer not only makes all his quotations of the Old Testament from the

¹ *Eus. Hist. Eccl.* iii. 38; vi. 14. *Hieron. de V. I.* cap. 5.

² *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. cap. 25.

* See for example, Heb. v. 8, ἔμαθεν, ἃς ὧν ἔπαθε. v. 14, καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ. vii. 3, ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ. xi. 37, ἐπρίσθησαν, ἐπειράσθησαν, etc.

Septuagint version, but sometimes argues precisely on those parts of the passages quoted, in which that version differs from the Hebrew Text;¹—lastly, the epistle, as read in Greek, displays that force and freedom of expression—that native beauty of texture—which it would be unreasonable to ascribe to any but an original writer.

Although, however, the difficulty before us cannot fairly be *thus* removed, it will, I believe, very much subside, if not entirely vanish, before an exact comparison of the phraseology of the epistle to the Hebrews, with that of Paul's acknowledged writings. These are found to be, in various particulars, *remarkably similar*.

First. In the acknowledged epistles of Paul, there are numerous Hebraisms, or Jewish idioms in a Greek dress. Now, although Origen speaks of the *purser Greek* of the epistle to the Hebrews, there is, probably, no part of the writings of the apostle, in which these Jewish idioms are more conspicuous.*

Secondly. The apostle often separates his premises from his conclusion, by a parenthetical discourse.—Striking instances are afforded by Rom. ii. 12—16; v. 12—18; Eph. iii. 1—13; and a precisely similar example will be found, in Heb. iv. 6—11. The interruption in Heb. vi. of the writer's argument respecting Melchizedek, is of the same character.²

Thirdly. Certain peculiarities of grammatical construction are common to this epistle, and to Paul's acknowledged writings. Paul frequently makes use of a neuter adjective instead of a substantive, as τὸ γνωστόν,³ τὸ χρηστόν,⁴ τὸ ἀσθενές.⁵ So in Hebrews, τὸ ἀμετάθετον,⁶ τὸ πανταζόμενον,⁷ τὸ χαλόν.⁸ In Heb. vii. 11, we read ὁ λαὸς γὰρ νενομοθέτητο. Here the *object* in the sentence takes the place of the *subject*, and assumes the form of a nominative to the verb, the meaning being, that the law was delivered *to* the people. A similar construction is observable in Rom. vi. 17, εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς—“the form of doctrine *whereto* ye were delivered,” instead of “*which* was delivered to you.”⁹

Fourthly. Many modes of expression, otherwise peculiar to

¹ ii. 7; x. 5—10. ² Stuart, vol. i. p. 191. [p. 158.] ³ Rom. i. 19. ⁴ Rom. ii. 4. ⁵ 1 Cor. i. 25, etc. etc. ⁶ Heb. vi. 17. ⁷ xii. 21. ⁸ xii. 13. ⁹ See also Rom. iii. 2; 1 Tim. i. 11. Stuart, vol. i. p. 209. [p. 167.]

* A long list of examples is given in *Moses Stuart's* excellent work on this epistle. London Ed. vol. i. p. 313. [Amer. Ed. p. 260.]

Paul, are found in the epistle to the Hebrews ; as in the following examples.

Heb. v. 13, *νήπιος γάρ ἐστι*, “he is a babe”—that is, a child in religion, in an unfavourable sense. This sense is elsewhere given to the word only by Paul, who writes to the Corinthians *ὡς νηπίοις ἐν Χριστῷ* as to *babes in Christ*.¹ On the contrary *τέλειος*, as used by Paul, expresses a state of advanced knowledge in religion.² And thus it is in Heb. v. 14. The word *τελειότης* also, meaning “religious maturity or perfection,” is peculiar in the New Testament, to Paul and to this epistle.³

In Heb. vi. 3, we read *ἐάνπερ ἐπιτρέψῃ ὁ Θεός*, “if God permit ;” and in 1 Cor. xvi. 7, *ἐὰν ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτρέψῃ*, “if the Lord permit.” No such phrase occurs elsewhere in the New Testament.

In Heb. x. 1, and Col. ii. 17, and only in these passages, we find the expression of *σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων*, “a shadow of things to come.” The application in both instances, is to the ceremonies of the Jewish law.⁴

Παρόρησία to denote *boldness* in *approaching* God, is peculiar to Paul and this epistle. Heb. x. 19, “Having therefore, brethren, boldness (*παρόρησιαν*) to enter into the holiest, etc.”⁵ “In whom we have boldness (*παρόρησιαν*) and access with confidence, etc.”

Heb. x. 38, “The just shall live by faith.” The words are a quotation from the Old Testament, but they are cited and applied elsewhere, only by Paul.⁶

Heb. xiii. 20, *Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης*, “But the God of peace.”⁷ *Προσεύχεσθε περὶ ἡμῶν*, “Pray for us.”⁸ These expressions, natural and simple as they are, are peculiar to our epistle, and to Paul.

In Heb. xii. 22, *Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐπουράνιος*, that is, *heaven*, agrees with *Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἄνω*, used with the same meaning in Gal. vi. 26.

Ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς, the “word of hearing” is put in Heb. iv. 2, for “the word preached.” The same remarkable expressions (the articles excepted) are employed by Paul, and in the same sense.⁹ The Greek scriptures supply no third example.

Finally, the following words which are common to this epis-

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 1.—*comp.* Eph. vi. 14. ² 1 Cor. ii. 6. ³ Col. iii. 14. Heb. vi. 1. ⁴ *Comp.* Heb. viii. 5. ⁵ *Comp.* Eph. iii. 12. ⁶ Rom. i. 17. Gal. iii. 11. ⁷ *Comp.* Rom. xv. 33 ; Heb. xiii. 18. ⁸ xiii. 18.—*comp.* 1 Thess. v. 25. ⁹ 1 Thess. ii. 13.

tle and the acknowledged writings of Paul, are not elsewhere used in the New Testament, or not elsewhere applied in the same manner. Ἀμαρτία, in the sense of a sin offering; μεσίτης, a mediator; διαθήκη, in the sense of a will; καύχημα, exultation; καταργέω, to denote annulling or destroying; ἀγών, "a race or conflict;" θεωριξέσθαι, (parallel to θέατρον γενέσθαι,) "to be exposed to public shame;" στοιχεῖα in the sense of "rudiments;" λειτουργός, "a minister;" πληροφορία, "assurance;" ἐντυγχάνω, to describe the intercession of Christ; ἀδοκίμοι, "unfit, reprobate;" αἰδώς, "reverence or modesty;" αἰρέομαι, "to choose;" ἄκακος, "innocent;" ἐκλύω, in the sense of "desponding;" ὁμολογία, "religious profession;" ὑπόστασις, "confidence;" νεκρώω, "to mortify;" in the passive, "to be dead;" with a few others.*

Schmidii Concord. N. T.

On a close inspection then it appears, that the points of resemblance between the Greek style of our anonymous author and of Paul, are numerous and highly characteristic. If then the epistle to the Hebrews is distinguished by a more beautiful mode of expression than the epistles of Paul in general, how is the difference to be accounted for? Not, it may be answered, by the supposition that this epistle was written by some other person, for there are in the acknowledged works of Paul, (notwithstanding his general neglect of "excellency of speech,") many passages which prove that he was fully capable of elegant writing; but rather by a fact which no one who is accus-

* Some of these examples of similarity in Greek style, between the acknowledged epistles of Paul, and that to the Hebrews, have long since fallen under my own observation; but most of them are borrowed from Stuart's work, which has lately been republished in London. Mr. Stuart is an American divine, whose critical attainments appear to be of a high order. He has carefully studied the German biblical critics, and in the work now cited has, with admirable industry and good sense, refuted the objections made by Bertholdt, Schulz, Seyffarth, and others, against the Pauline origin of this epistle. The gravamen of their objections is the large number of words which are used in the epistle to the Hebrews, and which are not found in any other part of the New Testament, including Paul's epistles. But Stuart, to show the vanity of this negative mode of reasoning, applies it to the first epistle to the Corinthians, and proves that it would *equally* exclude this epistle from the canon of Paul's writings.

It may not be improper to state, that the bulk of the present essay was composed several years ago; and that the correspondence of my views with those of this more elaborate writer, on the subject of this epistle, arises from our having been led by a somewhat similar course of investigation, to the same results.

tomed to the perusal of Paul's writings will deny, namely, that the epistle to the Hebrews is much more *elaborate*, than any of his acknowledged epistles. Not one of them is so little familiar ; not one of them displays the same marks of a studious carefulness in the formation and arrangement of the author's argument. It appears that this carefulness was applied by the apostle, not only to that object, but also to the construction of his sentences and the choice of his words ; and thus, probably, the Greek style of this epistle became more polished than that in which he usually wrote, for the simple reason, that it was more attended to—more *studied*.

On the review of the evidences which have now been stated, the reader will observe:

First, That Peter when writing to Jews, speaks of one of Paul's epistles addressed to the same people ; that this description applies to none of Paul's epistles, except to that to the Hebrews ; and that a comparison between 2 Pet. iii. and some remarkable passages in "the Hebrews," strongly confirms the opinion that this was in fact the epistle to which Peter alluded as the work of Paul.

Secondly, That towards the end of the second century, this epistle was received as Paul's on the authority of primitive tradition, by the Alexandrine fathers ; and after that period by the Greek fathers without any known exception, by the Syrian church, and finally (notwithstanding the contrary judgment of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Caius, and some persons at Rome in the fourth century) by the Christians in the west.

Thirdly, That the nearly unanimous testimony of tradition in favour of the Pauline origin of this epistle, is abundantly supported by internal evidence, viz. by the information to be gathered from it respecting the circumstances of its author ; by the indications which it affords of the *mind* of Paul ; by the form in which its subjects are arranged ; and by its correspondence with his acknowledged works in a great variety of characteristic doctrines, thoughts, figures, and allusions.

Fourthly, That the superiority of the Greek style of "the Hebrews" in point of polish and beauty, over that in which Paul usually wrote, may be explained by the more elaborate character of the whole composition ; and that a detailed comparison of some of the phraseology contained in it, with that of his acknowledged writings, strongly indicates, independently of other evidences, that Paul was indeed its author.

On the whole, when we remember the difficulty necessarily attaching to this question, in consequence of the epistle's being anonymous, we must, I think, confess that the evidences by which it is traced to Paul as its author, are as comprehensive and satisfactory as the nature of the case was likely to admit. I conceive it to be no more than reasonable to rely, with confidence, on so strong and almost uninterrupted a probability. Now, it must be repeated, that if we allow the epistle to the Hebrews to have been written by Paul, we cannot hesitate to ascribe to that treatise, no less than to his other works, the character of divine inspiration, and therefore of canonical authority. In order however to complete the discussion of our present subject, we may now lay aside this particular question, and consider whether, *independently* of the hypothesis that Paul was its author, we are not justified in receiving the epistle to the Hebrews, as inspired and canonical?

In reference to this view of the subject, I have in the first place to observe, that *the epistle to the Hebrews was written during the apostolic age*. The truth of this proposition is proved by the quotations from the epistle, or allusions to it, made by successive fathers of the church, from the first century of the christian era, downwards. Amongst the fathers mentioned in the preceding part of the present dissertation, are Irenæus, Tertullian, Pantaenus, and Clement of Alexandria, all of whom flourished during the second century. Our earliest testimony, however, to the antiquity of this epistle, is that of Clement of Rome, who *died* in the year 100. That Clement of Rome borrowed largely from the epistle to the Hebrews, will, I am persuaded, be evident to every one who compares the passages cited below. In some of these examples, Clement uses the very words of the apostle. In others he varies a little from the original, and, as was natural in a borrower, expresses himself more diffusely.* In addition to these passages, and various others of a similar kind, the reader may be referred to Clem. 1 Cor.

* HEBREWS.

No. 1.

i. 3. "Ὅς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης
 . . . 4. Τοσοῦτω κρείττω γενόμενος
 τῶν ἀγγέλων ὥσθ' διαφορώτερον παρ'
 αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα.

CLEMENT.

No. 1.

Cap. 36. "Ὅς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα
 τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ, τοσοῦτω
 μείζων ἐστὶν ἀγγέλων ὥσθ' δια-
 φορώτερον ὄνομα κεκληρονόμηκε.

cap. ix. which contains the following sentence respecting Enoch ; *Λάβοιμεν Ἐνὼχ, ὃς ἐν ὑπακοῇ δίκαιος εὐρέθης, μετετέθη, καὶ οὐχ εὐρέθη αὐτοῦ θάνατος*, "Let us take for example Enoch, who, having by his obedience been proved to be righteous, was

7. *Λέγει· Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα.*

5. *Τίτι γὰρ εἶπε ποτε τῶν ἀγγέλων· Τίός μου εἶ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε ;—*

13. *Πρὸς τίνα δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰρηκέ ποτε· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου ;*

No. 2.

iv. 12. . . . καὶ κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας.

No. 3.

xi. 37. . . . περιῆλθον ἐν μηλωταῖς, ἐν αἰγείοις δέρμασι.

No. 4.

iii. 2. *Πιστὸν ὄντα τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτόν, ὡς καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.*

5. *Καὶ Μωϋσῆς μὲν πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, ὡς θεράπων.*

No. 5.

xi. 8. *Πίστει καλούμενος Ἀβραὰμ ὑπήκουσεν ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὸν τόπον, κ. τ. λ.*

No. 6.

xi. 31. *Πίστει Ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη οὐ συναπώλετο τοῖς ἀπειθήσασιν, δεξαμένη τοὺς κατασκόπους μετ' εὐρύνης.*

Γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως· Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ νῷ αὐτοῦ, οὕτως εἶπεν ὁ δεσπότης· υἱός μου εἶ σὺ, σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.

. . . . καὶ πάλιν λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

No. 2.

Cap. xxi. . . . οὐδὲν ἐλήθην αὐτόν τῶν ἐννοιῶν ἡμῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν διαλογισμῶν ὧν ποιοῦμεθα.

. . . . ἐρευνητὴς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐννοιῶν καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων.

No. 3.

Cap. xvii. οἵτινες ἐν δέρμασιν αἰγείοις καὶ μηλωταῖς περιεπάτησαν.

No. 4.

Cap. xvii. *Μωϋσῆς πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ἐκλήθη.*

Cap. xliii. *Ὁ μακάριος πιστὸς θεράπων ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ Μωϋσῆς.*

No. 5.

Cap. x. *Ἀβραὰμ πιστὸς εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ αὐτόν ὑπῆκουον γενέσθαι τοῖς ῥήμασι τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὗτος δι' ὑπακοῆς ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, κ. τ. λ.*

No. 6.

Cap. xii. *Διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐσώθη Ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη.*

The reader will observe, that Clement introduces the words and

translated, and *his death was not found.*" The strange expressions with which Clement concludes this sentence were certainly not derived from Gen. v. 24, (the only passage of the Old Testament relating to the translation of Enoch,) the Septuagint version of which is as follows: *καὶ εὐηρόεστησεν Ἐνὼχ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκειτο, ὅτι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός,* "And Enoch pleased God, and he was not found, because God had translated him;"—a passage which says nothing of *θάνατος*, *death*. Whence then were these expressions borrowed? Evidently from Hebrews xi. 5; *Πίστει, Ἐνὼχ μετετέθη, τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον· καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκειτο, διότι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός* "By faith Enoch was translated, that *he should not see death*, and

sentiments of the epistle to the Hebrews without giving notice that he quotes. This method of citation from Scripture is very common among theological writers, and is often adopted in the New Testament itself. From the manner of Clement's argument, it is not unreasonable to conclude, that he made his appeal to the contents of that epistle, on the ground that they formed a part of the Holy Scriptures and were of divine authority. But whatever judgment we may form on this subject, the above comparison affords ample evidence, that the author of the Hebrews was the *original writer*, and Clement the *copier*.

In the following passages from Clement's epistle, as compared with parallel parts of "the Hebrews," the more diffuse and less simple style of the *borrower*, is still more conspicuous.

No. 7.

xi. 36—39. *Ἐτεροι δὲ ἐμπαιγμῶν καὶ μαστίγων πείραν ἔλαβον, ἐτι δὲ δεσμῶν καὶ φυλακῆς. Ἐλιθάσθησαν, ἐπρίσθησαν, ἐπειράσθησαν, ἐν φόβῳ μαχαίρας ἀπέθανον . . . καὶ οὗτοι πάντες μαρτυρηθέντες διὰ τῆς πίστεως.*

No. 8.

xii. 1, 2. . . *τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες περιεκείμενον ἡμῖν νέφος μαρτύρων . . . δι' ὑπομονῆς τρέχωμεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα· ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγόν, κ. τ. λ.*

No. 7.

Cap. xlv. *Ἐδιώχθησαν δίκαιοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνόμων· ἐνεφυλακίσθησαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνοσίων· ἐλιθάσθησαν ὑπὸ παρονόμων· ἀπεκάνθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν μαρῶν καὶ ἄδικον ζῆλον ἀνεληφότων. Ταῦτα πάσχοντες εὐκλαίως ἤνεγκαν.*

No. 8.

Cap. xix. *Πολλῶν οὖν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων μετεληφότες παρὰδειγμάτων ἐπαναδράμωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδεδομένον ἡμῖν τῆς εἰρήνης σκόπον καὶ ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὸν πατέρα, κ. τ. λ.*

was not found, because God had translated him." Here we have the word *θάνατον*, *death*; and the phraseology in the epistle is such, that a reader of it might not improbably understand *θάνατος* as the nominative case to the verb *εὐρίσκετο*. This appears to have been the case with Clement, who has accordingly written *ὃν εὐρέθη αὐτοῦ θάνατος*, *his death was not found*. On the subject of Clement's quotations, it only remains for us to adduce the testimony of Eusebius, who, when speaking of the first epistle of that father to the Corinthians, (which he calls an epistle "acknowledged by all,") remarks that the author "has inserted many sentiments of the epistle to the Hebrews, and has also used some of the very words of it, thereby plainly manifesting that epistle (to the Hebrews) to be no modern treatise."*

The apostolic date of this epistle appears, *in the second place*, from internal evidences; for there are passages in it, which plainly evince that it was written before the taking of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple; that is, *before the year of our Lord, 70*. "If he (Christ) were on earth," says the author, "he should not be a priest, seeing that there are priests, *that offer gifts according to the law, who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things*."¹ "Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high priest *entereth into the holy place every year* with the blood of others."² "We have an altar whereof they have no right to eat, *that serve the tabernacle*."³ The services mentioned in these passages as *practised at the time when the author wrote*, necessarily ceased when the temple at Jerusalem was destroyed. The epistle must therefore have been written before that event took place, i. e. during the primitive age of the christian church.

A *third* evidence of the apostolic date of this epistle is the mention made in it of Timothy;⁴ and a *fourth* is derived from its being comprised (as already stated) in the earliest existing versions of the New Testament.

¹ Heb. viii. 4, 5.² Ch. ix. 25.³ Ch. xiii. 10.—*comp.* x. 11.⁴ Ch. xiii. 23.

* Eusebius further concludes from these premises, that the epistle was reckoned by Clement of Rome, with the other works of Paul; —ὁθεν εἰκότως ἔδοξεν αὐτὸ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐγκαταλεχθῆναι γράμμασι τοῦ ἀποστόλου. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. cap. 38.

Lastly, It may be remarked that the writer of "the Hebrews" addresses persons who had received their instruction in the gospel from the *immediate followers of Christ*: "How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, *and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him.*"¹ Since however he afterwards alludes to "the former days," wherein those to whom he writes were first enlightened,² and also speaks of the death of their first teachers,³ we may conclude that it was in the latter part of the age of the apostles that this epistle was composed. On the whole, it appears to be for substantial reasons, that the generality of biblical critics have concluded that it was written a *few years* before A. D. 70.

A second proposition which is of considerable importance to our argument, and which I conceive to be susceptible of satisfactory proof, is that the epistle to the Hebrews was addressed to the christian church in Palestine. The title which it now bears, "To the Hebrews," is found, as far as I can ascertain, in all manuscripts, versions, and editions. Neither Griesbach nor Wetstein have adduced a single exception; and that this title is coeval or nearly coeval with the epistle itself, may be concluded from the testimony of two very early fathers, Origen and Tertullian, who both make mention of the epistle, *as bearing such an inscription.*⁴ Clement of Alexandria has also quoted it expressly as "the epistle to the Hebrews;" and the same may be said of most of the numerous fathers, both Greek and Latin, by whom it has been cited. The records of antiquity therefore afford us a direct and satisfactory evidence, that the epistle was addressed to JEWS. This evidence is strengthened by the tenor of the work itself, the whole argument of which is connected with the ancient law of that people, and supposes in those to whom it is addressed, not only an intimate acquaintance with the Jewish law, but such an undue attachment to it, as it was evidently the writer's intention to weaken and diminish. It is clear, however, that the epistle was not in the first instance addressed to Jewish Christians *in general*; but to those of one community, living in one particular place, or at farthest, in one particular country. The peculiar circumstances of some distinct church

¹ Heb. ii. 3. ² Ch. x. 32. ³ Ch. xiii. 7. ⁴ *Tert. de Pud.*
cap. xx. *Eus. Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. 25.

are plainly alluded to in several passages of the epistle. Thus in ch. v. 12, we read of the length of time which had elapsed since these Hebrews had first received the knowledge of the truth ; in vi. 10, of the diligence which they had displayed in ministering to the saints ; in x. 33, 34, of the persecutions which they had cheerfully undergone, and of their compassion towards their brethren, in bonds ; and in xii. 4, of their not having yet “ resisted unto blood.” Again—the writer says, “ Pray for us ; but I beseech you the rather to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner.” “ Know ye that our brother Timothy is set at liberty ; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you.”¹ Such expressions would be quite unsuitable in a catholic epistle, and clearly indicate that the writer had in view some one community of Christians. Now we read of no christian community *consisting entirely or chiefly of Jews*, but that in Palestine. This was the only *christian* community which could probably be addressed as *the Hebrews*. The title therefore of the epistle, as found in all manuscripts and versions, and as quoted by so many of the early fathers, affords a sufficient evidence not only that the epistle was written to the Hebrews, but that it was addressed to that particular body of Christians, which could alone be so denominated ; viz. the Christians in Palestine.²

In confirmation of this conclusion, which appears to be adopted by the great majority of biblical critics, both ancient and modern ; it may be observed, *first*, that the name *Hebrews*, is most properly applied to persons, who were not only Jews by birth, but, who moreover were accustomed to the *vernacular* use of the Hebrew or Chaldaic language :³—and *secondly*, that although the general argument of the epistle was calculated for the instruction of christian Jews wherever situated, yet the familiar appeal made by the writer to the persons whom he is addressing, respecting the localities of the temple, the sacred things which it contained, and the ceremonies practised within its inclosure, was preeminently adapted to the habits and associations of *those* christian Jews, who dwelt in Jerusalem, or in the country of which it was the capital.*

¹ Heb. xiii. 19, 23. ² Chrysostom, *Ed. Bened. tom. xii. p. 2. Theodoret and Theophylact, Argum. in Ep. ad Heb. Lardner, vol. iii. p. 235.*

³ Acts vi. 1 ; xxi. 40 ; xxii. 2.

* Of the objections which some of the German critics have advanced

Now it is certain that during the apostolic age, the church at Jerusalem (to which, as is most probable, the epistle to the Hebrews was principally, perhaps singly, addressed) was regarded

ced against the opinion, that the epistle to the Hebrews was addressed to the Christians of *Palestine*, two only appear to require notice. The first is drawn from Heb. xii. 4, "*Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin, etc.*" "How could these words," it is asked, "be addressed to the Christians at Jerusalem, who had witnessed the martyrdom of Stephen, A. D. 37, and that of James, in the time of Herod's persecution, A. D. 44?" To this question it may be replied, that even in the days of Stephen and James, *resistance unto blood*, amongst the Christians in *Palestine*, was probably confined to these individuals, and certainly did not extend to the persons here addressed; but that the apostle wrote this epistle at a later date, and when the church of *Palestine* was under different circumstances. Accordingly, we find that the persecutions which they had *formerly* suffered are alluded to in strong language, in chap. x. 32, "But call to remembrance the former days, in which, after ye were illuminated, ye endured a *great fight of afflictions, etc.*" The martyrdom of James the less, under the high priest Ananus, probably took place at a date subsequent to that of this epistle.

A second objection is made, on the ground of the epistle's having been written in Greek; which, it is said, was improbable, on the supposition of its having been addressed, by a Hebrew, to those who were accustomed to speak and write in that language. Stuart satisfactorily answers this objection, by observing, first, that in the earliest age of the church, the Greek language was extensively spoken and written, and the Septuagint version of the Old Testament familiarly understood, among the Jews of *Palestine*, as is indeed evident from the four gospels; and secondly, that unless the epistle had been written in Greek, it could not have answered what may reasonably be supposed to have been the apostle's ultimate purpose—that of communicating permanent instruction to converts from Judaism to Christianity in every part of the world. See *Stuart*, vol. i. p. 78, 80. [p. 65, 66.] It is surprising that this judicious author, after having so elaborately supported the opinion, that this epistle was addressed to the *Hebrews of Palestine*, should have advanced the hypothesis that the particular church of *Palestine*, to which it was written, was that at *Cæsarea*. It seems to me a sufficient refutation of such an idea, that the first converts at *Cæsarea* (viz. Cornelius and his family) were *Gentiles*, and that from the character and situation of that city, as a great commercial emporium on the sea coast, and as the seat of the Roman government, there is reason to believe, that the church there consisted principally of those who were *not* "Hebrews." It is most probable, I conceive, that all the Jewish Christians of *Palestine* were ad-

by Christians in other parts of the world with peculiar deference and respect. It was at Jerusalem that our Saviour conversed with his disciples, died, and rose again; it was there that the saints were first gathered together after the death of Jesus; and there that the miraculous gifts of the Spirit were first poured out upon them. Hence the community of Christians at Jerusalem was esteemed as a parent church, and its authority was the greater, because it was so long governed by some of the apostles. We may learn from the book of Acts, that the decrees of the assembled church in that city were received by Christians in other places with unqualified submission;¹ and Paul requested the prayers of his brethren in Italy, that his services might be accepted by the saints at Jerusalem.²

It is equally indubitable, that during the same early period—the period appointed for the first establishment in the world of the christian religion—the miraculous endowments of the Holy Ghost and the gift of direct inspiration were poured forth, not only on the apostles, but, in various degrees, and according to the nature of their respective callings, upon numerous other individuals. There is reason to believe, as has been elsewhere remarked, that such endowments were the common portion of *all* those persons, who filled the more eminent offices, or performed the more important duties of the primitive church.³

No one will deny that it was a duty of a highly important nature to address a doctrinal treatise to those persons, who had been the first to receive and disseminate the truths of Christianity; to stir up the pure mind in that very community of Christians, which was regarded by other churches with so much reverence: and it is evidently very improbable that at such a period, so eminent a duty should devolve on any individual, who was not avowedly gifted with divine inspiration. This improbability is very much enhanced by the contents of the epistle itself, in which there is a manifest assumption of a very exalted authority. It abounds, more than almost any part of the sacred volume, in decisive declarations of the most important doctrines, in warm and fearless exhortation, and even in spirited rebuke.

¹ Acts xv. 22—31.

² Rom. xv. 31.—*comp.* Acts xi. 1—18; xxi.

18—25.

³ *Essays on Christianity*, 2d edit. 8vo. p. 98.

ressed in this epistle; but if there is evidence of any further restriction, it surely points to Jerusalem rather than to Cæsarea. See *Stuart*, vol. i. p. 83. [p. 68.]

Of an authoritative exhibition of doctrine, there can scarcely be found a more sublime specimen, than in the commencement of this epistle: "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things; by whom also he made the worlds; who, being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high." Of severe reproof I would adduce as an instance, chap. v. 11—13, "Of whom (i. e. Melchizedek) we have many things to say, and hard to be uttered, seeing ye are dull of hearing; for when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye *have need that one teach you again, which be the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk and not of strong meat.*" Of fervid and powerful exhortation a more striking example need not be selected than chap. xii. 25—29, "See that ye refuse not him that speaketh; for if they escaped not, who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that (speaketh) from heaven, etc. etc."¹ Surely it is no more than reasonable to believe, that the individual, who, in the first age of Christianity, could address, in language thus distinguished for its boldness, decision, and authority, the principal and parent community of Christians,—must either have been an apostle, or else one of those companions of the apostles, who were fully acknowledged in the church to be endowed with *immediate and absolute inspiration.*

Independently, however, of any consideration respecting the church to which this epistle was addressed, our reliance on its divine authority may safely be grounded (in connexion with its apostolic date) upon its *own internal excellence and scriptural weight.* Whether indeed we regard the gravity and *efficacy* of the language in which it is couched; or the high importance of the doctrines which it unfolds; or the power with which those doctrines are applied and enforced; we shall perceive ample reason for believing that it is rightly included in the canon

¹ Also, for doctrine see ch. ii. 14—18; iv. 12, 13; vi. 4—8; vii. 24—28; xi. 1; xii. 22—24: for rebuke, xii. 4, 5: for exhortation, ii. 1—3; iii. 1, 2, 7, 8, 15; iv. 1, 2, 14—16; vi. 11, 12; x. 19—27; xii. 1—3; xiii. 1—19.

of inspired writings. To confine our views, for the sake of brevity, to its doctrines ;—Dr. Owen observes that he who forms a just estimate of them “will be ready to conclude that the world may as well want the sun, as the church this epistle.” Without assenting to this proposition, which is derogatory to the other scriptures, we may with truth remark, that had it not been for the epistle to the Hebrews, the revelation of christian truth would have been left comparatively incomplete ; for there are recorded in that epistle doctrines of great moment, which are either not declared at all, or not declared with the same fulness and perspicuity, in any other part of the sacred volume. It is only in the epistle to the Hebrews, that we find a direct and explicit revelation of three great truths, respecting the sacerdotal and sacrificial observances of the ancient Jews ; the first, that they were typical of *Christ* ; the second, that they were in themselves utterly unprofitable for the purpose of redemption from sin ; the third, that they were all annulled by the sacrifice of the Son of God, and by the introduction of a spiritual dispensation. Whether we consider the vast importance of these truths to the scheme of Christianity, or the strength and prevalence, in the Jewish believers, of those prejudices which they contradict and overturn, we must surely admit, that for their original promulgation and permanent record, no influence and authority would suffice, but those of direct and *confessed* inspiration. The *priesthood* of Jesus Christ is another doctrine of peculiar importance in the christian scheme,—a doctrine abounding with support and consolation to every humble believer. Now, although this doctrine is briefly declared in Psalm cx. it is unfolded at length, explained in its several particulars, and traced to its practical results, only in the epistle to the Hebrews.

Other doctrines, which are by no means peculiar to this epistle, are nevertheless declared in it with a preeminent degree of clearness and power. Where shall we find a more sublime description of the personal dignity and divine character of the Son of God, than in the first chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews ? Where so luminous a statement of the practical operation of *faith*, as in the eleventh chapter of the same epistle ? Or who shall persuade us that he was not inspired, who could draw that most forcible of contrasts, and, for the encouragement of believers in every age, pronounce with so much authority, that “we are not come unto the mount that might be touched and that burned with fire, nor unto blackness, and darkness, and

tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and the voice of words : which voice they that heard intreated that the word should not be spoken to them any more"—but "unto mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first born which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel?"

It is needless to carry our argument further. With all those persons who are accustomed to study this epistle for their spiritual benefit, may safely be left the consideration of the question, whether there is any part of the Bible—with the single exception of the recorded discourses of our Lord himself—in which, *on the whole*, the wisdom of God appears to be more deeply seated ; any, upon which the power of the great Inspirer has produced more *conspicuous* effects ; any, from which the Christian derives more frequent or more edifying lessons of doctrinal and practical truth ?

Well may we be thankful to that superintending Providence, which has caused this invaluable treatise to be handed down to us from age to age, as a constituent part of the divine record ; well may we be jealous of every attempt to shake its authority or to remove it from its place.

ART. II. THE NATURE AND MORAL INFLUENCE OF HEATHENISM, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE GREEKS AND ROMANS, VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF CHRISTIANITY.

By Prof. Tholuck of Halle. Translated by Prof. Emerson.

[CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 290.]

PART IV.

ON THE INFLUENCE OF HEATHENISM UPON LIFE, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE GREEKS AND ROMANS.

SECTION II.

*Sensuality.*¹⁶⁰ *

SINCE, in their essential parts, the religions of heathenism are nothing but a religious conception or apprehension of the life of external nature; and since the chief point or characteristic of this natural life is its continual decay and continual generation; so in this manner *death* and *generation* became a chief object of concern in the ancient religions. We see this no where more plainly than among the inhabitants of India. One and the same original divine being, *Brahm*, (the same that lies at the foundation of all the phenomena of the world,) appears as god the creator, i. e. *Brahma*; as god the upholder, *Vishnu*; as god the reproducer after destruction, *Siva*.

The farther however this pantheistic worship advanced towards the West, the more this *decay* in natural life lost the reverence paid to it; it was too gloomy and depressing for the fickle Greeks and the colder Occidentals, although it flourished till a late period in Hither Asia, Syria, and Phrygia. On the

¹⁶⁰ See a treatise on this point of heathenism containing fundamental information, which is here made use of, in Scheibel's *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der alten Welt*, Bresl. 1806. Th. II.

* *Sinnlichkeit*, here rendered *sensuality*, is sometimes more comprehensive in its import, embracing all the pleasures enjoyed by the senses. But in the ensuing section, it is used simply in the import of *sensuality*, with but one exception which will be noticed in its place. I have therefore preferred this rendering instead of so uncommon a term as *sensualness* or *sensuousness*.

TRANS.

other hand, we find in all the western religions, the *productive* powers of nature especially honoured ; and indeed almost all nations of antiquity regarded God as hermaphrodite ; or, if they separated the principles of generation, they assumed one supreme god and one supreme goddess as the medium of every thing which came into being. Thus among the Egyptians were Osiris and Isis ; among the ancient Persians, the hermaphrodite Mitra-Mithras ; in Hither Asia, Deus Lunus and Venus, Attis and Cybele ; among the Greeks, Jupiter and Juno ; among the ancient Germans, Freir and Freia, etc.

Now by the very supposition of such divinities as these, the soul of man must necessarily have been far too much drawn away from moral to physical life ; and especially to that part of physical life by which the soul is most polluted. But still more must this have been the fact, when the nations were not satisfied with the mere reception of such gods, but invented also *symbols* of them, which could only serve to excite the most brutish lusts in the minds of beholders. At first they sculptured the images of the gods with a designed prominence of the parts of shame ; and afterwards made images of these parts themselves the object of divine honour. The *phallus** and the *kteis* are found as objects of worship in all the ancient systems.¹⁶¹ In India, we find images of the gods which are covered all over with them in the most offensive manner ; by themselves, they are erected of gigantic size in great numbers.¹⁶² Of the phallus-images among the Egyptians, Herodotus relates things which bear witness to such a bestiality, that we would gladly be able, for the honour of human nature, to deny them.¹⁶³ Lucian speaks of those common in hither Asia.¹⁶⁴ The phallus among the ancient Germans indicated the god Frikko, according to Adam of Bremen.¹⁶⁵ Even in America, in the cities of Tlascala and Panuco, the Spaniards found the

¹⁶¹ See a fuller detail in the book : *Les divinités génitrices ou sur le culte des Phalles*, par J. A. D. Paris, 1805.

¹⁶² See the titles of the books in Hamilton's *Catalogue des Manuscrits Sanskrdams*, Paris, 1807.

¹⁶³ Herodoti Hist. II. 48.

¹⁶⁴ Lucianus de Dea Syra.

¹⁶⁵ See *Les divinités génitrices*.

* Simulacrum ligneum membri virilis. *Kteis*, comae pudendae.

worship of the sexual parts.¹⁶⁶ Among the Greeks, many of the gods and goddesses were represented with this sign of shame by way of distinction, as Pan, Bacchus, Priapus, Venus, Ceres. And even the severe Romans adopted pretty early the like images; for, according to Winkelmann's description, the Etruscan statues are not less distinguished by the most sensual and immodest attributes.

Yet they were not content with barely setting up in public those infamous statues and infamous symbols of the gods. That which is concealed in the most secret obscurity among christian nations, the Greek exposed to the most public inspection, or made it a species of highly prized instruction. The festivals and the mysteries of the Greeks, contained, for the most part, representations of the union of the sexes; and were full of symbols, songs, and customs, which served to excite the slumbering passions.

The most of what pertains to this topic, is too impure to be brought to light by a christian writer; but, on the other hand, a wrong predilection for heathenism has so often covered these things over, that they ought not here to be wholly passed by in silence.

The Thesmophoria, the Dionysia,* and the feasts of Cybele, were all full of such pollution. At the Thesmophoria, the *kteis*, which was made of honey and sesame, was carried about, and then brought in formal procession before the goddess, where the most indecent songs resounded, sung by women inflamed with the wildest lust. The language employed was so indecent, that even a heathen, the astronomer Cleomedes, when speaking of immodest language, says:¹⁶⁷ "And other base things, of which some appear to be from the brothels; others, such as are commonly uttered by the women of Ceres who celebrate the Thesmophoria." A yet more revolting impression is made by the description of the celebration of the Bacchanalia, or Dionysiaca. Those who celebrated these mysteries advanced, having their hair

¹⁶⁶—Garcillasso de la Vega, Hist. des Incas, II. 6.

¹⁶⁷ Cleomedes de Meteoris, ed. Balforeus, lib. II. in Gronovii Thes.

* *Thesmophoria*, solemn festivals in honour of Ceres as the first who taught mankind the use of laws. *Dionysia*, festivals in honour of Bacchus. The Greek scholar will pardon the explanation of a few such terms for the sake of such as may need it. TRANS.

entwined with serpents, and devouring raw flesh. Some rode on asses ; others led forward he-goats. Wild and foaming with mad intoxication, they brandished the thyrsus and howled. The *phallaphori* went before, who bore on high poles the images of the sexual parts ; while behind, ran those who sang the *phallic* songs. These were mostly dressed as women ; and what was of a piece with the rest, they were drunk ; whence Plato says :¹⁶⁸ “ We have seen the whole town drunk at the Dionysia.” Similar is the description of the feasts of Cybele, where the priests, raging with the illusion of a beastly excitement, ran about naked among the multitude, emasculated themselves, and exultingly exhibited to the people the mutilated parts.¹⁶⁹

Thus in the Bacchanalian, the Samothracian, the Eleusinian, and in almost all the mysteries, we find the phallus, the *ithyphallic* songs, and also indecent symbolico-dramatic actions. Let us hear the words of a christian apologist, who was certainly not unjust towards heathenism, Clement of Alexandria, who had himself formerly been initiated into the mysteries.¹⁷⁰ “ How then, if I describe to you the mysteries ? I will not blab them in derision, like Alcibiades, but will unveil the secret jugglery according to the word of truth ; and likewise those so called gods of yours, to whom ye celebrate the mysteries, I design to show to the life, like an exhibition on the stage, before your eyes. First see, how the frantic Bacchus is commemorated by his priestesses, while in their sacred phrenzy they devour raw flesh, and with their heads bound with serpents and shouting *Evoe !* they dissever the newly slaughtered victims.—Ye who are yourselves initiated, will here receive, with so much the greater laughter, these your revered fables. But I will openly declare the whole secret, not fearing to utter in words what you are not afraid to worship.

“ Thus, then, I first mention her who was produced near Cyprus from the foam of the sea, the beloved of Cinyras, namely *Aphrodite*, who is called expressly, ‘ She who delights in

¹⁶⁸ De Legg. lib. I.

¹⁶⁹ See the description of these festivals in the book : *Les divinités génétrices*, and in Gronovii *Thesaurus*, T. VII. where yet more brutal traits are mentioned. On the mysteries in general, see the same works, and also Saintcroix *Recherches sur les Mystères des Grecs*, ed. de Sacy.

¹⁷⁰ Clem. Alex. *Proteptikos*, c. 2.

the male organs,' because she sprang from them, viz. from the amputated organs of Uranus, which were so lustful as even to impregnate the waves after they were cut off. This Aphrodite you very properly represent in the mysteries, as a production of the unchaste parts of the body. As a symbol of the origin of this sea-born goddess of voluptuousness, there are given to those who are here initiated into the practice of unchastity, a grain of salt, and a phallus. The initiated also bring with them for her a piece of money, as lovers to a courtesan.—Further, in regard to the mysteries of Ceres, they are nothing else but the amour of Jupiter with his mother Demeter, and the wrath of this his (I know not whether I should say) mother or wife; on which account she is called *Brimo*, or the angry. Some also relate, that when Ceres required of Jupiter, as a voluntary punishment for having enjoyed forbidden intercourse with her, that he should emasculate himself, he threw into her lap the genitals of a ram, thus intending to deceive her.

“Were I now needlessly to set forth the symbols of this initiation, I know it would excite laughter among you; although you especially ought not to laugh, because you would thus be so exposed to shame. When you say: I have eaten out of the drum! I have drunken from the cymbal! I have tasted of the dishes of the sacrifice! I have crept slyly into the female apartment! are not all these symbols of lasciviousness? are not these mysteries worthy of scorn? How, if I now subjoin the rest? Demeter brings forth a daughter; Proserpine grows up; and now Jupiter again lies with this same Proserpine whom he has begotten, while he forgets the debauchery committed with the mother. Thus is Jupiter both the father and the violater of Proserpine, and although under the form of a serpent, yet so that he is afterwards discovered. And this god it is, this serpent in the female bosom, who is celebrated by symbols in the Sabazian mysteries [Dionysia], where the initiated draw a serpent through their bosoms,” etc.¹⁷¹

Yet it was not light minded Greece alone that knew such festivals as these. We find similar ones also in Rome; and, in later times, also the like mysteries. In the vernal festivals of the goddess Anna Perenna, the same orgies and filthy festal

¹⁷¹ Compare Theodoretus Graecor. Affect. Curatio, Disp. I. Opp. T. I. p. 722.

songs occurred, with which, among other ancient nations, the new birth of nature was celebrated.¹⁷² The service of Priapus was here practised with just as much indecency as among other ancient nations. Varro relates,¹⁷³ that the god Mutinus, (so Priapus was called by the ancient inhabitants of Latium,) was borne through the city upon a carriage; that he stopped before the houses of the most distinguished matrons; and that they did not scruple to adorn him with flowers and garlands.

According to the above accounts, we need not wonder that even the most abandoned deeds in relation to sensual excesses, were attributed to those filthy gods. Partly for the purpose of giving to some physical appearance a symbolic character, and partly also perhaps inventing stories from a libidinous waywardness, men attributed to the gods the most filthy and scandalous sins, which the Christian is ashamed to relate, and which sometimes even the heathen, through shame, were unwilling to name. Thus, for example, Diodorus Siculus says, he is ashamed to relate the birth of Iacchus, which forms the chief object of the Sabazian festivals. Incest, sodomy, and all kinds of lasciviousness, are still a small thing compared with accounts like those of Bacchus, who practised unchastity on stones,¹⁷⁴ and of Ceres and her exposure of her nakedness.¹⁷⁵ It could not therefore appear surprising and offensive to the Greek, when harlots,¹⁷⁶ or violated boys,¹⁷⁷ were exalted to gods, and were actually worshipped by the people, which not very unfrequently happened. Thus it could come to pass, that they had one Venus by the name of *καλλιπυγος*, and one by the name of *πόρνη*.

What they did not hesitate to relate of the gods in words, how should they scruple to represent also in their images? Hence a cotemporary, with just indignation, depicts the immodest statues of the Greeks, while he says:¹⁷⁸ "Painters and statuaries represent Europa on the back of the licentious Jupiter;

¹⁷² Creuzer's Symbolik, B. II. p. 973.

¹⁷³ In Aug. de Civit. Dei, VII. 24. etc. Tertullian. ad Nationes, II. 11.

¹⁷⁴ Arnobius adv. Gentes, l. V. p. 177. ed. Paris. 1651.

¹⁷⁵ Clem. Alex. Protreptikos, c. 2.

¹⁷⁶ Eusebii Praep. Evang. II. 3. Lactantii Inst. I. 20.

¹⁷⁷ Euseb. Praep. Evang. II. 6.

¹⁷⁸ Theoderetus Graec. Aff. Cur. Opp. T. IV. p. 783. Disp. III.

Bacchus is exhibited as effeminate, and with lustful organs ; Pan and the satyrs are represented as wild beasts and asses striving for the gratification of their lusts ; Jupiter, as an eagle lusting for Ganymede, or in the shape of a swan uniting himself with Leda, or falling as a shower of gold into the lap of Danae." Aristotle also, in his *Politics*,¹⁷⁹ advises, that "care should be taken on the part of the government that statues and paintings should exhibit no indecent scenes, except in the temples of such divinities as, according to common opinion, preside over sensuality ; but still, at the festivals of these deities, only adults should take part in the ceremonies."

But not merely did statues and pictures serve more deeply to imprint in the mind the scandalous stories of the gods ; the dance too, and the drama, exhibited them in a manner sufficiently to the life. Thus Augustin relates, that on the stage were still daily sung and danced the robbery committed by Mercury, and the lasciviousness of Venus.¹⁸⁰ And Arnobius speaks of the exhibition, in a dance, of Jupiter's rape of Europa.¹⁸¹

But, even leaving out of view the scandalous statues of the gods, the public exhibition of naked male and female figures was something which can by no means consist with serious moral sentiments. In the most ancient times, among the Greeks themselves,¹⁸² as in all eastern countries,¹⁸³ the statues of the gods were always exhibited as clothed. Hence, in this respect, the moral feeling of Socrates, so early developed, is remarkable, whose master piece of statuary was the clothed Graces. In accordance with the same moral feeling, the virgin Pallas is always represented as clothed. Such shamelessness in the gods of Greece, and in part of Rome also, must necessarily have produced, in the strongest degree, the same vices in their worshippers. For, as Cicero says, instead of the transfer to man of that which is divine, they transferred human sins to the gods, and then experienced again the necessary reaction.

If we first consider the sacred bond of matrimony, we find that monogamy had, indeed, already, in accordance with the occi-

¹⁷⁹ Aristot. *Politica*, VII. 18. ed. Schneider.

¹⁸⁰ Aug. de *Civit. Dei*, VII. 26. Compare Meursii *Orchestra*, p. 23.

¹⁸¹ Arnobii *adv. Gentes*, l. VII.

¹⁸² Plato de *Rep.* p. 221. ed. Bekker.

¹⁸³ Herod. *Hist.* II. 8.

dental character, been early introduced by the founders of the Grecian states, Cecrops, Solon, and Lycurgus; though unquestionably from no other than a political view. This we see especially among the Lacedemonians. According to the Lycurgan legislation, the marriage tie might be dissolved, as soon as there was no longer any hope that able and active citizens would be produced from it. So the laws of Lycurgus even permitted married men mutually to exchange wives for a time; since, according to Plutarch's account, Lycurgus did not consider children as belonging to individuals, but to the state. And Solon, because he knew no other means of checking adultery and pæderastia, caused a temple to be consecrated to Aphrodite as a house of debauchery for the young Athenians, where female slaves were offered to them for prostitution. So it was also the custom among the Greeks universally, to have concubines. Far from the Greeks, as well as from all heathen nations, was the idea of a marriage covenant with any reference to a godly life; a covenant, as the apostle Paul describes it, where the wife in her appropriate manner, and the man after his peculiar character, but both alike for their mutual improvement, devote themselves to the love of the Saviour, and strive to be wholly imbued with his spirit in their lives.

But had the Grecian laws against debauchery been ever so strict, yet mere laws can never alone regulate men. Man must have received divine love in his heart, in order to vanquish the ungodly passions; and this divine love, religion alone can impart. Hence we see, too, that not merely the common people of Athens, but also the more distinguished, were addicted to the most shameless debauchery. Among the more ancient, Ægeus, Theseus, Minos, Agamemnon, and Phoenix, are described¹⁸⁴ as unchaste; and among the later, Themistocles, Aristides, Pausanias, Cimon,¹⁸⁵ and, above all, Pericles and Alcibiades. The biography of the last by Plutarch, affords us a vivid image of his time, a period in which Greece stood at the highest degree of improvement. Here we see directly, in the clearest manner, how little the mere cultivation of knowledge and refined feeling can benefit man, when not accompanied by the sanctification of

¹⁸⁴ Athenaei Deipnosoph. XIII. 3, 4, 77. Plut. Vita Thesei. Homeri Ilias, II. v. 226.

¹⁸⁵ Plut. Vita Themist. c. 2, 3, 18, 32. Vita Arist. c. 2. Corn. Nep. Vita Pausaniae, c. 5. Plut. Vita Cimonis, c. 4.

the heart. Richly endowed with extraordinary mental powers, which had still been improved by education and instruction of every kind, energetic and decided in his character and will, Alcibiades might have accomplished a glorious career, had his heart been rightly disposed, and had he made self-denial a purpose of his life. To this point Socrates thought to have led him ; and here too the contest is remarkable, between the genuine Greek propensities in the youth and the stricter demands of the sage. At the very first, he was struck with the nobleness, the sacredness, of the character of Socrates ; and could not at once break loose from him, although the secret longing of his corrupt inclinations constantly drew him away in some other direction. " He perceived," as Plutarch says,¹⁸⁶ " that the business of Socrates was a service of the gods, in guarding and preserving the youth." And in Plato,¹⁸⁷ Alcibiades thus acknowledges of himself : " When I hear him, my heart beats far more powerfully than the hearts of those who rave in the Corybantian dance, and tears are extorted from me by his discourses. When, on the other hand, I heard Pericles, or other distinguished orators, I thought indeed that they spoke well, but nothing of the like kind happened to me ; nor did my soul become disquieted and indignant at finding myself in a slavish condition. But by this Mar-syas I have often been so moved, as to believe it not worth while to live, if I were to remain as I was. Socrates compels me to confess, that very many things are wanting in me ; and yet, neglecting myself, I take care of the affairs of the Athenians. With violence, therefore, as if fleeing from the Sirens, stopping my ears, I escape with the utmost haste, in order that I may not grow old in sitting at his feet. And with him alone of all men, there happens what one would not look for in me, viz. that I could be made to blush before any man ; and yet, notwithstanding, before him I actually feel ashamed of myself. For I am thoroughly conscious to myself, that I am not in a situation to contradict him, as though one were not bound to do as he advises ; but only when I am gone from him, I am again overcome by the homage of the people. For this reason I run away from him and escape ; and when I see him again, I am filled with shame on account of what I have just confessed ; and would often rather have it that he was not alive ; and yet, were it actually to be so, I

¹⁸⁶ Plut. Vita Alcibiadis, c. 4.

¹⁸⁷ Plato, Symposion, p. 453. ed. Bekker.

am sure that his death would be far more distressing to me ; so that I am in this way wholly at a loss how I shall get along with this man."

Alcibiades was a young man in whom all the passions naturally glowed with equal vehemence. But, as is ever the case with the natural man who has not yet received the element of divine love in his heart, by which alone all ungodly propensities can be truly vanquished, so also in him one preponderating passion held the others in check. And this was *ambition*, as Socrates very justly judged,¹⁸⁸ while endeavouring to turn him from this pursuit to something higher.

As far now as the other passions of his heart did not interfere with the accomplishment of his lofty plans, he unreservedly gave himself up to them ; and thus he became in his youth, as the Grecian comedians call him, "the wife of all the men of Athens ;" and when grown up, "the husband of all the women." Thus he became a sensualist, a voluptuary, a drunkard.¹⁸⁹ On the other hand, where his ambition must remain unsatisfied if he did not set limits to his pleasures, as in the less refined Sparta, there he knew how to subordinate all his minor passions to that supreme one, ambition.¹⁹⁰ But in Athens, where, from the marked superiority of his genius, his sensual temperament* was admired by the common multitude and especially by the young, and regarded as a pattern, he gave himself up to it in a manner entirely unlimited. He supported more race-horses than the richest cities or kings ever kept. His clothing was of purple. He shut up a distinguished painter in his house and compelled him to adorn it with paintings, which had never before been done in Athens. When he took the field, the Ephesians gave him a tent ; the Chians provided forage for his horses ; the Lesbians took care of his table and sideboard ; Cyzicus supplied victims for sacrifice ; and even the famous courtezans, Damasandra and Theodota, followed him in his campaigns. On his shield, he had for a device a Cupid hurling lightnings ; and in a picture he caused himself to be represented in the lap of the

¹⁸⁸ Plato Alcib. I.

¹⁸⁹ Plut. Alcib. c. 4, 8, 16, 23. Athen. Deipn. XIII. 34.

¹⁹⁰ Plut. Alcib. c. 23.

* *Sinnlichkeit*. Here, as is obvious from the illustration that follows, we have an instance of the more extended sense of this term, as embracing all that pertains to the senses. See the note on p. 241, above.

courtezan Nemea. Hence Alcibiades was severely chastised by the comedians and orators, for spreading sensuality, luxury, and the love of splendor, among the people and especially among the youth.¹⁹¹

In connexion with these statements, we will now consider the poets, artists, orators, and philosophers of the Greeks, in the view already presented. If we first look at the influence of the poets on Greece in general, we must remark to our astonishment, that, strictly speaking, they were the persons who gave a direction and a character to the life of the people. The sciences, the arts, the civil life of the Greeks, all developed themselves through their Homer. Homer was the counsellor in all the exigencies of life.¹⁹² Homer was the teacher of the young and the enlivener of the old. What an influence on morals must have gone forth from this deification of Homer! No one has known how to portray all the vices, and especially sensuality, in a more alluring manner than he; no one has formed a lower conception of the import of life. With good reason, therefore, did Plato deeply feel the ruinous tendency of a merely poetic education, when he banished all poets from his ideal state. We turn, however, to other poets.

The sexual pleasures are openly and prominently made the objects of poetry, by Anacreon, Alcman, Bacchylides, Simonides, Alcaeus, Sappho, and Ibycus, whose songs are in part so voluptuous and obscene, that even the outward regard to decency in a christian state, would not permit the publication of such effusions of sensuality.¹⁹³ Not less offensive are the poems of Solon, Mimnermus, Theognis,¹⁹⁴ which celebrate noth-

¹⁹¹ See the comedians in Athenaeus, (Deip. XII. 47, sq.) and also the oration by Andocydes; also the two orations by Lysias against Alcibiades.—After all that is here said of Alcibiades, we see how corrupting it must be, when he is represented with half praise, as is done by Plutarch; or with entire commendation as an agreeable rake, as is done by Meissner. Nothing can be more dangerous than an over-estimate of talents in connexion with a low disposition; for that man is so much the more dangerous, who possesses vast mental capacities for the execution of corrupt purposes.

¹⁹² See Niceratus in Xenophon's *Convivium*, c. 4. § 6. ed. Schneider.

¹⁹³ This is especially true of the fragments of Ibycus in Athenaeus, Deip. XIII. 8. Hence Cicero blames even Athenaeus for his sensuality. Cic. *Quaest. Tusc.* IV. 33.

¹⁹⁴ Athen. Deip. XII. 1. XIII. 7, 8.

ing but wine and love. The poems of Archilochus are so immodest, that they were even excluded from Sparta.¹⁹⁵ And what shall we say of an Aristophanes! How many co-partners may he have had among the lost comic writers! And what ought we to expect of a people, what of women, who could listen to such obscene language, and even bestow on it loud applause and clapping! But not only respecting the lyric and comic writers, have we proofs of the greatest impurity; we also possess fragments or accounts of poets, such as Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides, which cast more or less of suspicion on the purity of their morality.¹⁹⁶

If we turn to the artists of Greece, it is at once a fact sufficiently offensive, that they were regarded as the umpires of the gracefulness of the young Grecian women, who were necessitated to appear naked before them. The people of Crotona brought five young females to Zeuxis, in order that he might collect and combine from their naked charms, the ideal of female beauty, and so exhibit it in the form of a Helen. And since Zeuxis awarded to them the praise of beauty, they were celebrated by many poets, and their names lasted longer than the painting of Zeuxis.¹⁹⁷ That Parrhasius was accustomed to paint indecent figures for his amusement, we have seen above.* Apelles had an amour with Pancaste, the mistress of Alexander, who had likewise been required to sit naked for the

¹⁹⁵ Athen. Deip. VI. 3.

¹⁹⁶ Of Pindar in Athen. Deip. XIII. 76. Of Sophocles, Athen. XIII. 45, 61, 81, 82. Solger's Translation of Sophocles, Introduction, p. 117. Of Euripides, Athen. XIII. 5. § 1. Jacobs' Anthol. Graeca, T. I. p. 95, and Solger as above, p. 112. We cannot indeed every where place confidence in the testimony of Athenaeus, because he gives in part preconceived opinions, and in part adduces as authorities, authors who are not to be relied upon; as in particular, Hieronymus of Rhodes.—See on this subject the learned dissertation: "On the Credibility of the Philosophic Writers of the later Periods," in Luzac's *Lectiones Atticae*, ed. Sluiter, Leyden 1809. Neither is he every where to be rejected as a witness; for example, what he quotes from Ion, the Cretan historian, respecting the profligacy of Sophocles, bears the impress of truth.

¹⁹⁷ Cicero de Inventione, II. 1.

* Page 251; where, by a mistake in the German, the text reads *Praxiteles*. Ed.

benefit of his art.¹⁹⁸ In like manner the orators Lysias, Isocrates, and Demosthenes, are not exculpated from similar stains; although the testimonies of antiquity concerning their trespasses in this respect, are not entitled to entire credit.¹⁹⁹ Equally unimportant are these testimonies as to the transgressions of the philosophers; although some of them, in consequence of their very systems, are liable to the suspicion of sensual vices; and this charge is still more firmly fixed upon some by unsuspicious testimony. Such are Epicurus, Diogenes, and especially Aristippus. The forgetfulness also of the most sacred duties by the latter, was so great, that when some one cast it as a reproach upon him, that, while he kept innumerable mistresses, he exposed his own children which he had himself begotten, he had the shamelessness to answer: "Every man casts away the spittle and vermin that himself has produced."²⁰⁰ The reputation of Speucippus, Polemo, Archesilaus, and Aristotle, is in this respect uncertain.²⁰¹

Much more, on the other hand, are those accusations to be discarded, which many voices of antiquity have raised even against Socrates and Plato. They originated partly from calumny, which is every where thrown out by the vicious against those who stand higher in virtue than themselves; and partly from a misapprehension of some Socratico-Platonic expressions. Had Socrates been guilty of the vice of paederastia, his accusers certainly would not have failed to bring this also as a point of accusation against him; and Aristophanes, the scoffer, would not have passed over this point in his derision of Socrates. On the other hand, what were not only his sentiments, but his conduct also, in relation to this vice, is plainly enough shown in the *Symposia* of Plato and Xenophon.* The last unquestionably affords—as is generally the bearing of the writings of Xenophon and of Plato with respect to Socrates—exactly the view of Socrates concerning this vice; the other presents the philosophic observa-

¹⁹⁸ Aeliani V. H. XII. 34. See the notes of Perizonius.

¹⁹⁹ Athen. Deip. XIII. 62, 63.

²⁰⁰ Diog. Laert. Vita Phill. II. 81.

²⁰¹ Diog. Laert. IV. 16, 30, 40. Athen. Deip. XIII. 56. Diog. Laert. V. 12.

* Separate works of these distinguished disciples of the great philosopher, written in the form of conversations at a feast and entitled *Symposia* or Feasts. TRANS.

tions or theory of Plato on the subject, as they proceeded from the Socratic mode of thinking. According to both dialogues, heavenly love is different from earthly, the heavenly Aphrodite from the common.²⁰² According to Xenophon, physical love was directly excluded by Socrates; according to Plato, it was considered as an approximating step to the proper and true love. At last, however, Alcibiades comes forward in Plato's dialogue, and testifies—what certainly is historical, as he himself knew it from experience—that Socrates was unsusceptible of every lower kind of love, being devoted to spiritual or moral love alone.²⁰³

It is indeed more difficult to clear Plato from all suspicion. Antiquity has not only accused him, with greater definiteness, of sensual love, but has also preserved a multitude of epigrams and poems attributed to him, which describe a fondness both for boys and girls; so that even Cicero, his great admirer, cannot forbear saying, that "Dicearchus has accused Plato, and probably not unjustly."²⁰⁴ But as it respects the epigrams ascribed to him, they have in themselves, in a great measure, the marks of their spuriousness; as appears from the fact, that they were first adduced by very late writers.²⁰⁵ Then too, in connexion with the slanders of great men by small men, in which the age subsequent to the birth of Christ was rich, we must also take into the account the terminology of Plato; which might easily afford an occasion to misinterpretation, inasmuch as he exhibited *excellence* only as the highest *beauty*, and looked upon harmony of external form as an indication of the harmony of the mind. So much at least is certain, that in his writings he regarded paederastia as the ruin of all virtue, "as something contrary to nature, which even the beasts do not commit."²⁰⁶

The relation of courtezans must also be regarded as particularly illustrative of the Grecian character. Indeed we find no people on earth, among whom immodest boldness was so united with mental refinement, and had attained in this way to so much

²⁰² Xenophontis Convivium, c. 8. § 9. Plato, Symposion, p. 385. ed. Bekker.

²⁰³ To this passage in the Symposion, (p. 360. ed. Bekker,) Quintilian also appeals for the justification of Socrates; and particular stress is laid upon it in the apologetic treatise by Gessner on this subject: De paederastia Socratis, in Vet. Comment. Gotting. T. II. p. 25.

²⁰⁴ Cicero Tuscul. Q. IV. 34.

²⁰⁵ Athen. Diog. Laert.

²⁰⁶ Plato de Legib. VIII. p. 90, 91. ed. Bekker.

honour, as was the fact among the Greeks in respect to their courtezans. While the education of the female sex in general among this people was entirely neglected, the courtezans diligently pursued every kind of science and art. They frequented the lecture rooms of the philosophers; they were authoresses; they projected books of laws for the conduct of their lovers; they kept schools, in which young girls were trained in the arts of courtezans, just as the young men were trained in eloquence. Celebrated men, such as Aristophanes the Grammarian, Ammonius, Apollodorus, Gorgias, collected their ingenious thoughts and wrote their histories. They had their particular painters (*πορνογράφου*), as Aristides, Pausanias, Nicephoras. Men of the *bon ton* carried written notices of them in their pockets.²⁰⁷ The comic poets said publicly, and the comedians repeated it in subsequent centuries, that the more accomplished courtezans, and Aspasia in particular, were the cause of the most important undertakings and transactions of their age; thus Aspasia occasioned the subjugation of Samos and the commencement of the Peloponnesian war.²⁰⁸ She continually kept a brothel, as Plutarch asserts expressly; and notwithstanding this, the same author continues, husbands even brought their wives to hear her. Pericles, the chief of the Athenian state, dismissed his own wife on her account, and lived with her in the most familiar intercourse. Even Socrates went to hear her.

A still more common prostitute than Aspasia, was Phryne. As it had become the custom at this period, to draw the forms of the goddesses after the contour of naked girls or courtezans distinguished for their beauty, Pancaste, the mistress of Alexander, offered herself to Apelles as a model for Venus Anadyomene;* and Phryne to Praxiteles for Venus Cnidia.²⁰⁹ The

²⁰⁷ See the historical confirmation of all these data in Athen. Deip. XIII. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 21.

²⁰⁸ Plutarchus, Vita Periclis, c. 24, 25.

²⁰⁹ Aeliani V. H. IX. c. 32. c. notis Periz.

* So far as the shamelessness of exposing their persons is concerned, these old heathen beauties might perhaps find something like their equals in our own day, in refined and christian Europe itself. The reader of Scott's Napoleon will at once recur to the case of Bonaparte's beautiful sister Paulina. After exposing her person for a succession of days to the view of the artist, she replied to the question, How she could bear to expose herself so? that 'the apartment was *well aired* each time before she went into it.' So, it seems, she was

Greeks therefore lifted up their hands to public prostitutes, while they prayed to God. Phryne acquired such an immense fortune by her arts, that she caused a golden statue to be erected to Venus at Delphi, upon which Crates the cynic afterwards wrote: "Monument of the incontinence of the Athenians."²¹⁰ She offered to the Thebans to rebuild their city walls, which had been destroyed by Alexander, provided they would suffer this inscription to be placed upon them in gold: "Demolished by Alexander; rebuilt by Phryne." When once Hyperides brought an action against her, in order to procure an acquittal she uncovered her bosom before the judges.²¹¹

This shamelessness proceeded still farther. At an earlier period, contests of beauty had been introduced among the Greeks, in which young men and women contended naked for the prize of the highest gracefulness of form; as in Arcadia, Lesbos, Tenedos, Elis, where the sacred vessels of the temple were given to the youth to bear, in proportion to their beauty.²¹² Phryne came forward to this contest in Eleusis at the festival of Neptune, where thirty thousand Greeks were wont to assemble; and here, with flowing locks, as Venus Anadyomene, she descended into the sea, stark naked, before the eyes of all Greece.²¹³

At the death of the courtesan Pythonice, a great number of the first artists accompanied the bier with mournful music; and Harpalus, Alexander's lieutenant in Babylon, erected to her memory a princely cenotaph, on the way from Athens to Eleusis.

careful not to expose her *health*. What must have been the sense of female delicacy in one who could think of no other exposure! One is constrained to fear that the corrupting influence of the fine arts, is now as real, if not as great, as among the ancient heathen,—that there are the same exposures in statues and paintings, at least in some collections of them; and the same immoral influence in obliterating a sense of delicacy, and thus leading to sensuality. Ought not such images, however admirable in execution, to be removed from all places of public resort in a christian country?

TRANS.

²¹⁰ Diog. Laert. VI. 60.

²¹¹ Alciphron Epistt. I. 31.

²¹² Athenaei Deip. XIII. 20, 90.

²¹³ Athen. Deip. XIII. 6. On the courtezans of Greece, see the well known dissertation of Jacobs in Wieland's Attic Museum, Vol. III. No. 2.

Next to the courtezans, we must just mention, in a word, the paederastia of the ancients, and their excesses in it. This immorality was occasioned among the Greeks, by the practice of their young men often going naked,—and girls too in Sparta; which must have destroyed all the more delicate feelings of shame. In the corporeal exercises also of the festal games at Olympia, Nemea, and Delphi, all the young men and boys, in the later periods of Greece, contended entirely naked. In the most ancient times, according to Thucydides,²¹⁴ they wore aprons. In Sparta, the young women held their contests not indeed entirely naked, but yet in immodest apparel.²¹⁵ In Chios, boys wrestled with girls.²¹⁶ Even Plato would permit girls not yet marriageable, to contend naked.²¹⁷ That herein lay the occasion for paederastia, is affirmed by Plutarch, who describes the sensualists who crowded into the place of contest for the youth;²¹⁸ and Cicero also affirms the same.²¹⁹ But that this love may *often* have been only a pure mental love, appears entirely incredible, when we examine the testimonies of antiquity on the subject. On the contrary, Socrates appears here also to have been the only sage who tried to give to this base inclination, already existing, a higher aim; while he pointed to the inexplicable influence of the higher principle in man even upon the external *form*, which also becomes ennobled as soon as the soul of man begins to attain to a diviner freedom. This deeper import of paederastia, according to which the external form was to be loved only in proportion as the spirit within manifested itself, was received from Socrates by his scholars, Plato, Xenophon, Aeschines, and Cebes; but in the actual world, we find every where among the Greeks only that sensual love toward the male sex, which we can explain on no other ground, but their extreme susceptibility to physical beauty.

Still more revolting than all that has been named, is that abominable custom, which heathenism introduced, of regarding prostitution as an act of divine worship, and of bringing women

²¹⁴ Thucyd. Hist. I. 6.

²¹⁵ Manso's Sparta, B. I. Th. 2. p. 162.

²¹⁶ Athen. Deipn. XIII. 20.

²¹⁷ Plato de Legibus, VIII. p. 85. ed. Bekker.

²¹⁸ Plut. Amatorius, c. 4.

²¹⁹ Tuscul. Q. IV. 83.

into the temples to sacrifice their virtue in honour of the goddesses. Thus it is still in India ; so it was in Egypt,²²⁰ in Babylon, in Lycia, in Phoenicia. And not only this, but in Babylon, as is well known, they even had a law requiring all the women in the land, once in their life to prostitute themselves to a stranger, in the temple of Venus.²²¹ The same horrible custom passed over into Greece, and young women of Cyprus, in ancient times, sacrificed their innocence to strangers in honour of Venus.²²² The same was the fact on mount Erix in Sicily.²²³ But the most frightful of all, was the pollution of innocence in the temples of Venus at Corinth.²²⁴ As Strabo relates, the whole wealth of the city proceeded from the hire of prostitution, which the females who served in the temples received from the numerous sea-faring strangers. More than a thousand girls were the servants of this goddess and her temples. At the public festivals, when the goddess was to be entreated for the continuance of her favour, it was the courtezans of those temples who were more particularly called upon to offer prayer ; since their entreaties were regarded as more efficacious.²²⁵ When Xerxes was driven back from Greece, the Corinthians ascribed the preservation of their city and of the country especially to the prayers of the sacerdotal courtezans ; and as the Athenians caused the heroes of Marathon to be painted at the public expense, the Corinthians did the same by their temple-damsels ; to whose pictures, Simonides subjoined a laudatory epigram. It was not uncommon in Greece, and particularly in Corinth, for a person to make a vow, if Venus would be propitious to this or that undertaking, to devote to her a number of young women as prostitutes.²²⁶ Christianity destroyed these seats of lust ; after it had first unveiled what was often practised in secret.²²⁷ And should we even admit in fact, what is here often adduced, namely,

²²⁰ Herod. Hist. I. 182.

²²¹ Herod. Hist. I. 199.

²²² Justini Hist. XVIII. 5.

²²³ Strabo, VI. 2.

²²⁴ See the description of this remarkable city in Strabo's Geography, VII. 6.

²²⁵ Athen. Deip. XIII. 4.

²²⁶ Athen. Deip. XIII. 4.

²²⁷ Eusebii Vita Constantini, lib. 3.

that sensual excesses like those we have seen in Greece, are practised in the larger cities of what is called christian Europe ; we must still remember that these, so far from existing within the sphere of the internal spiritual church, do not even pertain to the external church of Christ ; since she does not even acknowledge him as a member of her community, who wallows in such gross sins. But among the heathen, as we have seen, such debauchery was not only allowed, but even approved, by their religion.

The worst sin of sensuality, still remains to be mentioned. As we have quoted, above, some examples to show that even the statues of the gods served to kindle the tinder of sensuality, so could refined Greece practise *bestiality* ;²²⁸ and in Egypt, the act was committed with the sacred goats, even before the eyes of the people ; of which Herodotus himself was a witness in the *nome* of Mendes.

Having particularly considered the sensual excesses prevalent in Greece, let us now cast a glance upon Rome. As in other virtues, so also in *chastity* ancient Rome was distinguished. Of this Valerius Maximus²²⁹ gives us a series of striking examples. According to Plutarch,²³⁰ it was two hundred and thirty years,—according to Valerius Maximus²³¹ five hundred and twenty,—and according to Aulus Gellius,²³² five hundred and twenty one years, before a divorce occurred in Rome. Matrons enjoyed peculiar honour, and married but once. The censor once punished a senator because he kissed his wife before his little daughters,* whose tender age did not yet admit of this familiar-

²²⁸ Athen. Deip. XIII. 20.

²²⁹ Valerii Maximi Hist. V. lib. VI. c. 1.

²³⁰ Plutarch. Vita Romuli, Comp. Thesei cum Romulo, c. 7.

²³¹ Valer. Max. Hist. V. lib. II. c. 1. n. 4.

²³² Auli Gellii Noctes Att. XVII. 21.

* This, it must be admitted, is worthy of a place among the famous "blue laws" of the stern fathers of Connecticut ; which were so called, because first printed on blue paper. We can easily imagine the effeminate Greek of that period, and the corrupted Roman of a subsequent age, jeering with contempt at such an incident as the one mentioned above, and pronouncing the whole community who could endure such strictness, to be nothing better than fools or fanatics. But such sneers, whether in ancient or modern days, can only prove

ity.²³³ The practice of going naked, or of exposing the person, was no where indulged. Old Ennius sang: "*Flagitiis principium est, nudare inter cives corpora.*"²³⁴ A father was not allowed to be in the baths with a grown up son, nor a father-in-law with a son-in-law.²³⁵

This purity of morals, however, even among the ancient Romans, may not indeed have been without exceptions. At least Cicero says:²³⁶ "Does any one desire that intercourse with prostitutes should be forbidden to the young? I cannot deny that he may seriously contemplate it; but in this he will not only deviate from the custom of our age, but from the habit and usage of our forefathers. For when has not this been practised? When has it been regarded as a crime? When not allowed?" In Cato's time, the corruption was already general; yea, he himself did not hesitate to keep a mistress, strikingly conjugal as his life was in other respects; and it is even known, that he called to a youth who came out of a brothel: "Well done, my boy!" inasmuch as he considered this practice as the best means of preventing adultery and paederastia.²³⁷ It was customary, even then, for slaves to teach the youth the most lascivious dances. Paederastia had likewise become prevalent. Lucius Flaminius, the vanquisher of Philip of Macedon, is the first who is expressly accused of it.²³⁸ When the censor Appius accused Coelius,

the comparative corruptness of the people among whom they are current, or the incapacity of their frivolous or corrupt authors to discern the moral tendency of actions on a rising community. Whether it is practicable to enforce such regulations, and therefore wise to attempt it, is a separate question. Let it be remembered, that the old Romans ought to share with our puritan ancestors, at least a small portion of the praise or of the scorn for having made the attempt. The sequel in the text, indeed, shows the very partial illumination and the great inconsistency of these old Romans. But, we may ask, where has been found light on the particular subject before us, either among ancient or modern nations, except as beaming from the *New Testament*?

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²³³ Ammianus Marc. Hist. XXVIII. 4.

²³⁴ Cicero Tuscul. Q. IV. 33.

²³⁵ Plut. Vita Catonis, c. 20. Val. Max. Hist. V. lib. II. c. 1. n. 7.

²³⁶ Cicero pro Marco Coelio, c. 20.

²³⁷ Horatii Satyrae, I. 2. v. 32.

²³⁸ Plut. Vita Flaminii.

the friend of Cicero, of this crime, Coelius, with the approbation of the people, brought the same charge against the censor himself.²³⁹ Scipio Africanus the younger was necessitated to drive two thousand loose females out of his camp before Numantia. Sylla gave to his concubines the possessions of whole nations. Clodius built a temple to Liberty on the ruins of Cicero's house ; and when an image of the goddess was wanting, he caused the statue of a notorious prostitute to be set up as the goddess.²⁴⁰ In the army of Crassus, the soldiers read amatory romances.²⁴¹ At the time of Catiline's war, the most unnatural vices were already spread amongst all ranks of society. Sallust depicts even that period with these colours :²⁴² "The lust of debauchery and prostitution of every kind, prevailed. Men were used as women ; and women exposed themselves naked to dishonour. Land and sea were ransacked for dainties. Men sought for sleep before nature required it. They waited for neither hunger nor thirst, neither cold nor fatigue ; but all were anticipated by way of luxury. These things inflamed the youth, when their wealth failed, to the perpetration of crimes."²⁴³

Among the statesmen who promoted unchastity by their lives, were Sylla, Lucullus, Catiline, Clodius, Crassus, Anthony, Pompey, Caesar and Augustus ; and among the authors who taught it in their writings, were Horace, Plautus, Terence, and Ovid. Livy says also of the age of Augustus :²⁴⁴ "Rome has increased by her virtues till now, when we can neither bear our vices nor their remedy."

Yet we can readily put up with all this, when we come to look at the history of subsequent periods. When we read the lives and conduct of the sovereigns of Rome and of their subjects,—it is not as though we read the lives of emperors and kings ; no ! it is as though one read of the ravings of beings in whom beastiality was in league with the spirit of Satan ! Far be it from us, however, to impute these abominations wholly to heathenism. Those monsters were unfaithful even to their own religion,

²³⁹ Cicero Epp. ad Famil. VIII. 12.

²⁴⁰ Wieland's Translation of Cicero's Epistles, IV. Note 5.

²⁴¹ Plut. Vita Crassi, c. 32.

²⁴² Sallusti Bell. Catil. c. 13.

²⁴³ Compare Cicero, Oratio Catil. II. c. 4.

²⁴⁴ Livii Praef. ad Histor.

and therefore it does not belong to our plan to give their history. But we might, nevertheless, expect thus much of a religion which has in it any moral power at all, viz. that among the common people, where it mostly predominates, it should prevent the prevalence of immorality to such an extent as it reached in Rome.

But not to go into particulars, let us bring before our eyes the picture of that age as a whole, drawn by a cotemporary. Seneca thus speaks of his own time :²⁴⁵ "All is full of criminality and vice; indeed much more of these is committed than can be remedied by force. A monstrous contest of abandoned wickedness is carried on. The lust of sin increases daily; and shame is daily more and more extinguished. Discarding respect for all that is good and sacred, lust rushes on wherever it will. Vice no longer hides itself. It stalks forth before all eyes. So public has abandoned wickedness become, and so openly does it flame up in the minds of all, that innocence is no longer *sel-dom*, but has wholly ceased to exist."

In the French revolution, when the people made a public renunciation of the God that had created and redeemed them, all the vices became prevalent of which human beings who have broken loose from the Holy God of Christians, are capable; but still, never did this abandonment, even in its wildest intoxication, proceed to such excesses as appear throughout the whole succession of the Roman emperors. An emperor who fought naked before the people at the shows of the gladiators, like several of the Roman emperors; an emperor who established a brothel in his palace, and required the toll to be paid to himself like Caligula; an emperor who drove through the streets of his capital with his naked mistress, like Nero; an empress who publicly commended herself to the coarsest lovers, and exposed her embraces for sale, like Messalina; an emperor who first dishonoured and then murdered his sister, like Commodus; an emperor who distributed the highest offices according to the greater or less degree of capacity for debauchery, like Heliogabalus;—emperors, who caused persons to be murdered in sport, that they might see how they would die; who caused bridges to be suddenly broken down, that they might enjoy the sight of a multitude of people sinking in the waves;—such rulers, even degenerate Byzantium had not; for only when centuries shall have obliterated every vestige of Christianity in

²⁴⁵ Seneca de Ira, II. 8.

the world and in the hearts of men, is it possible that such enormities should be perpetrated.

That the heathen did in fact justify themselves in their sins and transgressions by the examples of the gods, could be properly shown only by an intimate knowledge of popular life; but besides this, we have also examples of the fact in the writings of the ancients. Meleager frequently appeals for exculpation of his paederastia, to the gods; just as Jupiter carried off Ganymede; Apollo, Cyparissus and Cinyras; and Poseidon, Pelops.²⁴⁶ The same is indicated by Athenaeus:²⁴⁷ "Why should we not strive to get possession of the beauty of boys and girls, since even gods did the same? Indeed among the goddesses, Aurora carried off Cephalus and Cleitus; Demeter, Iasion; and Aphrodite, Anchises and Aeneas; all on account of their beauty."—So Martial finds fault with his wife, for scolding when she finds him with a beautiful boy.²⁴⁸ "How often," says he, "has not Juno been compelled to say the same to the thunderer Jupiter?"—So says a stripling in Terence,²⁴⁹ whose character is taken directly from the life, and who is relating how he was about to commit unchastity: "While the girl was sitting in the apartment, she looked up towards the ceiling, and there saw Jupiter portrayed as he descended in a golden shower into the lap of Danae. I also began to look there, and rejoiced to see, that a god had already done what I was about to do. And what a god! he who thunders through the vault of heaven! *Ego homuncio hoc non facerem? Ego vero illud feci ac lubens.*"—In Ovid,²⁵⁰ Byblis, inflamed with passion for her brother Caunus, appeals to the example which the gods have given for incest; and in another passage,²⁵¹ the same loose poet admonishes a maiden not to go into the temple, for there Jupiter has often caused maids to become mothers.—Kindling with indignation at this frightful influence of such worthless gods, Antisthenes, the

²⁴⁶ Meleagri Epigrammata, ed. Graef. Leips. 1811. Epgr. 10, 14, 40.

²⁴⁷ Athen. Deip. XIII. 20.

²⁴⁸ Martialis Epigrammata, XI. 44.

²⁴⁹ Terentii Eunuchus, Act. 3. Sc. 5. v. 34.

²⁵⁰ Metamorph. IX. 789.

²⁵¹ Ovid. Trist. II. 287.

friend of Socrates, declared boldly of Venus,²⁵² “ *Could I but only seize Aphrodite, I would pierce her through with a javelin ; so many virtuous and excellent women has she seduced among us !*”

We close here these views, from which the eye of the Christian gladly turns away.* Nevertheless, it is salutary, not entirely to avoid them ; for when the believing Christian, who has experienced the grace of the Redeemer in his heart, returns back again to himself from the contemplation of all the sinful abominations of heathenism ; and finds, that not merely in his external life there is no vestige of these heathenish pollutions, but that also his heart, if not wholly free from thoughts of sin, still never dwells with pleasure upon them ; and finds, too, that love to holiness is no longer a mere law to him, but that a sincere abhorrence of all that is not heavenly and a glowing love to all that is divine, dwell in his soul ;—he becomes deeply affected with the unspeakable compassion of Jesus, who, by the power of his sanctifying spirit, has new created the old man, has eradicated sin, has brought into existence a new world of glory in his soul, where before there was nothing, has enlightened the eyes of our understanding, that we may know what is the hope of our calling, and the glorious riches of the inheritance appointed for us among the saints.²⁵³

²⁵² Theodoreti de Graec. affect. Cur. Disp. III. Opp. T. IV. p. 774.

²⁵³ Eph. i. 18.

* “GLADLY” indeed ! will doubtless be the response of the reader, as it surely is of the translator, who has often been tempted even to omit some of the worst passages ; and nothing but a sense of the important end to be gained by a full exhibition of these odious details, could induce him to give them in English. And so, most deeply, felt the pious author ; as is manifested by such admirable remarks as those which follow in the text.

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SECTION III.

The impotency of the heathen religions to effect any deep and fundamental improvement either of the whole human race, of particular classes of men, or of the powers of the soul in any individual; together with the consequences thence accruing to morality.

THE ROOT OF ALL HUMAN IMPROVEMENT IS RELIGION. The most ancient traces of national cultivation, are connected with temples, the priesthood, and the worship of God. For this reason, we must also consider, and endeavour accurately to apprehend, the developement of the mental energies of men, from the principles of their religion. And here we shall at once perceive, that heathenism is by no means adequate to produce a complete expansion and harmony of the human mind.

No nation, as history every where shows us, attains to a cultivated state, independently of other nations; but as the individual man becomes a man only in the social intercourse of families, so nations attain the cultivation of which man is susceptible, only through intercourse with nations. Divine worship, political institutions, and arts and sciences, were transplanted from the higher regions of interior Asia, from nation to nation, even to the most distant extremities of Europe and Africa; from whence they passed over to America.

At that primitive period, when this communication from Asia to Europe was first effected in the families of the Pelasgi, the character of individual tribes was not yet developed. They had not yet established themselves in their destined lands; and therefore the nature of these countries could not yet exert its influence in the formation of the various national characters. If therefore, at that time, religion, art, and customs passed from one people to another, no revolution could thence ensue in their whole mental formation; since almost every where, there prevailed a similar want of cultivation in general. But when the various masses of Asiatic population had established themselves in Asia, Europe, and Africa, each in its own domain; and when, from the small and imperfect knowledge and traditions they had brought with them, there was developed among some of them a complete system of improvement and civilization; then each of these self-formed nations assumed its peculiar mental stamp,

which was thenceforward manifested in religion, government, arts, and sciences. The central points of this peculiar mental cultivation in the West, were Egypt and Greece.

If now, from both these self-cultivated countries, religion was to extend itself further ; as there certainly was need, because so many nations were yet destitute of almost all divine worship ; then the great and utter deficiencies of the heathen religions became immediately apparent. For these religions were so intimately blended with the peculiarities of the people and country, that, instead of occasioning new and original developement of mind in those foreign lands where they were introduced, there passed over to those lands, along with the religions of the Greeks and Egyptians, also the entire national character of those countries, and converted those foreign nations into Greeks and Egyptians. Thus Nubia and Abyssinia adopted the Egyptian manners and customs along with the Egyptian religion ; just as Egypt itself had before received the cultivation of Colchis along with its religious ritual. Thus Thrace, Macedonia, and Lower Italy received, with the Grecian religion, also the peculiarities of Greece. Thus Greece made a breach upon the national developement of Rome ; when with her gods she transferred also her science to Rome.²⁵⁴ And thus also Rome afterwards caused Gaul, Spain, and many other lands, to become Roman, and suppressed in them the formation of any peculiar character. We may even see this also among the Israelites. According to the divine injunction, they were to have a religious establishment which was to be most intimately amalgamated with all their political institutions, for the purpose primarily of an external emblematic representation of an heavenly kingdom. When the Jews received any people into their religious community, as the Idumeans, and later so many Syrians and Greeks, these became thereby also Jews in politics, sciences, and arts.

That all nations should subject themselves to one particular mode of divine worship, must hence have appeared to a heathen a visionary idea ; as Celsus also expresses himself as cited by Origen.

Christianity alone rendered a universal religion possible ; and

²⁵⁴ Had not the Grecian mythology supplanted the Roman, a peculiar taste and character in tragedy and the fine arts, would have developed themselves in Rome ; as is shown by A. W. Schlegel in his *Dramaturgie*.

by what means did it do this? Christianity presented to the nations NO FORMALITIES, DOGMAS, OR EXTERNAL USAGES, to prevent its universal adoption.* It was a heavenly seed cast into the ground of the soul, which grew up into a tree; and according to which, every thing in the civil and scientific character of a people was—not destroyed, but only modified. The spiritual nature of man has wants which Christianity alone can satisfy. Yea, not only is the life in Christ adequate to bless the whole human race,—but Christ, our Redeemer and Sanctifier, knows how to relieve all the particular wants of each individual. How cordially, therefore, must all uncultivated nations have attached themselves to this religion, with all the energies of their souls! In this manner, there arose in the hearts of individuals, a new inward life, which was free in action and adapted to the peculiar forms of developement in each nation; and which also proved itself to be efficient in external life, and produced new political institutions, manners and customs, arts and sciences, such as were most directly adapted to each nation.

* Scarcely can a more important question be proposed in connexion with the religious and mental history of our race;—or a more satisfactory answer be given. And why has not this simple Christianity, so adapted to every clime and every condition of man, been long since spread and adopted among all races and nations of men? Its early corrupters and their successors, down to the present day, will find this a tremendous question at the day of judgment. And who is to answer for the revolting “formalities, dogmas, and external usages” of popery?—enticing perhaps to the sensual and idolatrous mind, but deeply revolting to enlightened piety. How is it possible for the whole world to be truly converted and united together as one grand religious community, under such a system!

One further question here forces itself on the attention. Who is to answer for the remnants of these deformities still left in too many of the reformed churches? Can we possibly anticipate the universal prevalence of Christianity, and the union of its members, unless it be restored to its own primitive simplicity in *form*, in connexion with its primitive and celestial simplicity of *spirit*? The guilt, as well as the folly of this continued impediment to the universal spread of Christianity, will be found on earth, and will be noticed by the King of Zion, so long as it remains unremoved. Let any church attach some exclusive badge or symbol to her communion, no matter how ancient, if not from Christ, and it can only ensure the limitation of the reception of Christianity under her spotted banner. God never designed the Jewish ritual for universal diffusion; but the contrary.

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What would have become of those wild hordes, who in their national migrations inundated Europe, if without being modified by the influence of the gospel, they had entered into the dead forms of Roman heathenism? While we see Rome, at this period, in every respect enervated and weakened, China, at the time the Mantchus invaded it, was, as compared with Rome, in its bloom; and notwithstanding, we do not perceive that the Chinese were able, by the aid of their religion and modes of life, to impart to that powerful people of the desert any new spirit,—a spirit able to produce in them any new developement. On the contrary, the active and energetic Mantchus entered into the dead forms of the Chinese worship and of the Chinese cultivation, [1644,] and are now bound down in the same stagnation and sickness as that depressed nation itself. Among the migrating nations of Europe, on the contrary, we see how, in each one of them, a new life pervaded all social relations and new modelled every thing, after the gospel had once taken root in the hearts of individuals through the exertions of self-denying missionaries. The same is manifesting itself at the present time in Otaheite.*

But it is not merely in the inability to produce a full and regular developement of the peculiarities of nations, that the heathen religions were adapted to no perfect improvement of the human race; the Grecian and Roman heathenism was just as poorly fitted to unfold and perfect all the various powers of the human soul. Since man cannot and must not remain shut up in himself; but, in order to fulfil the true ends of his being, must live and move in a state, an existence, higher than himself; and since it is the province of religion to point out to him this higher sphere; so religion, that is, man's connexion with this higher world, must be adapted to occupy and ennoble all his mental and spiritual powers. This heathenism could never do.

* Since the author wrote the above, (in 1822,) what a delightful example of the same transforming power of the gospel, has arisen to the view of Christendom, in the renovation of the Sandwich Islands, and their rescue from the united horrors of heathenism, and the most debasing corruptions of the outcasts of civilized nations! With what force are such renovations as these, destined to react in their animating influence on the joy, the faith, the redoubling activity of the true church. It is happy for the church herself, that something of this divine work is still found for her to do; and something of these triumphs, for her to witness; though she need not fear that all will be changed to history one moment too soon.

Indeed, in the first place, the INTELLECTUAL POWERS found no satisfaction at all in the heathen religions ; at the bar of the understanding, heathenism could never justify itself ; and for this reason, too, no heathen religion has been able to sustain itself beyond a certain period. The *oriental* religions, in accordance with the character of the East, fell into a state of languishment, in which they have indeed continued to exist among the common people, for centuries, as a tissue of lifeless forms ; but among the priests and sages, a secret formal religion of infidelity has taken root in connexion with them, as is the case, not only among the nations of India, but also among the Guebres or fire-worshippers. The heathen religions of the *West*, on the other hand, amid the constantly augmenting improvement of the intellectual powers, fell into total decay, and were lost in superstitious infidelity, or unbelieving superstition, as we have already seen.

But Christianity, which, rightly understood, is also the HIGHEST AND THE ONLY TRUE PHILOSOPHY, not only supplied the heart-felt wants of the common people, while it also expanded their minds ; but it likewise stirred up the profoundest thinkers to the very depths of their intellectual nature ; and while, externally, it appeared as *μωρία*, foolishness, yet to him who truly repented, perceived the misery of his sin, and experienced the power of the expiation of Jesus and of his sanctifying Spirit in his heart, depths of divine wisdom were unlocked, which satisfied most perfectly all his longings after higher knowledge ; so far at least, as these longings did not spring from pride. Hence the holy apostle says :²⁵⁵ “ For perfect Christians, we speak the highest wisdom ; such, indeed, as does not accord with the wisdom of this world, but which has been hidden from eternity, and which God by his own Spirit has revealed to our spirit.”

Hence the acute scholars of the East and the profound sages of the West, hence an Augustin who united the greatest acuteness with the greatest depth of mind, could find in Christianity the most complete satisfaction of their longing after *light*. Only, it is true, this satisfying of the appetite for knowledge, which Christianity ensures, differs from all others in this, that it presupposes a new birth of the soul ; it presupposes a fundamental knowledge of our own hearts, and a child-like humility proceed-

²⁵⁵ 1 Cor. ii. 5, 6, 7, 8.

ing from this self-knowledge; and even then, it promises a deeper knowledge only in proportion to the measure of real sanctification in us, only in proportion to our experimental acquaintance with God. Christ is both the *light* of our intellect, and the *life* of our heart; but he must first have become our life, that he may also thus become our light.

In vain, therefore, has unbelief for centuries assailed the pillars of the holy faith. Porphyry and Julian have passed away; Toland and Bolingbroke, Voltaire and d'Alembert, the Fragmentist [of Wolfenbüttel] and Bahrdt;—but Christ is the same, yesterday, to day, and forever. After every contest with infidelity and superstition, Christianity comes forth again enriched anew with victory and splendor. It has vanquished the scoffing heathen; it has overcome the superstitions of many centuries; it has seen the English and French scoffers sink to oblivion; it has stood the contest with the more recent philosophy; and just as it was supposed to be subdued, it now begins once more to lift up its head with greater power and glory than ever.*

Just as defectively did heathenism operate on the POWERS OF THE WILL. This arose, on the one hand, from the fact, that every heathen religion is a collection of traditions and ceremonies handed down from one generation to another, and not an immediate revelation of God to the human race. The man who feels the darkness of his understanding, and the poverty of his heart, longs for immediate instruction from God. This the heathenish religions did not possess. Bare traditions, which, furthermore, seldom stand in any moral relation to the heart, cannot excite the will; and though mysterious rites and ceremonies may indeed produce a magical and dark impression on the feelings, yet inasmuch as no clear perceptions can

* Doubtless the author here refers more particularly to what has been taking place under his own eye, in the recent revival of sound doctrine and pious feeling in the heart of Germany. Such declarations as the above, made in the face of the opposition itself, we hail with grateful joy and hope. What may not God design to effect by the instrumentality of this good man, (if not brought to an untimely death by his extreme ardour,) and of those who are now aiding him in the work of a second reformation in Germany! God-speed to these new Lutherans.

For more recent and definite notices of the progress of the good cause, see the letters of Prof. Tholuck himself to the Editor of this work, *Bibl. Repos.* II. p. 204, seq.

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be connected with them, they lead only to superstition. Then too, on the other hand, all heathen antiquity, while it still had at least something in its religious traditions to deter from sensuality and avarice, was totally destitute of the doctrine of humility. We indeed often find in the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and in many of the historians, as Herodotus,²⁵⁶ the doctrine, that God humbles the proud and exalts the humble. This thought however does not spring from any moral perception of pride, but there is apparent in these declarations, only the belief in a *fate*, which knows how to hold the things of earth in a kind of equipoise; and this belief does not raise man above himself, but even sends him directly back into the sphere of what is finite. But all genuine excitement of better volitions, must proceed from a humble recognition of our weakness and our impotency. Hence, because this did not exist among the heathen, they could have no profound and thorough-going system of morals; nor could they destroy that worm in the human bosom, which corrupts every blossom, and frightens peace and tranquillity from the soul,—PRIDE.

In like manner, finally, the emotions, or the POWERS OF FEELING in the stricter sense, remained undeveloped among the heathen. The affections of man receive their highest improvement, when he lives in constant intercourse with God. This inward panting of the heart after a higher and better sphere; the living energies and joy in the Holy Ghost which flow from that world into the otherwise cold and desolate heart of man,—it is these which afford the deepest incitement to the world of our affections, which awaken the most noble and celestial feelings in our bosoms. But of such feelings, the follower of heathenism could know nothing. He knew neither a holy God, who can unite to himself the soul that longs after him and make it happy; nor did he know any thing of a celestial home of the soul, for which it incessantly pants and strives. It was therefore the spirit of Christianity alone, which gave rise to romantic and sentimental poetry. Whilst the poetry of the ancients constantly exhibited only the relation of man to the external world, and was inexhaustible in delineations of the objects of creation and of the external life of man; the poetry of Christianity directed itself to the interior of the breast, and sang the sorrows and joys of the human heart. And farther;

²⁵⁶ Herodoti Hist. VII. 10.

as all the powers, the deeper and more lively they are, assume so much the greater variety of form; so we also see among the Christian converts new intellectual worlds continually forming in endless variety. Inasmuch as the relation of each individual soul to God, has something peculiar and distinctly its own, there hence arise peculiar frames of mind and states of the heart; whilst, on the contrary, the inward life of the heathen must have been far more monotonous, because the exclusive object that universally addressed his feelings, was only his earthly *father-land*.

We now pass on to another defect of heathenism, which it manifested in the developement of the powers of the soul. It was universally destitute of a *just estimate of the dignity of man*. Because heathenism had no true standard for nobleness and greatness of soul; because it knew not how to estimate moral purity and holiness of mind, as standing above all intellectual cultivation; it could therefore make only a low estimate of the inferior classes of society, of the female sex, and of slaves; all of whom were alike despised as incapable of higher cultivation; while yet they all equally belong to the human race.

The common multitude, whom the ancients denominated ὄχλος ἀφιλόσοφος and οἱ πολλοί, was indeed probably still more rude and immoral in ancient, than they are in modern times; for the pride of virtue and a more refined moral ambition are unable to suppress, in the common man, the outbreking of the lusts of the heart; neither is he susceptible of impression from a philosophic system of morality, which exerts some influence on many of the educated. And since now among the heathen, religion also exerted no pervading influence upon the common man, he therefore remained destitute of all the means of elevated mental and moral cultivation.

If, in the mean time, the educated part of community had clearly perceived, that the improvement of the heart possesses a higher value than intellectual cultivation, they certainly would have placed a higher estimate on the good produced among the common people by the force of religion, or by an inward impulse of the heart; and they would have sought, by an intelligible system of morals, or by the spreading of a better religious education, to render this good universal, and to augment its power. But the unhappy error had taken full possession of the higher classes, that man can be elevated only by *intellectual* cultivation. This error is founded also, in part, upon the fact, that men had

not recognized PRIDE as the *root of all sin* ; which, unless a higher element be added, is wont rather to increase in the natural man by intellectual cultivation and to become more refined ; while, on the other hand, sensuality, which was regarded as the most dangerous vice, may more easily be thrust aside, if it cannot be totally eradicated, by purely intellectual occupations. Even the Platonists assigned a much lower grade to the purification of morals (*κάθαρσις*), than to contemplation (*νόησις*), and left the former to the uneducated multitude, while they consecrated themselves especially to *νόησις*. In accordance with this view, Marinus says in his life of the New-Platonist Proclus, “that this his hero may sometimes indeed have had evil thoughts ; but that does not signify much ; for, indeed, all men have the same.”

Christianity, on the other hand, if it take deep root in the heart, has power to awaken, in the most ordinary man, a lively interest both in heavenly and earthly things ; because it becomes to him a matter of chief concern, by all the means within his reach, to elucidate, to confirm, and to establish on solid grounds, that which he has experienced in his own soul ; and while, in this way, he finds in spiritual things a point of contact with more cultivated minds, he is able to approach nearer to them, and thus share more largely in their improvement. Among real Christians in the lower walks of life, one will easily perceive this influence of conversion in favour of intellectual cultivation ; as is seen even in our day, among the lower classes of the United Brethren.

The more sober-minded man will never be able to conceal from himself, that whatever is *truth*, must be the same not only for the *whole* man, but also for *all* men. So that whatever satisfies fully the heart of the common people, must also be sufficient for the claims of the intellectual powers among the more cultivated ; and again, whatever manifests itself to the fewer cultivated minds as the highest truth, must be perfectly adequate to the wants of the mass of the people. Now Christianity has broken down this wall of partition. It does not ask, Are you well educated, or not ? but, *Are you a sinner ?* And as every man must answer the question in the affirmative, so it has for all this one reply : “REPENT AND BELIEVE ON THE LORD JESUS CHRIST, AND THOU SHALT BE SAVED.”

The cultivated heathen were offended at Christianity precisely for this reason, that the higher classes could no longer have

precedence of the common people. The most ordinary Christian spoke of divine things with a confidence as though he had beheld heaven with his own eyes; (and this confidence was indeed founded on his own personal experience;) he spoke with an unshaken certainty, of things which had always been doubtful to the philosophers. This put the heathen in amazement; and hence the heathen Caecilius says:²⁵⁷ "If you desire to be wise, or even only modest, so cease from your subtle speculations about the zones of heaven and the mysteries and destiny of the world. It is enough to look before your feet; especially for such unlearned, uncultivated, rude and boorish persons, who have never taken part even in civil matters, to say nothing of divine things. Or if you will at all events philosophize, then imitate Socrates, who, as often as one inquired of him about heavenly things, answered: "What is above us, does not concern us." In the same manner, according to Origen,²⁵⁸ Celsus also utters his scorn, that the Christians, people so despised and miserable, appropriated to themselves such glorious promises for the future; as if they were exalted above all other wise, good, and learned men.

It was most truly an exhibition of the infinite grace of God, that Christ should grant to poor fishermen, country-people, and tent-makers, the privilege of becoming citizens of a heavenly kingdom of joy and bliss, fellow heirs and brethren to the Son of God. But happy is it for the world, that our God is indeed so gracious, that his compassion often appears almost incredible to ourselves!

In like manner, also, it was Christianity, which, by its spirit, abolished slavery in the ancient world. That there should be various modes of civil life, that there should be one class to serve and another to command, is indispensably necessary to every civil community; but liberty ought also to prevail among those who serve. The servant ought to be attached to the master by love and fidelity, and not by compulsion for life.

The condition of slaves degrades, to a certain extent, those who are in it, to a lower species of men; and thus overlooks the rights which belong to the dignity of human nature.* If we

²⁵⁷ Minutii Octavius, c. 12. § 7. c. 13. § 1, 11, 12.

²⁵⁸ Origenes contra Celsum, III. 30.

* How mournfully is this true, in respect to the unhappy Africans in modern days! And is it not owing to this delusive, corrupt, and

can indeed truly say, that the condition, in many particular cases, may be free from all unchristian severity, yet we must nevertheless acknowledge that it cannot in itself consist with the rights which belong to the proper dignity of man ; and that in actual life it has given occasion to results and appearances of the most degraded nature.

Let us only consider the condition of the poor Helots among the Spartans. A scanty and disgusting dress, and a dog-skin cap, distinguished them from all the rest of the inhabitants. Those who were too robust, had to be enfeebled by various kinds of ill treatment ; and if the masters did not do this, they became themselves liable to a penalty. Every slave annually received a certain number of stripes, to remind him that he was—a slave ! Hymns of a nobler kind, they were not allowed to sing ; but only gay and sensual songs. To complete their degradation, they were sometimes compelled to sing songs in disgrace and ridicule of themselves ; and to the same purpose, they were also compelled to perform indecent dances. In order to make the sons of the Spartans loath the vice of drunkenness, the Helots were compelled to intoxicate themselves in public assemblies. When they became too numerous, they were murdered clandestinely ; every year, at a certain period, the young Spartans, clad in armour, used to hunt them ; and to prevent their increase they were killed with daggers.²⁵⁹

If now the slaves in other states of Greece, did not indeed receive treatment equally inhuman, yet there was much that was degrading in their situation ; as, for example, it was considered as quite allowable and was not at all unfrequent, to use them for the purposes of sensuality. Even Solon himself assigned a temple, upon the old market place, to a number of female slaves, where, as prostitutes, they served the public lust. And further, the testimony of slaves before a court was always accompanied with the most horrible tortures, etc.²⁶⁰

corrupting process of the mind, that some have even gone so far as to deny that negroes have immortal souls ? and that they are treated by many more, as though they were not only to live, but also to die, like the brutes ?

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²⁵⁹ Manso's Sparta, B. I. Th. I. p. 137. Potter's Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 69, and onward.

²⁶⁰ On the use of male and female slaves for the purposes of sensuality, see *Reitemeier*, History of Slavery in Greece, Berlin, 1789. p. 31, 42.

Among the Romans, likewise, the condition of slavery was such as could barely be endured; and from the history of the slaves, particularly in the time of the emperors, we learn what may come of a class of men so totally neglected and disgraced. Some slaves of the Romans, the *Ostiarrii*, were constantly chained like dogs before the palaces of the great; others were immured in subterranean work-houses. It was a horrible law of theirs, that when a master was murdered, and the murderer could not be detected, all the slaves, together with their wives and children, were devoted to death. This terrific law had already originated in the time of the Republic; and Tacitus²⁶¹ informs us how, at one time, on occasion of the secret murder of Pedanius Secundus, four hundred innocent slaves lost their lives. The slaves were even regarded by the proud Romans, not as *persons*, but as *things* (*res*)!*. Of the like genuine Roman kind, was also the conduct towards his slaves of even M. Cato, illustrious as he was in many other respects. The expressions are remarkable which Plutarch employs on this occasion, in his description of the life of Cato. He says:²⁶² "But I must regard it as altogether too harsh in Cato, that after he had used his slaves like cattle till they were old, he should drive them forth and sell them; which implies, that one man stands to another in no other relations but those of gain; whereas we may see that a greater province is to be conceded to affection than to mere legal right. It is only towards men that we can stand in the relations of law and justice; but *kindness* sometimes extends itself as a rich source of kindness and love even to the irrational brutes. Indeed, it is from kindness that we support horses which have become incapable of labour; and we not only feed dogs while rearing them, but also take care of them when old. . . . For we ought not to use living creatures like a shoe or an implement

²⁶¹ Taciti Annal. XIV. 42.

²⁶² Plut. in Vita Catonis, c. 5.

* Alas, too, for our own age of light, liberty, and humanity! and what is the bitterest of all to every reflecting freeman of our own happy republic, alas, for one large portion of our "land of freedom!" The very language that now stands as such a blot on the annals of heathen Rome, two thousand years ago, is at this moment heard in the halls of our Congress and in many of the state legislatures: "*This species of PROPERTY!*"

which we throw away when broken to pieces and worn out by use ; but one should accustom himself before hand to be gentle and kind towards them ; for this reason, if for no other, that he may thus learn to be kind towards his fellow men. I, at least, would never sell an old labouring ox ; and much less would I part with an old slave who had grown up on the same soil with myself, and been accustomed to the same mode of life, and drive him, as it were, from his country, or sell him for a little money, as if worthless both to the seller and the buyers. But Cato, who in this point went to an extreme, even left behind him the horse he had used in Spain, that he might spare to the state the cost of his transportation. Now, whether this was magnanimity, or a standing upon trifles, I leave for each one to judge."

And what horrible examples do we see, in the time of the emperors ; either of inhuman masters, who treated their slaves with much more cruelty than their cattle ; or of worthless slaves, who knew how to push themselves into the highest places of honour by the diabolical arts of calumniating the innocent, or of excitement to lust ! There stood the luckless youth for whole nights, silent and fasting, at the pillow of his revelling master ; and his special business was, to wipe away the spittle, to remove immediately the vomit, or to perform some still more disgusting office. Coughing, sneezing, or a gentle whisper among themselves, was a high crime in the poor wretches, and disturbed the mental tranquillity of the debauched reveller. The severest scourging was the reward.²⁶³ The smallest offences brought upon them the most inhuman punishments. A superintendent of the public shows, who had committed some trivial offence, was scourged with chains, at the command of Caligula, for several days in succession ; and was not entirely despatched, until the mortification occasioned too great a stench for the tyrant.²⁶⁴ The story is well known of the Roman grandee, whose slave broke a chrysal vase in the presence of Augustus, and who forthwith sentenced the slave to be thrown to the fishes. The unfortunate servant clung around the feet of the emperor and begged for his intercession ; but the mediation even of the emperor made no impression on the inhuman monster. The former, however, in anger at such an act of cruelty, caused all his costly vessels to be broken in pieces.

²⁶³ Seneca *Epist.* 47.

²⁶⁴ Dio Cassius, *Hist.* LIX. 27.

Let us now cast a glance upon the relations of the female sex among the heathen. To them also was assigned under heathenism an inferior place. It is Christianity that has first attributed to woman the same degree of human dignity as to man; only that woman exhibits the divine image in a form different from that of man. The heathen—to whom in his ruder state, war-like valour is the highest object; and to whom, in a more refined state, political life takes the place of valour—found woman unadapted to either of these objects. Moreover the rearing of children, so far as she was concerned, pertained rather to the body and to the understanding than to the soul; and therefore woman, with him, could have no other value than that of a faithful slave. On this ground, must we account for the neglected condition of this sex among the ancients. As they expected every thing wicked from women, and trusted them in no respect,²⁶⁵ so they endeavoured to cut them off from all intercourse with the world. The women were confined to a particular part of the house, and that the back part, where they inhabited the upper chambers. The younger females slept in apartments secured by locks and bolts; and were not allowed, except by special permission, to go from one part of the house to another. If they drove abroad in the night, torches were to be carried before the carriage. They were watched by old female servants and eunuchs; who, however, were not unfrequently bribed to indulge them in excesses.²⁶⁶

By this confinement and deprivation of freedom, by this seclusion from all social intercourse, all opportunity for mental improvement and for the attainment of delicacy and refined manners, must have been precluded to the women. No wonder, then, that there were many misogynists among the ancients, who would not marry at all; whose sentiments, in part, have been collected by Stobaeus.²⁶⁷ These generally continued in the practice of paederastia; for which reason also, matrimony was regarded by the ancients as eminently a political institution; as we have already noticed above, particularly among the Spartans.*

²⁶⁵ Stobaei Sermones, LXX. De vituperatione mulierum.

²⁶⁶ Potter's Antiquities, Vol. II. p. 310 sq.

²⁶⁷ Stobaei Sermones, Sermo LXVI. Quod non expedit uxorem ducere.

* See page 448 above.

In a work which is ascribed to the Pythagorean Ocellus Lucanus, and which probably contains fragments and thoughts of his, the following principles concerning matrimony are expressed.²⁶⁸ "The law on the one hand, and discretion and piety on the other, must serve for a guide in assuming the obligations of wedlock. And indeed the first rule is, not to beget children for the mere pleasure of procreation, but for the support of the whole community of which the man is a part. In a similar manner those commit a fault, who, in the choice of their wives, regard any thing else but the general good. Harmony and unity of disposition, among married people, must be presupposed; otherwise, there arises contention in individual families; and hence in the state also, since the state consists of families."

Thus political were the motives which the better class desired should be regarded in respect to matrimony. Lycurgus would allow of absolutely no old bachelors. As a punishment for them, he made it a permanent regulation, that, at the command of the Ephori, they should appear, each winter, naked in the market place, and sing songs in derision of old bachelors; that they should not be present at the public contests of the half naked maidens; and, in the third place, that they should at a certain festival, be publicly dragged by the women round an altar and beaten with their fists.²⁶⁹ What respect or what delicate endearment could there be in a marriage, which was enforced in this degrading manner?

How little the connexion of marriage was comprehended in its dignity and importance by the Greeks, is shown particularly by the example of Plato, who, (in the fifth book of his Republic,) could propose *a community of wives* for his ideal state. How revoltingly injudicious such a proposition must be for the state, as well as for individuals, was strikingly shown by Aristotle.²⁷⁰ He correctly remarks, that "such a state of things would by no means satisfy the wants of individuals; for though all might cry out together, '*This is my wife*;' yet still this could not possibly be said by each individual. Never is a thing worse taken care of, than when it belongs equally to several per-

²⁶⁸ Ocelli Lucani de natura rerum, ed. Rudolphi, c. 4, p. 39.

²⁶⁹ Plut. in Vita Lycurgi. Athenaei Deip. l. XIII.

²⁷⁰ Aristoteles, Politica, II. 2—18. ed. Schneider.

sons, where each one leaves it to the care of the others ; and just so would then the rearing and education of children fall into the greatest neglect. In such a state, with so great a community of goods, there could be, universally, only a feeble and never a powerful love ; because no man could have any thing of his own ; and we know that a man always loves most, that which is most peculiarly his own."

The scholars of Socrates and Plato, acknowledged the dignity of the female sex in a somewhat higher degree. Socrates himself very correctly says :²⁷¹ " By many things, O men, as well as by what this maiden does, is it evident, that the female nature is in nothing inferior to that of men ; they need only the requisite knowledge and power. If, therefore, one of you has a wife, let him only teach her, with full confidence, whatever he may wish her to understand."

But perhaps the finest ideal of a noble woman and of the design of the marriage relation, which antiquity can furnish, is presented by Plutarch in his work, entitled, " Advice to married persons," which he addressed to a couple who were recently married. In that work, he calls their attention, among other things, to the following : " No woman can wish, merely by meretricious and sensual arts to bind her husband to herself. It would turn out with her as with those who seek to catch fish with poisoned bait ; they catch them perhaps easily, but the bait renders them unfit for use. Just so must such a woman live for years with a slack and foolish husband. And those too who would rather rule over simple husbands than listen to wise ones, are like persons who prefer to lead the blind along a road, rather than to follow such as see and know the way. Universally, the woman must seek to attain, in the highest degree, all moral and practical accomplishments.

" In a wise and happy marriage, every measure must proceed from both parties in harmonious union. Still the guidance of the man must be perceptible ; as when two voices sound together, the deepest still leads the melody. Nevertheless, the woman may lead the man, not by scolding and rage, but by affectionate gentleness. Thus the sun conquered the north wind. When the latter would compel the traveller to put off his mantle, and stormed and blustered, he wrapped himself in it so much the closer. But when the gentle sun, with his enlivening beams,

²⁷¹ Xenoph. *Convivium*, c. 2. p. 161. ed. Schneider.

came forth from the clouds, the traveller laid aside not only his mantle, but also his upper garment.

“Harmony and similarity of taste and feeling, are the soul of wedlock. A mirror bordered with splendid gems can be of no use, if it does not reflect the true image of the countenance. So no wife can benefit you, though possessing all possible perfections, if she is not a counterpart of your own disposition. The wife must know how to weep with her weeping husband, and to laugh when he laughs. Plato said: ‘That city might be pronounced fortunate where no difference between *mine* and *thine* should exist;’ and much more so must it be in matrimony. And further; as the physicians say, that if the left side is struck, the right also feels it, so must the wife and the husband live in the greatest mutual sympathy.

“And as the wife must have all in common with the husband, so, finally, must she also have the same friends; and pre-eminently must it be so with the greatest of all friends, the gods. She ought to worship no other gods, but those of her consort.

“And now, my dear Pollianus,²⁷² who have already yourself arrived at an age in which you know how to philosophize, adorn your own mind with excellent thoughts, while you occupy yourself only with what is useful; but also, like the bees, collecting honey from every source, impart to your wife of that which you bear in yourself, and thus make her acquainted with the best of every species of instruction: ‘For thou hast become to her,’ in the words of the poet, ‘father, and mother, and also brother.’ And so it is likewise proper, that you should listen to her when she says: ‘Husband, you are now my teacher, and guide, and instructor in things the most noble and divine.’ For if you instruct your wife in such things, she will be recovered from the silly amusements of ordinary women. A woman who has learnt Geometry, will be ashamed to dance; and she who is charmed with the words of Plato and Xenophon, will listen to no magic songs. As women can bear no children without the man, so must the man likewise sow the intellectual seed in the soul of the woman, in order to bring to light the intellectual fruit.

“But, O Euridice, let it be your endeavour always to retain in mind the wise and excellent sentiments, and to have

²⁷² Plut. Conjug. Praec. c. 48.

continually in your mouth those discourses, which you heard while you were present with us ; that so you may delight your husband, and be admired by other women, because, although dressed out by no one, you yet appear adorned. The pearls of those rich ladies, the silk of those foreign ones, you cannot purchase for much gold. But the attire of a Theano, a Cleobuline, a Timoclea, of the ancient matrons Claudia and Cornelia, and of whatever other celebrated women there may have been, this attire you can procure for yourself without cost, and live at the same time renowned and happy. If Sappho was so conceited on account of her talent for poetry as to write in the following manner to a rich lady : ‘When you are dead, you will rest in the grave and no one will think of you more ; since you possess not the Pierian roses ;’—why should not you venture to be proud of yourself, when you possess not only the roses, but also the fruits, which the muses bring and distribute to those who strive for knowledge and wisdom ?”

A charming picture of a heathen marriage of the nobler kind ! But how few instances may there have been of it ; and how far short of that which every case of christian wedlock ought to be ! for we must look, not on the members of the christian church as they are,* but as they *should be* according to apostolic wisdom ; and as they in fact are, when, by conversion and regeneration, they have likewise become real members of the invisible church. To such a state of conjugal connexion among the heathen, as well as to every other desire and effort of theirs, the higher unity of spiritual life was wanting. This higher unity is afforded to Christians in the marriage relation, by Christ, as being the object of their mutual affection. It is, indeed, by Christ’s becoming the central object of all their affections and efforts, that their life first acquires a heavenly consecration, a sacerdotal form. The man no longer

* To understand the exact import of our author in this and many other passages, it is necessary to bear in mind the fact, that in the established churches of Germany, protestant as well as popish, the whole mass of the people are considered as externally members of the church. Well may *such* a man, when writing for such a community, feel himself frequently called upon to make a distinction between the “converted” and “regenerated” part of the church, and the great mass who give no evidence of piety.—Such are some of the sad fruits of Church-and-State policy, in connexion with the laxity of doctrine which itself produces.

loves, in his wife, the woman alone, but the glory of his Redeemer which imbues and animates her; and so the woman loves in her husband, not merely the man, but the Spirit of her Lord, with which he is filled. The aim of their life is not, as in the case of that Platonic wedlock, merely to render this life agreeable; but it is the glorious transformation into the image of Christ; and as here the husband will particularly exemplify the *Pauline* view of christian life; as there will emanate from him to the wife strength of faith, rejoicing activity, and unshaken confidence; so the wife will on her part exemplify that view of life in Christ which is presented by the apostle *John*; and she will know how to infuse into the soul of her husband, tranquillity of mind, gentleness, and forbearance. In the circle of their children, they will stand not merely in the relation of persons who have brought them into being and who are nourishing them up for an earthly life; but they will look upon themselves as the priest and priestess of God; as those who have given birth to a new citizen of Heaven, whom it is now their business to render fit for a reception into the heavenly community. And on the other hand, the children will not merely be bound to them by the bond of earthly love; but they will feel themselves chained to their pious parents by that wonderful sympathy of spiritual love, which in scripture is mystically denominated "in Christ;" and while in their father and mother they recognize also their guides to the Lord, the Spirit of the Lord will indissolubly unite them with their parents.

This leads us to a kindred topic of consideration, viz. that of *education* among the ancients. The great importance of it was acknowledged by them. Socrates (in Plato²⁷³) says concerning it, to one who inquired of him respecting the education of his son: "Solemn consultation is always a sacred act. But if consultation is universally sacred, more particularly so is that in which we would now engage. For man can deliberate upon nothing more sacred and divine, than upon the education of himself and of those who belong to him."—And Plutarch says:²⁷⁴ "To the perfection of a man, three things must co-operate, nature, teaching, and practice. But if any one supposes, that those who are born with small natural abilities, are not able to remedy the defects of their nature by careful instruction and

²⁷³ Platonis Theages, p. 5. ed. Bekker.

²⁷⁴ Plut. de liberis educandis, c. 4, 5, 6.

management, let him know, that he is in a very great error. Neglect destroys the excellency of nature; but instruction ennobles what is naturally mean. The dropping of water wears the rocks away. Nay, it will even turn out, that what is achieved against nature by exertion, is more excellent than that which is peculiar to nature.—Just as the bodily limbs of a child must be properly taken care of and exercised from his birth, that they may not grow crooked; so likewise must the habits and morals of children be appropriately formed from the beginning, if they are to become correct; for every thing while young, is yet moist and soft, and therefore easily receives an impression.—The source and root of a noble disposition, is an appropriate education. Hence Crates was not in the wrong, who stationed himself in the highest part of the city and cried out: ‘O ye men! whither are ye rushing headlong! ye who prize the acquisition of property above all things, but take no care for your sons, to whom you are to leave all that property behind.’”

But here it is first to be remarked, that the chief object of attention in the education of children, was merely to form them for distinguished citizens; and that accordingly, just as in heathen wedlock, so also in the relation between parents and children, there remained unregarded, on the one hand, those tender bonds of personal affection which should ever unite the child and the parents; while, on the other hand, there was also here left out of view the relation of the life of the child to that higher sphere of being, to which every one ought to be consecrated from his birth, and into which he ought to be introduced and incorporated throughout the whole course of the formation of his mind and character.

Plato, in his *Republic* and in his book on the *Laws*, bestows very special care on the theory of education. But he too regarded it in no higher point of view than that of conformity to the laws of the state. So the Athenian, in his book on the *Laws*, says:²⁷⁵ “For the third and the fourth time, our reflections have come to the result, that education should be the allurements and guidance of youths to that which the laws approve, and which the most judicious and aged have found by experience to be the best.”—And with the same view Aristotle also says:²⁷⁶ “No one can doubt that the legislator must bestow

²⁷⁵ Plato de legib. II. p. 245. ed. Bekker.

²⁷⁶ Arist. Politica, VIII. 1. ed. Schneider.

very peculiar attention on the education of youth. If this is not done in a state, its constitution is destroyed. The citizen under any constitution of government, must live conformably to the spirit of that constitution; because the peculiar spirit of each constitution helps to sustain the constitution itself;—the democratic spirit sustains a democracy; the aristocratic sustains oligarchy; and the best spirit and disposition in a people, will ever produce the best constitutions.”*

In consequence of this political view of education, the state was also exhibited, by the sages of antiquity, as eminently the chief educator. The laws were to accomplish the right formation of character in the youth. Hence, according to Plato, the science of education stands connected with the discovery of the best political laws. Meanwhile, however, Plato could not comprehend any education in the true sense of the word, inasmuch as he had allowed the community of women. Aristotle indeed censures this latter trait, as we have seen; but still the influence which even he allows to the parents in education, is an extremely subordinate one. He also admits the laws as the chief means of education:²⁷⁷ “Still, the laws of the state can give only general rules; those which are more special, the parents must learn by *experience*; since these are in a great degree contingent.” “Thus, for example,” says Aristotle, “the physician prescribes rest and abstinence from food generally, to all who are sick with fever; but still, there may be single exceptions of persons who would not be benefited by this course.” In his *Politics* also, the same author says:²⁷⁸ “Since the object and design of the state is but one, so it is clear that the process of education also can be but one, and that indeed a necessary one. For this end also, it is clear, that all must take a common care

²⁷⁷ Aristot. *Ethica ad Nicom.* X. 9.

²⁷⁸ Aristot. *Politica*, VIII. 1.

* If that sagacious politician of ancient days is correct, as all subsequent experience has shown that he is, what then shall we say of the final bearing on our political institutions, if aristocratic and monarchical forms of church polity are to become prevalent among us? With a religious people, what can so powerfully act to change the whole bias of the public mind, as a change in the form of religious institutions? It is well remarked of our puritan ancestors, that ‘they decreed our future freedom by the very form of their independent church polity!’

together ; and not each one separately, as is now the case, while each one cares for his own children separately, and imparts to them separate instruction just as he pleases. At the same time, no one must think that he may be a citizen by himself, but all are citizens of the state ; and therefore each particular part or person must regard, not what is useful merely to himself, but what is useful to the whole."

Such thorough-going subordination of private to public interest, was indeed found practicable in no state but Sparta ; but still, in several respects, it existed in all the Grecian states, and was every where aimed at as a desirable object. But it is totally impossible that state education should supply the place of parental. For according to the highest ideas of education, (and these are just the christian ideas,) the child ought through the mysterious communion of love in which he lives with his parents, without the imposition of any command at all, to engraft himself as it were into the higher life of the parents, and thus be moulded for obedience, not only to the laws of the earthly state, but also of the heavenly kingdom of Christ.²⁷⁹ What were the marriage ties without the delight of training up children,—without the pleasure to the parents of seeing the image of their own intellectual and moral life transferred to the child ? Yea, the true love of the child also towards its father and mother, can rest only on the moral communication received from them,—on the *spiritual* procreation.

It is further to be remarked, in how small a degree the higher intellectual capacities of man were developed by such an education, where each individual is shaped to the forms of the state in which he lives. In the first place, for minds of a loftier and diviner cast, who, like Anaxagoras, wished to be citizens, not of an earthly state, but of an heavenly, it must have been to the last degree burdensome and oppressive, to find their spirit, which aspired to embrace the cause and essence of all things in heaven and in earth, immediately in its very developement, bound down, as it were by a magic spell, in the contracted sphere of the affairs and regulations of a petty state.

But if, again, in all the Grecian states besides Sparta, the young men were indeed seldom necessitated by state regula-

²⁷⁹ Cicero also recognized such an engrafting of one's self into the spirit of the family ; only not in its proper depth. Orat. pro Rabirio, c. 2.

tions to enter upon any certain mode of life, yet still the parents, in all the efforts and aspirations of their sons, had no other standard but the common good of the state ; and whatever did not promote this, seemed to be enthusiasm and extravagance. We see this in a remarkable manner in the history of Socrates. Although Socrates carried on a spirited warfare against the sophists, who lost themselves in fruitless speculation on things unattainable by man ; while on the other hand he urged upon the young men, who attached themselves to him, the improvement of the heart and self-denial in their lives ; yet this appeared to the earthly-minded Athenians, who knew nothing higher than the daily course of state affairs, as going quite too far ; and Aristophanes, with great applause, made Socrates the subject of ridicule, as a sophist or a subtile speculator about remote things, μετῶρα φρονιζών.

It was not however merely in general, that, in consequence of such a system of state cultivation and education, the spirit of the more thoughtful youth was cramped and circumscribed ; but the disposition, the heart, remained in this way wholly neglected. It is LOVE which excites the profoundest life in man ; and each lower degree of love prepares the way to one that is higher. In this way should love to man, when developed in tenderness, prepare the way for love to God. But the earliest love, to which a human being finds himself directed, as he comes into the world, is filial love. The more tenderly and affectionately this is developed, the purer and more godlike will be every other love of which life renders us susceptible. Now as the pleasures of domestic love were wholly unknown among the ancients ; as the individual, from childhood up, saw himself directed only to a greater community, to which however it was impossible to attach himself with the full warmth of his heart ; so also his inward man remained uncultivated and unimproved, in precisely the most delicate part of his spiritual being.

It is, however, still to be remarked, that what is here said of heathen wedlock and the education of children, is true in a less degree of the Romans than of the Greeks. In consequence of the greater regard for chastity, which was produced by the more serious religious system of the Romans, conjugal affection was more cordial and fervent,—the wife, too, was under far less restraint,—than among the Greeks. The effect of this more warm and cordial marriage relation, was also apparent in the education of children. The Romans had such mothers as the

excellent Cornelia ; and fathers earnestly engaged for the improvement of their children, as Cato. The sentiments of Cato on marriage and education, are presented to us by Plutarch in his account of his life.²⁸⁰ “He selected a wife out of a good family, rather than a rich one ; believing that each of these qualifications may indeed have its weight and importance, but that the well born, despising whatever is mean, will be the more ready to unite with her husband in all that is noble. Whoever beats his wife or his child, says he, lays his hands on that which is most sacred. He regarded it as far more praiseworthy to be a good husband, than a great senator. He also admired nothing more in Socrates, than that, with an ill tempered wife and worthless children, he could maintain his gentleness and equanimity. And when a child was born to him, he regarded no business, except that of the public, so important, as his being present when his wife washed and swathed the infant ; which she also nursed with her own milk. Often also she laid the infant children of the slaves upon her own breast, and sought thus to infuse into the latter a friendly feeling towards her son. When his children began to have understanding, he took them himself and taught them the rudiments of school education ; although he had an excellent slave, who well understood the business, and taught many other children. Cato was accustomed to say, he was not willing that his son should be rebuked or beaten by a slave ; nor that he should have to thank a slave for this kind of knowledge.” This solicitude of the Roman for his children, is ever to be acknowledged and applauded ; although it does not indeed reach the important point which Paul regards as the chief point of all education, viz. that children must be brought up “in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.” Eph. 6: 4.

Thus have we seen how heathenism was deficient in a fundamental *knowledge* of human nature, and consequently also in a proper *estimate* of human nature ; and that therefore, if we take the word in a higher sense, even that *humanity* was wanting in heathenism, on account of which so high encomiums have been lavished upon it ;—only indeed by those who know not the deeper humanity to which vital Christianity gives birth. This deficiency in humanity, or genuine and universal benevolence, is also manifest in many religious and civil customs. To that is to be

²⁸⁰ Plut. Vita Catonis M. c. 20.

imputed the prohibition laid by the Greeks upon their slaves, that they must not be present at many of the festivals of the gods, e. g. that of the Eumenides; and at Rome, that of Hercules; since the gods would be dishonoured by the presence of such inferior persons. From this cause arose also the custom of the Spartans of scourging their children every year at the altars of Diana Orthia, in honour of the goddess, so cruelly, that many of them expired; as also that cruel scourging of the Arcadian damsels at the altar of Bacchus. But more especially to this want of humanity is to be attributed the custom of human sacrifices. How universal this frightful custom was in ancient times among the heathen, the heathen Porphyry himself relates.²⁸¹ "Among the Rhodians, on the sixth of July, a man was sacrificed to Saturn. In Salamis, in March, they slew a man in honour of Agraulus the son of Neptune and the nymph Agraulis; and in later times, they made this sacrifice to Diomed. Young men led the destined victim three times round the altar; then the priest thrust a lance into his body, and his corpse was burned. In Chios and Tenedos, a man torn in pieces was offered to Bacchus Omadius. In Lacedaemon also, Apollodorus relates, a man was sacrificed to Mars. So also the Phenicians and Cretans frequently sacrificed men. But all human sacrifices among various nations, according to the historian Pallas, are said to have ceased about the time of the emperor Adrian. Before that time, in Syrian Laodicea also, a young woman was annually sacrificed; but at present a female deer. The Arabian tribe of Dumathia annually slew a boy before their sacred shrine, and buried him under it. Philarchus relates, that the Greeks almost never took the field, without having offered a human victim. I pass over in silence the Thracians and Scythians; I say nothing of the Athenians, how these slew the daughters of Erichtheus and Praxithea. But to whom is it not known, that at this very day, [about A. D. 290,] at the festival of Jupiter Latialis, a man is annually slain in the great city?"*

Clemens Alexandrinus mentions other extensive human sacrifices:²⁸² "Your gods, like pestilential diseases marching

²⁸¹ Porphyry. de abst. carnis, II. 56. ed. Rhoer. and from him, Euseb. Praep. Evang. IV. 16. and Cyrillus contra Julian. lib. II.

²⁸² Clem Alex. Protreptikos, c. 3. init.

* Rome.

through cities and nations, demanded cruel and bloody sacrifices. Aristomenes of Messenia sacrificed to Jupiter Ithometes, three hundred men; and among them, Theopompus king of the Lacedaemonians. The Taurians, who inhabited the Taurian Chersonesus, were accustomed to sacrifice forthwith to the Taurian Diana, all strangers who landed or were shipwrecked on their shores. At Pella in Thessaly, an Achæan was sacrificed to Peleus and Chiron. The Cretans of Lyctus were likewise in the habit of slaughtering human victims. The Lesbians, according to the account of Dosidas, made a similar offering to Bacchus. Pythocles relates, that the Phocæans burnt a man whole in sacrifice to the Taurian Diana. Erechtheus of Attica and the Roman Marius both sacrificed their daughters; the first to Persephone, and Marius to the *diis averruncis*.”*

* In justice to myself, perhaps, I ought somewhere to remark on the mode pursued by the author in his numerous extracts from ancient authors; otherwise, the learned reader who shall take the trouble of comparing the present translation of those extracts with the originals, and who may not have Tholuck's work by him, may think me responsible for the frequent omissions he will find in the body of these extracts. Tholuck's rule appears to be this; in the first place, fairly to give the sense of the author from whom he quotes, as to the *particular point* for which his authority is adduced; and then, to leave out all the incidental circumstances which do not serve to cast light on this point. He also takes considerable liberty in translating—much more than I have thought it expedient to take with him. I do not however mean to contradict what I have just said as to his fairness in giving the sense, or to weaken the reliance that is to be placed on his quotations. A commendable brevity was doubtless his object in the omissions; and elegance and German idiom, in the license he has taken. A literal and full translation from the Greek of a few sentences in the above quotation from Clemens Alexandrinus, will serve as a specimen. The portions omitted by Tholuck, are put in Italics.

“What cruel and misanthropic demons were your gods, who not only delighted in the insanity of men, but even enjoyed human slaughter; now, contriving for themselves the means of enjoyment from the ambitious contests of armed men in the stadia, now from the innumerable struggles for glory in wars; that thus they might abundantly satiate themselves with human murder; and now, like the most deadly pestilences advancing through cities and nations, they demanded the most merciless libations. Aristomenes of Messenia sacrificed three hundred men to Jupiter Ithometes, supposing himself to offer an acceptable sacrifice in so many and such choice hecatombs; among whom was Theopompus,

Even Aristides himself could sacrifice to Bacchus Omestes, the three sons of the sister of the Persian king, whom he had taken as captives;²⁸³ and Themistocles also offered up several Persians of distinction. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus,²⁸⁴ the Romans, even down to the latest times, were accustomed annually, at the vernal equinox, to go in procession to the Tiber, escorted by the praetors and vestal virgins, and there to throw thirty images of men into the river, in commemoration of the former human sacrifices. And Livy informs us, that once, in a time of great peril to the state, a man and woman of Gaul, were buried to propitiate the protecting gods. Lactantius indeed well remarks, as he relates these horrid rites of worship:²⁸⁵ "What greater evil could those gods inflict upon them, even if in continual wrath against them, than now, when they must be appeased at so horrid a price?"

In respect now to the spirit of humanity in civil and political life, it was founded chiefly on the common love of country. But since the love of country rests on a refined love of self, it was consequently not strong enough to subdue the influences of that selfishness, which in and of itself already swayed the conduct of the individuals. Wherever, therefore, that more refined selfishness, which was careful to sustain the state and the citizens for the sake of its own advantage, had nothing to fear, there the pride and avarice of individuals again came forth unshackled. Hence even public life was destitute of many institutions of benevolence and love, to which Christianity first gave rise. Here too, we must bear in mind, that vital Christianity has by no means pervaded the whole community of the

king of the Lacedaemonians, *a noble victim*. The nation of the Tauri dwelling about the Taurian Chersonesus, immediately sacrifice to the Taurian Diana all the strangers they can seize among themselves, and those falling into their power by sea. *Such sacrifices Euripides represents on the stage. Monimus also relates, in his collection of wonderful things, that at Pella, etc.*

From this specimen, it is obvious, not only that our author leaves out extraneous matter in his quotations, but also much which is to his purpose. Such, too, is the fact with him elsewhere. Still he gives us amply enough to substantiate his positions. TRANS.

²⁸³ Plut. Vita Aristidis, c. 9.

²⁸⁴ Euseb. Praep. Evang. III. 16.

²⁸⁵ Lactant. Instit. I. 21.

external christian church ; and that consequently it is only here and there, where vital Christianity has inflamed individual communities, and chiefly at the first entrance of Christianity into the world, that we behold what the Spirit of Christ is truly capable of accomplishing in this respect.

The LOVE which united together the members of the first christian congregations, especially at a time when moral corruption, perfidy, and misanthropy had reached their highest point in the Roman empire, put all the heathen in astonishment. In Minutius Felix,²⁸⁶ the heathen Caecilius says of the first Christians : “ This harmony of spirit among the Christians, must be wholly reprobated and destroyed. They recognize each other by secret signs and marks, and mutually love each other before they become acquainted. Here and there, a sort of voluptuous religious feeling is intermingled among them, and they call themselves reciprocally *brethren* and *sisters*.” The heathen were often heard to cry out with astonishment respecting the disciples of Christ : “ See how they love one another ! ”²⁸⁷ Yea, such brotherly love must indeed have been incomprehensible to the heathen ; for where selfishness still reigns, love is not unfeigned ; and selfishness must reign where Christ has not yet become our life. Now as every Christian no longer seeks his own, but that which is his Lord’s, so it is only among regenerated Christians that true love is possible. And just the default of this true, unfeigned love, was a defect in the civil and political life of the heathen in general. On the contrary, the blessed influence of the christian spirit of love, was also evinced in many public regulations. It showed itself in the abolition of the games of the gladiators. This abolition was occasioned by Christianity ; since these games must themselves have continued to nourish in the minds of the combatants, as well as of the spectators, a spirit of savage cruelty. Even heathen of the better sort, had already taken offence on this point. Thus Lucian relates of the cynic Demonax,²⁸⁸ that when the Athenians at a certain time were about to give a great exhibition of combatants, he came forward, saying : “ Do not do this, until you have first thrown down your altar of compassion.” How much more must the Christians have felt the inhumanity of these amusements !

²⁸⁶ Minutii Octavius, c. 9. § 2.

²⁸⁷ Tert. Apol. c. 39.

²⁸⁸ Luciani Demonax, c. 57.

That spirit of christian love manifested itself also in *the administration of justice* ; into which Christianity afterwards, in proportion as it pervaded the various states, introduced a milder and more humane spirit ; removing, for example, the punishment of crucifixion, of the rack, of casting to wild beasts, etc. It was manifested too in *the manner of life* among the various classes of men, who all assumed a milder character ; and, finally, in *the establishment of charitable institutions*, e. g. poor-houses, infirmaries, free houses of entertainment for indigent foreigners, and many institutions of this kind, which had been almost wholly unknown to heathenism ; so that the first establishment of infirmaries was the occasion of general wonder among the heathen.²⁸⁹

We close this contemplation on the influence of heathenism, with the spirited words of Athanasius, in which he depicts the wide dominion and transforming energy of the gospel :²⁹⁰ “Who among men could penetrate even to the Scythians, the Ethiopians, the Persians, the Armenians, the Goths, or to those beyond the ocean, or beyond Hyrcania ; or who would address himself to the Egyptians and the Chaldeans,—to the latter, who practise magic, and are wholly ruled by superstition ; to the former, who live in wild and desert countries,—and preach to both with courage and wisdom against the worship of idols ? Who could have been adequate to this, but the Lord of all, the Power of God, our Lord Jesus Christ ? He, who not only caused his gospel to be preached there by his disciples, but also imparted to those nations the full conviction of the heart ; so that they thenceforth no longer offered sacrifices to the gods of their countries, and gave up also the rudeness of their manners. In former times, when the Greeks and Barbarians served the heathen gods, they were perpetually at war with each other, and were cruel towards their own kindred by blood ; yea, no one could travel by land or sea, unless armed sword in hand, against improvident and mutual contests. Indeed their whole life was rather a service under arms ; their staff was the sword, the support of all their hopes. And although they all this time continued to serve the gods, yet this was not competent to change their disposition. But scarcely had they turned to the doctrine of Christ, when rudeness and murder disappeared ; after that the heart within

²⁸⁹ Hieronymi Ep. 26.

²⁹⁰ Athan. Opp. T. I. p. 105.

had, in a wonderful manner, been broken and subdued. What mere man could ever have been able to accomplish so much ! to march forth to the contest against the united legions of idolatry, the combined hosts of demons, the whole world of magic, and all the wisdom of Greece ; and at a single onset, overthrow them all !”

PART V.

HINTS ON THE STUDY OF CLASSICAL LITERATURE.

Having thus considered heathenism in its moral aspect, it will not be unsuitable for us to inquire, with what expectations and with what views the study of the ancients is now to be prosecuted.

If we were here to speak of the benefits it is calculated to bestow in every other view, except in that of morals, we should necessarily have to adduce a great many advantages. The ancients are, in fact, not only the fathers of all our knowledge, with the exception of religion ; but they are also, in many departments still our skilful teachers. Besides, there runs through the whole of antiquity a lively, intelligent, practical spirit, which connects itself in the most simple manner with nature ; so that Johannes von Müller very aptly and justly remarks :* “ If the experience of antiquity is to be applied in our own times, the grand secret, the great art, is, to *give to every thing its right name*. The ancients spoke not a metaphysical language arising out of abstract ideas ; and for this reason they are so full of energy ; because their figures fall upon, and form the soul. We strive to become acquainted with nature ; the ancients felt and painted it.” How beneficial the study of the ancients must be in the respects now mentioned, is obvious.

Among theologians, such men as Calvin, Bucer, and Melancthon show how important are the advantages for the treatment of religious subjects, which are to be derived from a classical education.

But here the inquiry meets us, Whether this study can also

* Werke, B. XV. p. 453, 454.

be useful to the Christian, in a moral view? This question presents itself with so much the more importance, in proportion as the erroneous opinion has more and more prevailed in schools of learning, that it is classical education which must form the character and disposition of the youth. This view, every Christian who has become acquainted, from his own observation and experience, with the difference between the heathen and the christian elements of character, must decidedly oppose. The spirit of heathenism is different from that of Christianity, not only in degree, but also in its very essence ; so that even what is good in heathenism, must first become imbued with the christian spirit, if it is to be regarded as good in the christian sense. The heavenly temper, and the longing after a holy and eternal life, are wanting in the poet of antiquity ; the affectionate hand of a paternal God, and the penetrating glance into the sinful shallowness of our hearts, are not found in the historian ; faith, love, humility, and hope, exist not in the philosophy of the ancients ; and poetry, and history, and philosophy, all fail to penetrate the depths of the inner man.

It is true, the heathen have accomplished many splendid achievements. Augustin says, they had often hazarded far more for their earthly country, than the Christians for their heavenly inheritance.* But still those deeds were not good, merely because they were great and splendid. We must here inquire for the root, from which the branches spring. With the heathen, it is, in most cases, a proud self exaltation ; such as was enstamped as the great principle of life by the Stoic school. Or, if it be not selfishness which impels the heathen to splendid deeds, yet it is often, probably, the strength of some inborn emotion—it may be patriotism, or conjugal affection, or other like impulses of the human heart, which the man follows, without having acquired them by effort, and without being himself conscious why he follows them. It is, at least, not the spirit of love and humility,—a spirit which springs from the subdual of that ever active and obtrusive selfishness.

Let us take a view even of the greatest of the heathen, Socrates. His soul was certainly in some alliance with the holy God ; he certainly felt, in his daemon or guardian spirit, the inexplicable nearness of his Father in heaven ; but he was destitute of a view of the divine nature in the humble form of a ser-

* De Civit. Dei, V. 18.

vant, the Redeemer with the crown of thorns; he had no ideal conception of that true holiness, which manifests itself in the most humble love and the most affectionate humility. Hence, also, he was unable to become fully acquainted with his own heart, though he so greatly desired it. Hence too he was destitute of any deep humiliation and grief on account of his sinful wretchedness; of that true humility, which no longer allows itself in a biting, sarcastic tone of instruction; and destitute likewise of any filial, devoted love. These perfections can be shared only by the Christian, who beholds the Redeemer as a wanderer upon earth in the form of a servant; and who receives in his own soul the sanctifying power of that Redeemer, by intercourse with him.

On these grounds, it can neither be permitted in general to transplant the spirit of heathenism into the youth of christian seminaries; nor can the attempt even be sanctioned, to engraft some of the better branches of the wild olive-tree upon the good; unless, indeed—which, however, can rarely be supposed in the case of tender youth,—the new man has already become so strong, that, whatever of good he may borrow from heathenism, before he suffers it to pass over into his own soul and life, he first commits it to the purifying power of that Spirit which must pervade all native and acquired good, if it is to be acceptable to God. In those schools, indeed, where, instead of the love of Christ, ambition and a miserable vanity are continually called into action as a stimulus to diligence and effort, it will indeed be difficult to do without the influence of the heathenish spirit on the minds of the youth. Indeed, it would be hard for teachers of this class to point out, wherein their method of unfolding and forming the human mind, differs from that of the Stoics and the gardens of Academus.

But if now Christianity is not allowed to pervade and sanctify the *sacerdotal* employment of education, (for so it deserves to be called,) it would seem in fact only to stand as an idle statue in the pathway of the Christian's life. We must, therefore, in serious earnest, repeat, that the spirit of classic antiquity may aid in forming what it will in the human mind,—only not the HEART. For this, there is but one former and teacher, and that is Christ and his Spirit. On this account, every teacher in a school of learning, who would discharge the duties of his office as a Christian, is under the sacred obligation of pointing his pupils again and again to the fact, that the Spirit, which no man

knows but he who has received it, produces a new life in the souls of those who receive it. And if one has any where to consider, that he may *buy gold too dear*, it is in the study of classic antiquity.

We subjoin the words of two of the more ancient teachers of the church, upon this subject. Augustin says, respecting the study of the ancients :²⁹³ "The Egyptians had not only idols and heavy burdens, before which the Israelites fled with horror ; but they had also precious implements of gold and silver, and garments, which Israel appropriated to themselves *for a better use*. Just so all the learning and systems of the heathen have not only idols, and heavy and unprofitable burdens, which every Christian must abhor ; but also liberal arts and sciences which are useful for the service of truth."—And Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, says :²⁹⁴ "Heathen learning is nowhere approved of, either by Christ or by his apostles, as if it came from God ; but still it is not totally rejected as pernicious. And this was not done without consideration ; for many philosophers among the heathen were not far from the truth.* They have not indeed attained to the chief thing in doctrine, the knowledge of the mystery of Christ. Nevertheless the enemies of Christianity may be effectually subdued, when one wields their own weapons against them. Besides, Christ and the apostles tell us, that we should prove all things, to the intent that we may not be deceived. This will not be our lot, if we seize upon the weapons of the enemy, and yet do not accord with them,—if we avoid the bad, but hold fast to what is good and true, and prove and use it all. **THE GOOD PERTAINS ALWAYS TO THE TRUTH, LET IT BE WHERE IT WILL.**"†

²⁹³ Augustini de doctrina Christ. II. 20. Origen before him had already made the same comparison.

²⁹⁴ Socratis Hist. Eccles. III. 16.

* It is to be remembered that this historian lived as late as the fifth century ; and that long before this period, the philosophy of the Greeks and Romans had been greatly improved, by the light and influence of Christianity. Ammonius Saccas, a founder of the New-Platonic school at Alexandria, (A. D. 193,) was even born and educated as a Christian, and incorporated much from Christianity into the new medley of philosophy, which soon became so prevalent. TRANS.

† Why the author should thus give us only such brief "hints on the study of classical literature," is not easy to conjecture. And

what he has given, is rather in the shape of *memoranda*, apparently put down with the design of filling out a more extended and better connected train of discussion. We may well regret that he did not take time and space to fill out this promising section in his usual manner. It is to be hoped he will yet seize some occasion for supplying the deficiency.

Should he do this, we shall doubtless find his hints on the *moral* influence of the study, greatly expanded and corroborated. This, in fact, is the most important point in the whole question.

The first step in the discussion of this topic, is to ascertain what this moral influence *actually is*, both in its nature and degree; and then to seek for the causes of the good and of the evil influence, and for the requisite modifications. And what but actual experience is to settle the question, as to the nature of this influence, just as in every other question of philosophy?—And when experience or testimony on this point, instead of being uniform, is found to be various and even directly opposite, and that too under the same mode of teaching; where shall we look for the cause of this *difference*? Is it not to be found mainly in the different *temperament* and habits of mental association in different individuals? One has been excited to sensuality; another, to unhallowed ambition; a third is not conscious of any definite moral influence; and a fourth, like the young Spartans while beholding the drunken slaves, is led to feelings of mingled abhorrence and contempt, in view of the full drawn pictures of heathenish vices, which he finds in the classics.

Examine, then, the temperaments of these different classes of students, and if found in accordance respectively with these different influences, what a lesson must it afford—not merely on the vast importance of the best *mode of teaching*—but as to the *individuals who are to be advised to pursue classic literature at all; and to what extent; and at what period of life*. What may be safe and salutary for one, may be moral death for another; and what may be too perilous in boyhood, may be hazarded in riper years and better circumstances. The judicious parent and the sagacious and christian preceptor will be awake to the responsibility thus devolving on them, in the guidance of the young immortals committed to their care.

TRANS.

ART. III. INTERPRETATION OF ISAIAH, CHAP. LII. 13.—LIII.

From Hengstenberg's "Christologie des Alten Testaments." Translated by James F. Warner, of the Theological Seminary, Andover.

[CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 367.]

VERSE 10. With this verse commences the description of the exaltation of the Servant of God. The sense is : All the suffering described, is sent by Jehovah upon his servant, and will terminate with his exaltation and the establishment of the divine kingdom on the earth.—*But it pleased Jehovah, to bruise him ; he hath subjected him to disease, [inflicted severe suffering upon him]. When he has brought a sin-offering, he shall behold a posterity, he shall prolong his days, and the purpose of Jehovah shall prosper through him.* According to Van der Palm, this verse is connected with the preceding. He was innocent ; why then was he so tormented and plagued ? For this reason, that it was the will of Jehovah ; not because the Lord was too weak to rescue him from the hands of his enemies. And what was the ground of this will ? That he should bring a voluntary sin-offering, should redeem mankind by his sufferings. The form הִחֲלִי is infin. Piel. Before the verb הִחֲלִי the copula is wanting. The suffix is to be supplied from the preceding verb הִחֲלִי . The verb הִחֲלִי signifies, as we have already shown, not merely *to make sick*, but also *plaga letali aliquem afficere, to inflict a mortal wound upon any one*. But here, disease and wounding are only a figure to express the severe suffering sent from Jehovah upon the Messiah. Comp. v. 3 and 4. The form הִחֲלִי stands for הִחֲלִי . This form,* which is seldom in Hebrew, is in Aramaean the usual one.† The ground of this variation of form in Hebrew, appears to lie in the not unfrequent interchange of verbs חָלַה and חָלַה .‡ That such an interchange takes place in the particular verb חָלַה , is shown by the future חָלַה 2 Chron. 16 : 12, and by the derivative חָלַה . The interpretation of the first member, given above, is easy and unconstrained. Not so that of others, as Martini and Gesenius, who translate : *It pleased Jehovah to make his wound diseased, for, to*

* Comp. Josh. 14 : 8.

† Gesenius Lehrs. 432.

‡ Gesenius l. c. p. 418. No. 8.

wound him severely. This supposes that דָּבָאוּ stands for דָּבֹאוּ, with Daghesh forte euphonic,* or as the infinitive *nominascens* in Piel; and that the Praeter יִדְבֹּקִי stands for the infinitive with ל. There is indeed some plausibility given to this exposition by the passage in Micah 6: 13, where: "I make thy wound diseased," stands for, "I inflict upon thee a mortal wound." Comp. Nahum 3: 19.—Before the last member, Jahn supplies גִּיאָמָר (which is indeed not unfrequently left out) and supposes that from thence onward Jehovah speaks. But as in the last member Jehovah is still spoken of in the third person, (הִפֵּץ יְהוָה,) it is better to assume that the prophet still proceeds with his discourse, and that Jehovah is first introduced as speaking in v. 11 and 12, and confirming what had been said by the prophet.—The form תָּשִׁים is to be taken as 3d pers. fein. and to be connected with נָפֵשׁ. The verb שׁוּם is often synonymous with נָתַן; comp. the Lexicons. The substantive נָפֵשׁ, as is known, often stands, like the Arabic نَفْسٌ, for the personal pronoun. *When HIS SOUL offers*, i. e. *when HE offers*. It is unnecessary to give the verb שׁוּם, as some interpreters do, the intransitive sense, *to place or present one's self*; or to assume with others, an ellipsis, אֵם תָּשִׁים נָפֶשׁוֹ, אֵם תָּשִׁים נָפֶשׁוֹ אֶשְׁמִי נָפֶשׁוֹ; which is opposed by the fact that we cannot say of the soul, that it brings the soul for a sin offering, even if examples otherwise satisfactory could be adduced for the ellipsis of נָפֶשׁ. Nor is it necessary with others even to translate: *When thou shalt have placed, regarded, his soul as a sin-offering*, as an address to Jehovah, who in this and the preceding verses is always spoken of in the third person. The fact that the Messiah shall not only be the priest who presents the sin-offering, but also the offering itself, does not indeed lie in the mere expression itself, in this place; nor is this necessary, since it is already sufficiently evident from what precedes. The word אֶשְׁמִי signifies *guilt, error*, and then *sin-offering*.† As by the typical offerings, which were presented by the typical priests, purity was again obtained and the offence was expiated as to the external theocracy, while there was also a reference to the great future offering; so the prophet here announces that by the antitypical offering, which the antitypical and only true priest‡ should

* Gesenius Lehg. p. 86.

† Comp. Jahn Archäologie, Th. III. § 100, and § 102.

‡ Comp. c. 53: 15.

bring, purity and the forgiveness of sins should be obtained as to the internal theocracy. Here also, according to the usual custom of the prophets, things of the new dispensation are described under figures borrowed from things of the old. With an allusion to this passage, Paul says in 2 Cor. 5: 21, *God has made Christ to be sin (ἁμαρτία)* i. e. a sin-offering, *that we might be righteous before God.* So also in Rom. 8: 3, *God has sent Christ for sin (περὶ ἁμαρτίας,)* as a sin-offering, and Christ is called, in Rom. 3: 25. 1 John 2: 2. 4: 10, *ἱλασμός, ἱλαστήριον*, propitiatory sacrifice, for all sins. Comp. Heb. 9: 14, *ὃς ἑαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν ἁλώμον τῷ θεῷ.* Divested of figure, the sense is as follows: When he has voluntarily given himself up to bitter suffering and a sanguinary death, in order, by atoning for our sins, to obtain for us forgiveness and righteousness.—The particle *כִּי* is here in the usual sense *when*, not as Rosenmüller explains it, *postquam*. The passages which he, after the example of Noldius,* adduces for this, are not appropriate, either because the verb in them is not as here in the future, but in the praeter;† or because the signification, *postquam*, depends only upon an incorrect interpretation.‡ In the description of the rewards which the servant of God shall obtain for the accomplishment of the work committed to him, the lower must again serve as a figure to designate the higher. Long life and a numerous train of descendants are regarded by the Hebrews as the greatest prosperity, as a theocratic blessing and a reward of piety. In a higher and spiritual sense, this reward will be bestowed upon the Messiah. The Seventy,§ the Vulgate,|| and Lowth, would connect together the two members *וַיַּאֲרִיךָ יָמִים* and *וַיְרַבְּהָ זָרַע*; but they are far more appropriate, when separated from each other; *וַיַּאֲרִיךָ יָמִים*, *he shall make his days long*, for, *he shall live long*; *וַיְרַבְּהָ זָרַע*, *he shall see his seed*, for, *he shall enjoy a numerous posterity.* This posterity (דִּירוֹ v. 8) is no other than the many and the mighty whom God has allotted (v. 12) as a possession to the Messiah, who were to be sanctified by him (c. 52: 15) and to be justified through him (v. 11); those, the punishment of whose sins he took upon himself (v. 5), and for whom he interceded with God (v. 12). The natural relation between father and son is often transferred to spiritual relations. The prophets bore the name

* Concord. Part. sub voce, No. 11.

† Amos 7: 2.

‡ Job 14: 14.

§ *Ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν ὄψεται σπέρμα μακρόβιον.*

|| "Posteritatem videbit longaevam."

of father—their disciples, the name of *sons of the prophets*, 1 K. 2: 35. In a higher sense believers, spiritually begotten of God, obedient to him, as being his dutiful children, and as it were composing his family, are called the posterity of God, or of the Messiah. Ps. 22: 31, “The seed who shall serve him shall be reckoned to the Lord as his posterity,” i. e. the followers of the Messiah shall be regarded as the kindred of God, as his children. Ps. 110: 3. Gen. 6: 2, where the worshippers of God are designated by בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים. Even to the present time Christians are in the East called صِبْغَانُ الْمَسِيحِ, *the kindred or family of the Messiah*.*—According to Martini, יִצְחָק in the last member should not designate the future, but the past. He translates: *Jehovae enim mandata felicissime executus est*. But without reason. The prophet here describes the reward which the Messiah is to receive. This consists in the circumstance, that the concerns, the cause of God, religion and its extension, shall be promoted by him, which is in fact synonymous with: “He shall behold a posterity.”

VERSE 11. Jehovah is again introduced as speaking.—*Because of the labour of his soul, he shall behold, he shall satisfy himself; by his knowledge shall he, the righteous one, my servant, justify many and shall bear their sins.*—The preposition בְּיָד indicates the *causa efficiens*. The Vulgate translates correctly: *Pro eo, quod laboravit anima ejus*. Others: Free from the suffering of his soul, or *after* the suffering of his soul. But it suits the connexion better, that here, as in the foregoing verse, the suffering should be adduced as the cause of the glorification. The noun עָמַל has both the idea of *labour* and of *suffering*.—After the verb יִרְאֶה the object is wanting. Michaelis: “From his oppressive labour he shall again look up with joy.” But there is no certain proof for this meaning of the verb יִרְאֶה; and moreover, יִשְׁבֵּעַ is then not exactly appropriate. The ellipsis is differently supplied by different interpreters; some would understand טוב *good*; others, זָרַע. But it is most direct and obvious, to supply *the fruits and rewards of his suffering*, which were announced in the preceding verse. The verbs יִרְאֶה and יִשְׁבֵּעַ are also combined in various ways. Some apply here the Hebrew *usus loquendi*, according to which two verbs are employed, where other languages put a verb with an adjective

* Comp. Schulz b. Paulus in der Sammlung der Reisen Th. VII. p. 49.

or an adverb ; thus, *he will see himself satisfied*. Rosenmüller supplies בְּאַנְשֵׁר between the two verbs ; but this gives a weak sense. The correct view becomes evident from the remark, overlooked by almost all interpreters, that the figure of a husbandman lies at the foundation. He cultivates his field with labour and care, then with delight first beholds the ripe fruits, then gathers them in and satiates himself upon them ; he sowed in tears, and now reaps in joy. Hence then it appears, that the two verbs must be separated, and that there is a kind of climax in them. Clericus :* “ Here is a tacit comparison ; as the husbandman, having gathered a copious harvest, is satiated with the fruit of his toil ; so the Messiah, after having ascended into heaven, shall feed his soul upon the wonderful success of the gospel.” Yet many interpreters connect the following בְּרִעְתּוֹ with this first member. Among these, Martini refers the suffix in בְּרִעְתּוֹ to Jehovah ; and takes רֵצַת יְהוָה in the sense of *piety, fear of God*. He then explains the clause : *Pietatis suae largissimos fructus percipiat*. But to this it is one objection among others, that the suffix must necessarily refer to the Messiah, as he only is spoken of in the third person ; whereas Jehovah is introduced as himself speaking (עֲבָדִי). Jahn, somewhat better, understands the suffix passively : *Saturabitur cognitione sui i. e. fruetur illa beatitudine abunde, ut permulti eum agnoscant celsissimum benefactorem*. But this interpretation also is forced, and the word בְּרִעְתּוֹ is without doubt to be connected, in conformity to the accents, with what follows. The expression, בְּרִעְתּוֹ, is variously understood. The form רֵצַת is the Infinitive of רִיצָה. But Participles and Infinitives in connexion with suffixes, may be regarded either as parts of the verb, or also as nouns. In the first case the pronoun denotes the *object* of the action ; in the last, the *subject* ; in the former it is in the accusative ; in the latter, in the genitive.† Many interpreters understand the suffix here subjectively. So Gesenius : “ By his wisdom.” This is opposed by the fact, that not the wisdom but the expiatory suffering of the Messiah, as we shall see in the explanation of the word הַצְדִּיק, is to be the effective cause of justification. Others : “ By his religion.” But on the contrary, the word רֵצַת

* “ Hic latet comparatio : quemadmodum agricola collecta copiosa messe fructu laboris sui satiatur, sic Messias animum suum successu miro Evangelii, postquam in coelum ascenderit, pascet.”

† See examples in Gesenius Lehrs. p. 299.

alone does not designate *religion, piety*, but only in the phrase *דָּעַת יְהוָה*; and this not *objective*, but *subjective* religion, which is not here appropriate. Others: "By his doctrine;" scil. by the doctrine of his suffering and the expiation thereby effected. This explanation will indeed admit of our taking the verb *הִצְדִּיק* in the right sense; but it is an objection, that *דָּעַת* as a noun never means *doctrine*, but always only *knowledge, discretion, understanding*. We are hence under the necessity of taking the suffix objectively, or passively. By his knowledge, i. e. by their knowledge of him, by their becoming acquainted with him. This is the condition on which the righteousness obtained by the Messiah may be appropriated by them. So J. H. Michaelis: * *Per scientiam sui,† non qua ipse cognoscit, sed qua vera fide et fiducia ipse tanquam propitiator cognoscitur*. John 17: 3. Rom. 3: 22, 25. Van der Palm: ‡ "By his knowledge, that is, by the knowledge of him, by knowing him, on the ground of his mission and by virtue of his merits."

The verb *הִצְדִּיק* is taken by Gesenius in the sense *to bring to the true religion, to convert*, comparing Dan. 12: 4. But *הִצְדִּיק* is explained by the following parallel member: "He will bear their sins." Hence it must be translated, *justify*; and be referred to the deliverance from the penalties of sin effected by the sufferings of the servant of God. The forensic sense, *significatio forensis*, is the prevailing one in Niphal of the verb *צָדַק*. Comp. e. g. 5: 23. The whole context shows, that the discourse here respects justification, in the proper sense, and not merely instruction. The Messiah is described throughout the whole section, not as a teacher, but as a priest, who has presented himself as a voluntary sin-offering, in order to deliver us from punishment. This is favoured also by the construction with *לְ*, and finally by the position of *צָדַק*. The construction of the verb with *לְ* explains itself by a certain modification of the idea which the verb conveys; thus *הִצְדִּיק* with the acc. *justificare, to justify*; with *לְ*, *justitiam afferre, to impart justification to some one*. The verb *הָרַג* exhibits a similar modification, as 2 Sam. 3: 30 *הָרַג לְאַבְנֵר*, *mortem intulerunt Abner, they inflicted death upon Abner*. So *הָנִיתָ*, with the accusative, *to cause to rest*; with *לְ*, *to grant*

* In the Bibl. Hal.

† Clericus, *cognitione sui*.

‡ "Door zijne Kenntnis, dat is door de Kenntnis van hem, door hem te kennen, in den aard zijner zending en de Kracht zijner verdiensten."

rest; דוֹשִׁיעַ, *to deliver*, but with לָ, *to grant deliverance*.*—The words צַדִּיק עַבְדִּי *the righteous one, my servant*, signify *my righteous servant*. The adjective sometimes stands first, when an emphasis falls upon it.† Still, however, this observation is not adequate to explain the construction before us,—a fact which interpreters have overlooked. The word צַדִּיק cannot be directly connected, as an epithet, with עַבְדִּי, for this reason, that the former is indefinite, while the latter is made definite by the suffix. But when the substantive has the article, or is rendered definite by a ' suffix or a genitive, the adjective must have the article also.‡ Hence we must assume, that צַדִּיק stands first independently, as supplying the place of a noun. There is a similar construction in Jer. 3: 7, 10, בְּגוֹדָה אָחֻזָּה יְהוֹדָה, "*the faithless, her sister Judah, did not convert herself to me.*" The prominence of צַדִּיק and its immediate connexion with הַצַּדִּיק, are meant to indicate the close connexion in which the righteousness of the servant of God, (who although perfectly innocent and and without sin,§ yet suffered the punishment of sin,) stands with the justification to be imparted through him. Thus by these words, the verb יָדָה in c. 52: 15 is explained; also what is said in vs. 3—6 is confirmed, particularly the expression in v. 5, "by his wounds we are healed."—Martini translates: *Servator legatus meus salvos praestabit multos i. e. felicitate augebit et ornabit*. But this explanation is as little suited to the context, as it is capable of being justified philologically. The word צַדִּיק cannot signify *Saviour*, nor הַצַּדִּיק *to bless*.

In the last words of the verse, as in v. 4, sin and its punishment are figuratively represented as a heavy burden. Lam. 5: 4.

In Arabic, ^سو^ج ^نburden is a usual name for sin. So ^عا^صل^م ^نonera. Calvin: || "It is surely a remarkable exchange. Christ justifies men by giving them his righteousness, and, in return, takes upon himself their sins, that he may expiate them."

* Gesenius Lehrgeb. p. 817.

† Gesenius p. 705.

‡ Gesenius p. 704.

§ Comp. v. 9.

|| "Egregia nimirum est permutatio. Christus justificat homines dando ipsis justitiam suam, et vicissim in se suscipit peccata ipsorum, ut ea expiet."

Jerome :* “And he himself shall bear their iniquities, which they were unable to bear, and by the burden of which, they were oppressed.” Many interpreters, as Martini, Hensler, etc. would translate the verb יִסְבֵּל in the praeter : “He bore or took away their sufferings.” Against this Gesenius justly remarks, that all the preceding and the following futures refer to the state of exaltation.† Moreover, in the whole verse, the discourse does not relate to the acquiring of righteousness, (for this was done in the state of humiliation, vs. 2—9,) but to the imparting of it ; the subjective condition of which was, in the foregoing member, declared to be the knowledge and perception of the servant of God. In behalf of every one who, after the exaltation of the Messiah, fulfils this condition, the Messiah takes his sins upon himself, i. e. he causes his own vicarious obedience to be reckoned to him and imparts to him forgiveness. The expression, *he will bear their sins*, is the same as, *he will justify them*, except merely the difference of the figure. Gesenius interprets thus : “He lightens the burden of their sins, scil. by his instruction ; he will improve them and thereby procure pardon for them.” But Gesenius here contradicts himself ; for in v. 4, he explains נָשָׂא הָלִי and כָּבַל מִכָּאֲבִים of the vicarious satisfaction ; and the corresponding הָטָא רַבִּים נָשָׂא and יִפְגֹּיַע in v. 12, must necessarily be explained in the same way. The phrase כָּבַל צוֹן more over does not here mean, *to lighten the burden of sin*, but *to take it entirely upon himself* ; and that this can be equivalent to *improving by instruction*, is neither philologically demonstrable, nor reconcilable with the whole context. * Compare the remarks on יִצְדִּיק above.

VERSE 12. *Therefore will I allot to him the mighty, and he shall distribute the strong as a spoil ; as a reward, because he gave up his life unto death, and suffered himself to be numbered with transgressors. And he shall take upon him the sins of many, and shall make intercession for transgressors.* The verb הָלַק has, in Job 39: 17, the signification *to allot, to appor-*

* “Et iniquitates eorum ipse portabit, quas illi portare non poterant, et quarum pondere opprimebantur.

† The expression יִסְבֵּל הוּא יִצְדִּיק is evidently synonymous with יִצְדִּיק and cannot well be taken as praeter, on account of the parallelism. Sept. καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἀνοίσει. Symm. ὑπενέγκει.

tion. So also here, many interpreters very justly give it this sense. Others :* “I give him his lot among the mighty ;” either equivalent to, “I will grant him his place among the mighty,” or, “the mighty shall be a part of the spoil which is to be given him.” Of this Martini justly says, *friget utrumque*. Especially, according to the first turn above given, this exposition does not at all accord with the other splendid expressions with which the exaltation of the servant of God is described. Gesenius alleges in its defence, that the fourth member then forms an appropriate antithesis : He who was placed on a level with transgressors, now stands with the mighty and the powerful. But surely the antithesis is much stronger and more beautiful according to the first exposition ; *with transgressors, over the many and the powerful*.—The word רַבִּים can either be rendered *many* or *the mighty and great*. The latter is recommended by the parallelism with עֲצוּמִים. In either case, it is unnecessary to supply, with Rosenmüller, גִּבּוֹרִים or עֲצוּמִים in connexion with רַבִּים and עֲצוּמִים.—The second member is translated by many:† “He will divide the spoil with the strong.” But a far more forcible and elegant sense is obtained by understanding the particle אֵת not as a preposition, but as the sign of the accusative. “He shall distribute the strong as a spoil,” scil. among his companions. This is nothing more nor less than : He shall have them in his power, and be able to do with them as he pleases. Martini :‡ “It is the part of a conqueror to dispose of the booty obtained, and, the best portion of it being reserved for himself, to distribute the rest among his companions.” Compare Gen. 49 : 27. Ex. 15: 9. Ps. 68: 13. Judg. 5: 30. After the example of Jewish interpreters,§ some modern ones|| would borrow from these words a proof against the reference of the prophecy to Christ, who surely did not participate in any worldly triumph. But such a misapprehension of the figurative expression scarcely

* Sept. *Διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς πληρονομήσει πολλούς*. Vulg. *Ideo disper-tiam ei plurimos*. Chald. Martini, Rosenmüller.

† Gesenius, etc.

‡ “Victoris est de praeda parta disponere, ejusque optima parte sibi vindicata, reliquae inter socios partitionem facere.”

§ Abarbanel : “Hoc in Christum non competit, כִּי לֹא עָשָׂה, מַלְחָמָה וְלֹא שָׁלַל.”

|| Paulus, Gesenius, etc.

admits of explanation, otherwise than from doctrinal prejudice. According to the usual custom adopted by the prophets, of representing that which is spiritual under the figure of that which is temporal, the spiritual victory of Christ over those who take upon themselves his gentle yoke, is here announced under the figure of a worldly victory. Martini :* “Here is a description of an extensive and splendid empire, expressed by images taken from a human monarch, who, after having conquered a country, takes possession of the sovereignty, and enjoys the spoils which had been won.” That the language does not here relate to worldly triumphs, appears, *first*, from the manner, as exhibited above, in which the Messiah arrives at this exaltation. Worldly triumphs are not obtained by the deepest humiliation, by sufferings and death, voluntarily undertaken, and that for the salvation of mankind. *Secondly*, it appears from that which the Messiah in his glorified state, is to do for those who apply to him. He is to sprinkle them with his blood, c. 52 : 15 ; he is to justify them and bear their sins, v. 11 ; and he is to stand in the place of sinners, v. 12 ; all which surely are not designations of a *worldly* conqueror. The רַבִּים and עַצְמוֹתָם are no other than the people and kings mentioned in c. 52 : 15 ; and the kindred and posterity of the Messiah, in v. 8 and 10. Similar figurative representations are found in Ps. 2 : 8, where Jehovah says to the Messiah : “Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for an inheritance and the ends of the world for thy possession.” Compare Isa. 11 : 10.

After this, the merits of the servant of God are once more repeated, for the reward of which, God has granted him these great spiritual conquests. In the words הִעָרָה לְמָוֶת נַפְשׁוֹ, properly *he has poured out his life to death*, or *into death*, there is a metaphor taken from slaughtered animals, which with their blood lose their life ; for which reason the blood was regarded as the seat of the soul. Compare Gen. 9 : 4. Lev. 17 : 11. There is also an allusion to the figure of a victim in v. 10. Compare Ps. 141 : 8, and numerous examples of a similar mode of expression in the Arabic poets.† The verb נִמְנָה, *he was num-*

* “Inest descriptio amplissimi et splendissimi imperii expressa imaginibus ab imperatore humano, qui terra sub ditionem suam redacta regnum occupat, praedaeque parta potitur repetita.”

† In Schultens *Ad excerpta Hamasae* p. 452, and in Martini and Gesenius on the passage.

bered, has here, as we have already seen in v. 7, the secondary meaning, *he suffered himself to be numbered*. This is demanded by the context and by the parallelism with, “He has poured out his life.” The mere fact that the Messiah was numbered with transgressors, was not the ground of his glorification; but that he *voluntarily* suffered himself to be numbered with them. The evangelist Mark quotes this passage, when he relates that Christ was fastened to the cross between thieves, without designing to exhaust the whole sense of the expression by this specific application.

With many interpreters, after the example of the Seventy, we must understand the verb *יִפְגֵּעַ* as referring to the state of humiliation.* But the context, in which the discourse relates exclusively to the exaltation, determines the tense of *יִפְגֵּעַ* to be *aorist* rather than future; and this corresponds to *יִפְגֵּעַ*. Compare the remarks on the preceding verse.—The verb *יִפְגֵּעַ* has in Kal, among other significations, that of *to meet*; in Hiphil, consequently, *to cause to meet*. Then, *to cause something to meet or occur to any one*, (whether petitions or actions, must be determined from the context,) stands for, *to intercede with him*; in like manner as the Greek *ἐντυγχάνειν*. Most interpreters here falsely understand *יִפְגֵּעַ* of mere prayer. Martini correctly says:† “We must here understand that aid which the Messiah afforded to his friends in the enduring of miseries, and those the most severe and dreadful, and even death itself.” The servant of God does not intercede with Jehovah for sinners merely by prayer, as is quite evident from what precedes, but by presenting before God his vicarious suffering and his merits, as the ground for their receiving favour and the forgiveness of their sins. Calvin very happily expresses the idea:‡ “As under

* So also Gesenius, directly in contradiction to the remark made by him on v. 11, that all the futures in what precedes and what follows, refer to the state of exaltation. If *יִפְגֵּעַ* should stand for the praeter here, then must *יִפְגֵּעַ* also stand for the praeter there.

† “Intelligendum est illud auxilium, quod miseras easque gravissimas et dirissimas mortemque adeo ipsam subeundo Messias popularibus suis praestitit.”

‡ “Ut in veteri lege sacerdos, qui nunquam sine sanguine ingrediebatur, simul pro populo intercedebat, ita quod illic adumbratum fuit, in Christo impletum est. Primum enim sacrificium corporis sui obtulit et sanguinem fudit, ut poenam nobis debitam persolveret. Dein-

the ancient law the priest, who never entered into the holy place without blood, at the same time interceded for the people ; so that which was there typified, was in Christ fulfilled. For, in the first place, he offered the sacrifice of his own body and poured out his blood, that he might bear the penalty due to us. Then, to insure the efficacy of the expiation, he performed the office of advocate, and made intercession for all who should by faith embrace this sacrifice." Compare also the following passages : Rom. 8: 34, "*Ὁς καὶ ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.*" Heb. 9: 24, Christ has entered into the sanctuary *νῦν ἐμφανισθῆναι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.* 1 John 2: 1, *Παράκλητον ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν δίκαιον.*—The word יְהוָה indicates, that we are not to regard the last two members as depending upon רַחֵם אֲנִי.

NOTE. It may perhaps interest the reader, to see the whole of the proposed translation brought together into one view.—ED.

TRANSLATION.

Ch. LII. 13. Behold my servant in wisdom shall reign prosperously ;

He shall be high and elevated and very exalted.

14. Like as many were shocked at my servant,

—So disfigured was his countenance that it was no longer the countenance of a man ;

And his form, that it was no more the form of a man,—

15. So shall he sprinkle many heathen nations ;

Kings shall shut their mouths before him ;

For what had not been announced to them they see,

And what they had never heard they perceive.

Ch. LIII. 1. Who then believes our annunciation ?

And the arm of the Lord, to whom is it revealed ?

2. He grew up before him as a sprout,

As a shoot out of a dry soil ;

He had no form nor beauty, that we should look upon him ;

de ut valeret expiatio advocati officio functus est, atque intercessit pro omnibus, qui fide hoc sacrificium amplecterentur."

- No comely appearance, that we should desire him.
3. He was despised and the most abject of men,
A man of suffering and familiar with disease ;
He was as one before whom a man covers his face ;
We despised him and esteemed him not.
 4. But he bore our diseases,
And took our pains upon himself ;
And we regarded him as one afflicted of God,
Smitten and tormented of God.
 5. And he was pierced for our iniquities,
And was bruised for our sins ;
He was punished that we might have peace,
And by his wounds we are healed.
 6. We all like sheep were gone astray,
We turned each one to his own way ;
But Jehovah cast on him the sins of us all.
 7. He was abused, but he endured patiently,
And opened not his mouth ;
As a lamb which is brought to the slaughter,
And as a sheep that is dumb before its shearers,
He opened not his mouth.
 8. By oppression and a judicial sentence he was dragged
to punishment ;
—Yet who can declare his posterity ?—
He was torn away from the land of the living for the
sins of my people,
Upon whom the punishment should have fallen.
 9. They appointed for him among the wicked his grave ;
—But he was with a rich man after his death ;—
Although he had done no unrighteous deed,
And there was no guile in his mouth.
 10. But it pleased Jehovah to bruise him,
He hath subjected him to disease.
When he has brought a sin-offering,
He shall behold a posterity,
He shall prolong his days,
And the purpose of Jehovah shall prosper through him ;

11. Because of the labour of his soul he shall behold;
By his knowledge shall he, the righteous one, my servant,
justify many,
And shall bear their sins.
12. Therefore will I allot to him the mighty,
And he shall distribute the strong as a spoil;
As a reward, because he gave up his life unto death,
And suffered himself to be numbered with transgressors.
And he shall take upon him the sins of many,
And shall make intercession for transgressors.

PART III.

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST THE MESSIANIC INTERPRETATION.

It now remains, *first*, to disprove the arguments against the Messianic interpretation; *secondly*, to bring forward the arguments in favour of this exposition; and, *thirdly*, to show that no interpretation other than the Messianic, is admissible.

§ 1. *Arguments against the Messianic Interpretation considered.*

The arguments against the Messianic interpretation we borrow from Gesenius, who has collected every thing at all plausible, which earlier writers, and especially the Jews, have ever alleged.*

I. "Though there is here a great similarity in the condition of the innocent sufferer to that of Christ, yet there is much also, which will not apply to him." All that Gesenius here alleges has already been set aside in our exposition; with this exception only, that according to c. 52: 15, kings are to pay homage to the servant of God *in person*. This, however, refutes itself; for this passage no more contains any thing of a *personal* kind, than the parallel one in c. 49: 7. But that kings have

* A refutation of the arguments employed by Ammon in his *Bibl. Theol.* II. p. 40 sq. may be found in Jahn, l. c. p. 63. These arguments are probably now rejected by the author himself.

bowed their knees before the glorified Messiah, and still continue to do so, who can deny, without casting reproach upon all history? Thus this argument is as little tenable, as the remark of Abarbanel on v. 10, from which this argument seems to have been moulded: "The verb יראה denotes a seeing which belongs to a man who is yet alive."*

II. "The name, *servant of God*, is never employed to designate the Messiah." Admitting this assertion to be correct, still it would prove nothing. The appellation, *servant of Jehovah*, designates in a more limited sense, as we have already seen, every one who is called to the execution of any divine purpose,—one who stands in a similar relation to God, as those employed in the service of a court, called among the Hebrews עֲבָדִים, do, to earthly kings. Moses is called "the servant of Jehovah," Num. 12: 7. Joshua also, Judg. 2: 8. Every Israelitish king was a servant of Jehovah; David is not unfrequently so called, e. g. Ps. 89: 21. Eliakim bears this name, c. 22: 20. The prophet names himself thus, c. 20: 3. The Jewish people also, in so far as it was destined to maintain the knowledge and worship of the true God, has this name in many passages. It is given to the angels in Job 4: 18, where עֲבָדָיו, *his servants*, stands in parallelism with מַלְאָכָיו, *his messengers*. Nebuchadnezzar himself is called, in Jer. 25: 9. 27: 6, a servant of Jehovah, in so far as he was an instrument in the hand of God, though without his own knowledge and will. It is merely incidental, that Cyrus does not bear this name; all the properties of a servant of God are attributed to him. Thus we can perceive no ground, whatever, why the Messiah, the great messenger of God,† he who, having assumed the form of a servant, was obedient to God even unto death,‡ who came, not to do his own will, but the will of him who had sent him,§ might not receive this appellation; since he was strictly that which the appellation designates—an appellation, which cannot at all be regarded as the proper name of an individual rank or class, or of an individual person; but is common to all the servants and instruments of God. In addition to all this, the assertion itself is by no means correct. The Messiah actually bears this name in Zech. 3: 8, a passage which is unanimously explained as referring to the Messiah. "I will bring forward my servant Tse-

* בחייו ובימיו, *dum adhuc vivit et superstes est.*

† מַלְאָכָיו Mal. 3: 1.

‡ Phil. 1: 7.

§ John 6: 38.

mah (אַמַּח),” says God ; which the Chaldee explains by מְשִׁיחָא וְיִרְחֹגֵי, *Messiam et revelabitur*.* He bears this name also, in c. 42: 1.† 49: 3, 6. 50: 10 ; consequently in nearly all the Messianic predictions in the second part of *Isaiah*.

III. “The idea of a suffering and atoning Messiah is foreign to the Old Testament, and even stands in contradiction to its prevailing representations ; even admitting it to have been entertained by some about the time of Christ.” This argument also is borrowed from the Jews. It is sufficiently refuted by what has been said in the general introduction to this work. The argument can never be valid, so long as the authority of Christ holds good in the church ; for he himself says, that all his sufferings were foretold in the writings of the Old Testament, and explains to his disciples the predictions which relate to it. Besides, if the idea of a suffering and atoning Messiah occurred in no other passage of the Old Testament, still this would prove nothing. We cannot justly come to the conclusion *a priori*, that God might not impart to an individual prophet, who showed himself adapted to this very revelation, illumination on a particular subject which he concealed from others. It is indeed true, that in the Messianic predictions, the prophetic and regal office of Christ is more frequently described, than the sacerdotal. The great mass of the people, who were to be retained by the Messianic predictions in an adherence to Jehovah, even though it were but an external one, were as little capable of comprehending this doctrine, as were even the apostles, previous to the out-pouring of the Spirit ; while for the pious, in whose hearts this doctrine found a welcome reception, the intimations given (and which are collected in the place referred to) were sufficient. We here, in addition to c. 50, refer to the passage in c. 11: 1, which is explained even by Gesenius as relating to the Messiah ; where the coming of the Messiah in a state of humiliation, is indicated (as also in 53: 2) by the figure of a slender shoot springing up from the decayed stock of Jesse. But it is difficult to conceive, in what the alleged contradiction between the doctrine of the suffering Messiah and the doctrine of the glorified Messiah, can consist. Even if there were a seeming contradiction, still it would be removed by the history of Christ. Indeed, the suffering appears in the prediction before us, as the

* Comp. Rosenmüller ad h. l.

† Where the Chaldee explains, הָאָה עֲבָדֵי מְשִׁיחָא.—Kimchi, זְהוּ מֶלֶךְ הַמְּשִׁיחָה.

very condition of the glorification; the latter as a consequence and reward of the former. Even here, too, the Messiah appears as a king, to whom all earthly kings with their people will become subject.—The whole assertion proceeds upon the false idea, that each individual Messianic prediction must contain a full picture of the Messiah; whereas, on the contrary, these various prophecies mutually supply each other, and for the most part exhibit Christ to us, each only in a single point of view.

IV. "In the Messianic exposition, every thing is taken as future; but this, the language will not admit. The suffering, the being despised, and the death of the servant of God, are here described throughout as past; for every thing in c. 53: 1—10, is expressed in the *praeter*. The exaltation only appears as future, and is expressed by futures. Thus the writer stands between the suffering and the exaltation, and declares that he who has hitherto suffered, shall hereafter be exalted. The last only is still impending." The answer to this has already been given in the note on c. 52: 13.* The position of the prophet is not an historical, but a prophetic one. The prophetic view moreover was not an external one, but an internal; and the prophets describe events, as they follow one another in this view. That which forms the condition, is expressed in the present or past; that which forms the consequence is expressed in the future. Compare the general introductory remarks on the second part of Isaiah.† As the prophet there took his position in the Babylonish exile, and thence viewed the deliverance as future; so he here takes his stand between the suffering and the exaltation of the Messiah. From this point, the suffering appears to him as past; the exaltation, as future. In this way only could he distinguish the condition and the consequence from each other, and exhibit the suffering and the exaltation in their proper relation.‡ *Moreover it is by no means true, that the prophet always represents the suffering as past, and speaks of it in the praeter.* In some passages he has involuntarily passed from the prophetic position into the historical, and has used the future where he speaks of the suffering. So v. 7, רָפָהָה; v. 8, רָשָׁהָה; v. 10, תָּשִׁים; and according to the explanation of Gesenius, v. 12, יִפְּרֹץ.

* See page 331 above. † See *Bibl. Repos.* Vol. I. p. 705 sq.

‡ The ancient translators also have not taken these *praeters* as designating the real past; but have frequently rendered them by futures. So the Seventy v. 14, ἐκστήσονται--ἀδοξήσει. Aquila and Theodotion v. 2, ἀναβήσεται.

On the contrary, he makes use of the praeter נִשְׁׁׁׁ in v. 12, with respect to the future state of exaltation.* Compare on יִסְבֵּן, v. 11.

V. "It is perfectly evident, that the servant of God here, is the same person spoken of in the parallel passages, c. 42: 1—7. 49: 1—9. 50: 4—11. 61: 1—3. But in these passages there occurs still much more, which cannot be true of Christ." We here fully agree with our opponents, that the subject of this passage must be one and the same with that of the other passages designated; and we must with them complain of the mischievous inconsistency of those interpreters, who in those passages find the Messiah, but in the present one, a different subject. But we believe it to have been sufficiently demonstrated in our comments on those passages, that all which Gesenius alleges from them as incompatible with the Messianic exposition, either depends upon a false interpretation, which is too literal and mistakes the figurative character of prophetic language; or else, if what he alleges be correct, it militates still much more against the exposition of Gesenius himself. E. g. how can the fact, that the Messiah is introduced in some of the designated passages as speaking, occasion any difficulty to him, according to whose own exposition likewise a person is introduced as speaking? and that too not a real, but an imaginary person, the collective body or whole number of the prophets?

VI. "In what precedes and follows, the prophet speaks of the restoration of the state after the exile. Now it was quite impossible, that a reader of the prophecy at that time, should obtain from it the idea of a Redeemer who was to be expected in remote futurity." But this was not necessary. The only point of importance was, that the prophet and his hearers should, as the condition of their salvation, become acquainted with the future suffering of the great servant of God, and should embrace the future Redeemer with the same love, with which we ought now to embrace him after that he has appeared. This was sufficient; the *when* they needed not to know, as indeed the nature of prophetic vision did not admit of their knowing it. Without detriment to the reality, they might ever suppose that the great event would take place immediately after the deliverance from

* The same thing is found also in the parallel passage c. 49: 8. Gesenius himself there remarks: "As the deliverance is still impending, the praeters עֲנִיָּהֶיךָ and עֲנִיָּהֶיךָ cannot well be otherwise understood than as futures."

exile. Indeed, their earnest desire would have been weakened, and their love cooled, had they known the long distance of time which must first intervene. "It could little concern a reader at that time, to know what would happen after five hundred years." This, however, could be said only by one who has no interest in that which others hold most dear, and which forms the central point of their whole life.

Gesenius still further alleges, that by this exposition we rend the passage from its connexion with the whole book; and that to take the passage as a definite prediction, is contrary to the analogy of all the biblical prophecies, which refer, by a sort of general conjectural anticipation, to the immediate future. But this has already been sufficiently disproved in what precedes, and therefore is here left without more particular notice. It remains only to remark a striking contradiction, which is found on one and the same page.* It is first said, that all biblical prophecies refer only to *the nearest future*. Immediately upon this, the author declares that the hope, which he himself also finds expressed in the passage, that the religion of Jehovah will in some future time obtain a splendid triumph over the heathen, has been fulfilled by the prevalence of Christianity; and he therefore does not hesitate, so far as this, to acknowledge in this whole passage a Messianic prediction which has been fulfilled.

§ 2. *Arguments in favour of the Messianic Interpretation.*

We proceed now to adduce the arguments in favour of the Messianic exposition of the passage before us. All the arguments by which a passage generally can be proved to relate to the Messiah,† are here combined.

I. The Messianic interpretation is confirmed by the testimony of tradition. The Jews in more ancient times unanimously referred this prophecy to the Messiah.‡ The authority of tradi-

* Gesen. Comm. zu Jes. III. p. 164.

† See Hengstenberg's 'Christologie,' Th. I. p. 333.

‡ Compare the history of the interpretation of this passage, p. 314 above. Also J. H. Michaelis ad h. l. in the *Bibl. Hal.* Hulsii *Theol. Jud.* l. c. Grabe, *Notae ad Spicil. patr.* T. I. p. 362. Hulsii *Nucleus prophetiae* Lugd. 1683, p. 668 sq. Danz in Meuschenii *N. T. ex Talm. ill.* p. 836, and the writers there quoted. Eisenmenger *Entd. Jud.* P. II. 758. Calov. *Bibl. ill.* II. p. 249 sq. Raym. Martini *Pugio Fidei*, P. II. c. 9, 11, 12, etc. Hornbeck c. *Jud.* p. 249, 536, etc.

tion is here so much the greater, because the Messianic interpretation was opposed to the disposition of the people at large; while the origin of the later non-Messianic expositions can be satisfactorily explained, from the mode of thinking prevalent among the people.

II. The quotations of this prophecy in the New Testament serve not only to confirm the fact, that the Messianic interpretation was at that time the prevailing one,* but they serve also as an infallible proof, that this interpretation is the correct one. The fact that c. 53: 1, is quoted in John 12: 38 and Rom. 10: 16, to account for the unbelief of the greatest part of the people, although it is quoted in the former passage with the formula, *ἵνα πληρωθῇ*, would not, taken by itself, amount to proof. But the passage in Luke 22: 37, furnishes decided proof. There Christ himself says, that the prophecies which relate to him are about to be accomplished;† and therefore the expression, "He was numbered with transgressors," must also have been fulfilled in him. Comp. Is. 53: 12. Thus Christ here reckons this prediction among those which have reference to himself; and the prophecy is therefore certainly Messianic, as our Lord could know, and would speak, the truth. When Gesenius alleges, on the contrary, that Mark does not put these words into the mouth of Jesus, but quotes them in his own person and on a later occasion, (Mark 15: 28,) this certainly can prove nothing. Why might not Mark quote, in his own person, an expression referring to Christ, which Christ himself had quoted at an earlier period?

And besides, it certainly would not be a groundless assumption, to maintain that Christ, in the passages where he says that he must suffer and die *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*, had this prophecy especially in view. Indeed, our opponents themselves admit, that if the doctrine of a suffering and atoning Messiah is contained in any passage of the Old Testament, it is in this.

* Otherwise it would have been formally justified by the New Testament writers, as is done in the case of Psalms xvi and cx, with respect to the divine dignity of the Messiah; see Acts 2: 29 sq. 1 Cor. 2: 15: 25 sq. The same is proved also from the expression of John the Baptist, taken from this passage: *ἶδε ὁ ἄμνός τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου*, John 1: 29. Compare Isa. 53: 4, 7, 10.

† In this way only can we understand the expression *τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ τέλος ἔχει*. Comp. Matt. 26: 54, where Christ says he must suffer and die, that the Scripture may be fulfilled.

In answer to the question of the Ethiopian eunuch, Of whom does this prophecy treat? Acts 8: 28—35, Philip explains it as referring to Christ, and grounds upon it all his instructions respecting him.—The citation in Matt. 8: 17, has already been quoted in our exposition. After the example of De Wette,* Gesenius lays peculiar stress upon the circumstance, that the passage was never used with reference to the propitiatory death of Christ, and maintains, that the quotation in Matt. 8: 17 is repugnant to this.† As it regards the latter, we refer to the exposition. The former is not correct. The apostle Peter, in treating of the vicarious satisfaction of Christ, uses the principal passages of this prophecy verbatim.‡ That the apostles do not more frequently cite the prediction where they speak of the propitiatory death of Christ, by no means arises from their not referring to it, but from the circumstance that it was so familiar to them and to those for whom they wrote, that there was no occasion for a definite citation, a mere allusion being sufficient. This is evident from numerous passages, in which we find allusions to this prophecy, or reminiscences of it.§ This passage is as it were the theme, which laid the foundation for the apostolic annunciation of the propitiatory death of Jesus. This Gesenius himself concedes, in a passage|| which stands in striking contradiction to that just now quoted. “The great body of Hebrew readers, who were now so familiar with the idea of sacrifice and of substitution, must necessarily have so understood the passage; and *it is not to be doubted, that the apostolical representation of the propitiatory death of Christ, rests pre-eminently upon this ground.*”

III. There can be no question, that the subject of these predictions must be the same as that of the predictions in c. 42, 49, 50, 61. This is acknowledged by the best interpreters; as Gesenius, Van der Palm, etc. Now if those passages can refer to no other subject than the Messiah, then all the arguments which favour the application of those predictions to the Messiah, and which we will not here repeat, have the same force in favour of the present passage, and *vice versa*. We may add, moreover, the

* De Morte expi. p. 94.

† Gesenius l. c. p. 163.

‡ 1 Pet. 2: 21—25.

§ Compare e. g. Mark 9: 12. Rom. 4: 25. 1 Cor. 15: 3. 2 Cor. 5: 21. 1 John 3: 5. 1 Pet. 1: 19.

|| L. c. p. 191.

passage in c. 11: 1, which is explained by Gesenius as referring to the Messiah : וַיֵּצֵא הָטֶרֶם מִגִּזְעֵ יֵשׁוּ וַיִּצְרֹ מִשְׁרָשָׁיו יִפְרֶה, and *there shall come forth a rod from the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow from his roots.* This has so striking a similarity to c. 52: 2, that both cannot but be referred to the same subject.

IV. To these external arguments are to be added the internal evidences, derived from the characteristics ascribed to the subject of the prophecy. Although each individual trait can be pointed out as fulfilled in Christ, yet we will here confine ourselves to those things only, which are exclusively appropriate to him, and which cannot without entire arbitrariness be referred to any one else. Here belongs, first of all, the doctrine, that by the vicarious suffering of the great servant of God, mankind are freed from the punishment of sin, reconciled to God, and made righteous. Many have sought, in various ways, to remove this doctrine from the passage. Kimchi remarks : "We must not suppose that the thing is so in fact, that Israel in exile really bears the sins and diseases of the heathen ; (for this would militate against the justice of God ;) but that the heathen, when they shall see the splendid redemption of Israel, will pass such a judgment upon it." It is easy to see, that the argument of Kimchi against the vicarious satisfaction is an idle one ; for this doctrine would then only militate against the justice of God, when the sufferer did not, as was the case according to the passage, assume his suffering *voluntarily* ; and besides, such *a priori* and dogmatic objections have no weight, since corrupt reason is not in a condition to sit in judgment upon the doctrines of revelation. The manner, too, which Kimchi adopts in getting rid of the argument, is in the highest degree violent, and leaves nothing certain in all the Scriptures.—Several modern interpreters* have adopted another method. They are of opinion, that the expressions should be taken only figuratively ; and that we are not in them to look for the doctrine of a vicarious satisfaction for our sins, provided by the justice of God, through the Messiah. According to Martini, all the expressions should announce nothing further than this : † "All those severe

* Martini ad h. l.—De Wette *De Morte Expiatoria* p. 22 sq.—In some measure also Umbreit, *Theol. Studien u. Crit.* 1. 2. p. 328. But he expresses himself very obscurely.

† L. c. p. 60. "Calamitates illas gravissimas ministro isti divino perferendas popularibus ejus utiles futuras atque salutare."

calamities, to be endured by this divine servant, will be useful and salutary to his people." But it is decisive in favour of the literal interpretation, that the prophet speaks of this subject not merely in a single passage, but is always recurring to it, and always connects the redemption of the people with the suffering of the Messiah, in the relation of effect and cause. Thus he says in c. 52: 15, the Messiah will deliver many of the heathen from their sins; in c. 53: 4, he has taken upon himself our disease and our pains; v. 5, he was pierced for our iniquities, etc. v. 6, Jehovah has cast upon him the sins of us all; v. 8, he has borne the punishment which the people should bear; v. 10, he has presented himself to God as a sin-offering, etc. To this it may still be added, that the expressions, *נִזְנֶה* in c. 52: 15, and *עֲוֹן* in c. 53: 10, are taken from sacrifices; and the suffering and death of the Messiah are represented as effecting an internal reconciliation with God, in the same manner as the death of the victim signified objectively, that outward purity was thereby again restored as to the external theocracy. Indeed, substitution evidently took place in the sacrifices, so far as it respects external theocratic purity, though by no means in reference to internal sanctification; and this might well be done without any prejudice to the divine institution of sacrifices. So much as this is certain, that had the prophet wished to state the doctrine of a vicarious satisfaction, he could not possibly have used stronger expressions. No passage of the New Testament upon the propitiatory death of Jesus, is in point of sentiment more definite than this; and yet the doctrine of a vicarious satisfaction is found in the New Testament by numerous rationalist interpreters of more modern times;* those only excepted who possess so strong a doctrinal prepossession, (as Paulus,) that they entirely sacrifice exegesis to it. But upon these time has already passed sentence. The arguments are indeed so forcible, that even Rosenmüller,† Gesenius, and others, cannot but acknowledge that the doctrine of a vicarious satisfaction is contained in the passage; and Alshech among the Jews does honour to the truth by acknowledging the same.

We will now consider the arguments which De Wette adduces in opposition to the literal interpretation.

* Compare e. g. De Wette Dogmatik I. § 293 sq.—Bretschneider Dogm. I. § 154, 155.

† Gabler's Journal, II. p. 365.

1. He appeals to two passages where the word כֶּפֶר, *ransom*, occurs in a figurative sense. The first is Isa. 43: 3, where Jehovah says, he has given Egypt, Ethiopia, and Seba, as a ransom for the Israelites. We must here entirely agree with De Wette, in opposition to Gesenius, who finds in this passage the doctrine of a vicarious satisfaction.* Such a kind of satisfaction here contradicts all the representations of the Old Test. respecting the divine justice, and, as we shall hereafter see, nothing analogous can be brought in support of it. De Wette correctly says: † “To illustrate the love of Jehovah towards his people, the prophet compares the lot of the Israelites with that of other nations, who, while the Israelites were liberated from captivity, were reduced under bondage to the Persians; so that it might in a manner be said, that these nations succeeded to the place of the Israelites, and purchased the liberty of the latter with their own.” The second passage is Prov. 21: 18. כֶּפֶר לַצַּדִּיק רָשָׁע וְהַחֵם יִשְׁרָאִים בּוֹגֵד, *the evil-doer is a ransom for the righteous, and the ungodly for the pious*. This passage, as Gesenius acknowledges, and thereby himself confirms the correctness of the figurative acceptance of Isa. 43: 3, means nothing more than this: ‘The sufferings which the pious have long endured, are afterwards imposed upon the wicked in their stead; the latter must *as it were* redeem the former.’ But yet, both these passages cannot prove what they are brought forward to prove; for the existence of the doctrine of a vicarious satisfaction in the prophecy before us, does not rest upon a single expression, which might indeed be explained figuratively, but upon the constant recurrence of the same doctrine under the greatest diversity of expression. Moreover the expression כֶּפֶר does not occur in passages quoted, in the same manner as does the word אָשָׁם

* L. c. p. 190. “The divine justice was not yet satisfied by the suffering of the people in exile, and therefore other nations are given up for them.” What Gesenius remarks, p. 75, on the passage itself, stands in contradiction with this. Jehovah gives “great, rich, and powerful nations, as Egypt, Ethiopia, and Seba, as a prize to the conquerer, instead of Israel; and *as it were*, a ransom for them.

† “Ad amorem Jehovae erga populum suum demonstrandum comparat propheta Israelitarum sortem cum sorte aliorum populorum, qui dum illi captivitate liberarentur, in ditionem Persarum redacti sint, ita ut quasi dici posset hos populos in locum Israelitarum succedere et eorum libertatem sua redimere.”

(comp. הִלֵּל) in this passage ; where this last does not so easily admit of being understood figuratively.

2. "The prophet is so free from all superstition, that he almost rejects the sacrifices and the whole external worship ; compare c. 66: 3. But one cannot well perceive, what difference there should be between an expiation accomplished by means of animals, and one accomplished by a man." The prophet in the passage quoted speaks with zeal, as all the prophets do, against the erroneous opinion that sacrifices *ex opere operato* obtain the divine favour and forgiveness of sins ; which is entirely contrary to the original design and the original import of sacrifices. That he need not, on this account, have rejected the doctrine of the vicarious satisfaction, is very evident from the example of the writers of the New Testament, who, with a like mode of thinking as to sacrifices, still taught the doctrine of a vicarious satisfaction ; as was the case also with the whole christian church. When De Wette compares expiation by means of animals and expiation by a man, he falsely assumes, that the servant of God was in the view of the prophet a mere man. That which the prophet says of the glorified Messiah, is surely inappropriate to a mere man ; and that the divine nature of the Messiah was well known to Isaiah, appears also from the other Messianic passages, in which the divine names and attributes are ascribed by him to the Messiah. That a man could make satisfaction for men, would, as we shall hereafter see, be contrary to the doctrinal representations of the Old Testament. Hence also the passage quoted by De Wette from Micah 6: 6—8, does not at all belong here,—where, to the question of the people, whereby they should appease Jehovah, and whether they should present their own children as a sin-offering, it is replied, Jehovah does not require this, but justice, love, and humility. It is only by virtue of his perfect innocence and righteousness, such as do not exist in any man, that the servant of God cleanses us from sin ; and to this very circumstance is attached peculiar importance. Comp. c. 9: 11.

3. De Wette maintains that the prophet cannot have advanced the doctrine of a vicarious satisfaction, because it would be destructive of piety, the promotion of which was an object very dear to his heart. With this *a priori* argument, which proceeded from a want of experience, and which, it is hoped, is no longer regarded as valid by the author himself, we might also prove that the whole christian church, that the apostles, that Luther, Arndt, and Spener, never held this doctrine.

Thus the doctrine of the vicarious satisfaction is decidedly and clearly contained in this passage. Now, we further find, that in the New Testament the same things are said of Christ, which are here said with respect to the subject of the prediction. It is true indeed, that Christ, during his life, more rarely expressed himself definitely and clearly with regard to the object of his death and his vicarious satisfaction.* The reason was, that the carnally minded disciples were not prepared to comprehend the doctrine in its true import, before the death of Christ and the communication of the Spirit which depended upon this. On this account, the doctrine is eminently to be reckoned among the many things which Christ had yet to say to the disciples, but which they could not now bear. But after his resurrection, Christ gave his disciples full information on the subject ;† and it is partly from this and partly from the immediate illumination promised and granted to the apostles, that the copious instructions have flowed which the apostles give us on this point.‡

We may add moreover the specific circumstance presented in verse 9, that the servant of God should be buried with a rich man, Joseph of Arimathea. Any further exhibition of the similarity between the prophecy and the fulfilment, will not here be necessary, since it must be obvious to every one who is acquainted with the New Testament history.

§ 3. *Arguments against other Interpretations.*

The positive arguments already adduced in favour of the Messianic exposition, are at the same time so many negative ones against every other. It would be a useless waste of time and room, to attempt a refutation of the opinions of those who would refer the prophecy to any individual subject besides the Messiah, from king Uzziah, to the Maccabees ;—opinions which have been adopted only by the authors of them. All these interpreters have been satisfied with seizing hold of some single trait, which is found again in the history of some individual. The rest they have either not at all taken into account, or have

* See however Matt. 20: 28. 26: 28. John 3: 14. 6: 51—55. 12: 27. etc.—Compare Bretschneider l. c. § 154.

† Compare Luke 24: 27.

‡ Compare Storr, Abhandlung über den Versöhnungstod Jesu, as Appendix to his Commentar zum Hebräerbrief.

endeavoured to set it aside by false and forced explanations. By such a procedure we might find, besides the expositions already alluded to, an innumerable multitude of others. The refutation would therefore become endless; since it is merely accidental, whether this or that person may not have suggested some individual, who no more belongs here, than a hundred others. It is a circumstance against all these interpretations with reference to distinct individuals, that the latter all appear here as a *deus ex machina*, a mere expedient to get out of difficulty, without our knowing whence they come or whither they go, and without a single reason, why the prophet should all at once bring them before us.

There are only three interpretations, which partly by their general prevalence and partly from their greater plausibility, have a claim to our attention. The first regards the whole Jewish people as the subject of the prophecy; the second, the pious part of them; and the third, the collective body of the Hebrew prophets. All three have this in common, that according to them the subject of the prophecy is not a real, but merely an ideal person, a plurality of individuals, personified as one collective whole.

I. Against the first interpretation, which makes the subject of this prophecy to be the whole Jewish people, we may urge chiefly the following arguments.

1. The Jewish people are indeed sometimes personified as a collective whole, and called *אָבֶד יִהְיֶה*. But such a personification, carried through a whole paragraph, without the least intimation that the discourse does not relate to a single individual, cannot be confirmed by one analogous example. In verse 3, the subject is termed *אִישׁ*; in v. 10, a soul is ascribed to him; death and the grave are spoken of with reference to a subject of the singular number. If the prophet designed to be understood, he must have added at least some intimation how he was to be understood. Martini appropriately remarks:* “I presume that no example can be adduced, in which the prophets will be found to have spoken of the whole people taken as an in-

* “Vix exemplum afferri posse putaverim, quod prophetae continuata allegoria de populo universo tanquam de singulari persona, ita loquuti fuisse deprehendantur, ut argumenti non ad individuum quoddam, sed ad nationem ipsam referendi, nullum, ne levissimum quidem, vestigium eluceat.”

dividual in a continued allegory, in such a way, that not even the slightest intimation appears, to show that the language is not to be referred to an individual, but to the whole nation." The case is entirely different in the other passages, where the prophet designates the Israelitish people by the term *עַבְדֵּי יְהוָה*. In them the prophet prevents all uncertainty, by adding the names *יִשְׂרָאֵל* and *יִשְׂרָאֵלִים*; compare c. 41: 8, 9. 44: 1, 2, 21. 45: 4. 48: 20. Moreover, to show that *עַבְדֵּי יְהוָה* is there a collective, he uses, besides the singular, the plural also, when he speaks of or to the Israelites. Comp. e. g. c. 42: 24, 25. 48: 20, 21. 43: 10—14. 44: 8. In the passage before us there is nothing of the kind. To this it may be added, that an allegory carried out in such a manner, and which, as has already been remarked, is without example in Hebrew literature, would be very weak and inappropriate. "Moreover the very argument of this prophecy, which is of a more grave and sublime character, does not favour this sentiment. Indeed, under such a figure the prophet could scarcely have painted the whole Jewish nation, most miserable as it was and exposed to the odium and contempt of all nations, without his discourse often and justly appearing too pompous and frigid."*

2. The subject of this passage assumed his sufferings *voluntarily*;† himself *innocent*, he bore the sins of others;‡ his sufferings are the *efficient cause of the righteousness of the people*;§ he suffers *quietly* and *patiently*, not allowing himself to be irritated to bitterness against the authors of his suffering.|| Of all these four particulars or marks, not one applies to the Israelitish people.

(a) The Israelites did not go into the Babylonish exile *voluntarily*, but were dragged into it by force.

* Porro ipsius hujus oraculi argumentum gravius et sublimius illi sententiae non favet. Sub tali enim imagine propheta vix depingere potuisset nationem totam Judaicam vel miserrimam et omnium gentium odio et contemptui expositam, quin oratio saepius tumidius atque frigidius justo videretur." Hansi.

† According to v. 10, the servant of God presents himself as a sin-offering; according to v. 12, he is crowned with glory, because he poured out his life unto death; which the usage of the language permits us to understand only of a voluntary offering up of himself.

‡ Verses 4—6, and v. 9.

§ Verse 11.

|| Verse 7.

(b) The Jewish people did not suffer *innocently*, but they endured in exile the punishment of their own sins. This had been predicted by Moses as a theocratic judgment; Lev. 26: 14. Deut. 28: 15. 29: 19. 32: 1. All the prophets represent it as a theocratic judgment. Jeremiah and Ezekiel repeatedly and continually inculcate the truth, that this punishment will certainly fall upon the people on account of the great vices that were prevalent, especially on account of idolatry. Isaiah, in the second part, often admonishes the Jews, that they were driven into exile by the divine justice, and will be delivered from it only by the divine mercy; comp. e. g. c. 56—59, especially the penitent confession of the people themselves in the last chapter. If we regard even the immediate occasion of the exile, what is said of the sufferer in v. 9, will not apply to the Israelites: "He has done no unrighteous deed, and there has been no deceit in his mouth." The immediate occasion of the exile was the perjured alliance with Egypt against Nebuchadnezzar, which was so strongly censured by Jeremiah.

Rosenmueller seeks to remove this difficulty by the remark, that the prophet does not speak in his own person, but introduces the heathen as speaking, who would gladly by this flattery obtain the favour of the Israelites. "When he chides and reproves his people in his own name, he must adopt a manner of speaking different from that which he employs, when he introduces other nations as speaking of them,—nations before hostile to the Hebrew people, but now repenting and desiring to become associated with them."* But this solution is not valid; even if we leave out of view the fact, that the prophet could not without further remark put a speech into the mouth of others, which he did not himself approve; since he could not fail to see, that every one would suppose that he did approve of it. The solution is not valid, because the innocence of the subject is contained not merely in c. 53: 1—10, which Rosenmueller after the example of the Jews ascribes to the heathen; but is asserted likewise in the speech of Jehovah, c. 52: 13—15, and c. 53: 11, 12. Only a sufferer who was himself innocent could deliver the heathen from their sins. In v. 11, he is expressly call-

* "Aliter enim loqui necesse est, ubi suo ipsius nomine suos objurgat et redarguit, aliter ubi alias gentes, antea populo Hebraeo adversarias, sed nunc ad meliorem mentem redeuntis iisque sese associare cupientes de eo dicentes in medium producit."

ed the righteous ; in v. 12, it is mentioned as a meritorious circumstance, that he suffered himself to be numbered with malefactors.

(c) The sufferings of the Jewish people cannot be represented as the *efficient cause of the righteousness* of the heathen, as vicarious for them. Their sufferings could not be vicarious for this reason, that they neither undertook them voluntarily, nor were innocently involved in them ; but suffered them through their own guilt and against their own will. And in general, no example is found in the Old Testament, and from the nature of the case none can be found, in which the sufferings of any man were regarded as vicarious for others. Here we have De Wette on our side. He very correctly remarks,* that the doctrine of vicarious satisfaction by man is not found in the Old Testament, nor, according to the doctrines there prevailing, can be.† But afterwards, this argument which goes to favour the Messianic interpretation, he falsely employs against it, as has already been shown. De Wette himself proves, that the Hebrews neither held the doctrine of a vicarious satisfaction by man, nor could hold it. Since therefore it has been proved, that a vicarious satisfaction is taught in Isaiah, he cannot avoid the Messianic exposition.

The first condition of a vicarious satisfaction which in our passage is represented as such, is the perfect innocence of the suffering subject. He who is himself sinful, cannot assume the punishment due to the sins of others ; but his suffering is either a punishment from the divine justice, or a corrective from the divine mercy. Thus the doctrine of a vicarious satisfaction by man, would stand in direct contradiction to the doctrine of the Old Testament with respect to the universal sinfulness of mankind ; comp. Gen. 6: 5. 8: 21. Job 15: 14—16. Ps. 14: 3. 51: 7. 53: 4. Prov. 20: 9. The prophets themselves, the best and noblest part of the nation, often include themselves with the people, when they speak of their sinfulness. Isaiah, when he is thought worthy to receive a view of the divine glory, says : “ Wo is me, for I am a man of unclean lips, and dwell amidst a people of unclean lips ;” c. 6: 5. Moreover, besides the passage in Micah 6: 6—8, that in Ps. 49: 8—10 speaks most decidedly against a vicarious satisfaction by man : “ None

* L. c. p. 22.

† Micah 6: 6—8.

can by any means redeem a brother, nor give to God a ransom for him. So precious is the ransom of their souls, that he must wait forever, even though he should live forever and not see the grave." This doctrine is opposed also by the passage in Ezek. 18: 20, "The soul that sinneth shall die; the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son; but the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon himself, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon himself." Should any one here, with Kimchi, seek relief by supposing that the prophet merely exhibits the thoughts of the heathen, without approving of them, still he would effect nothing by this supposition; for the doctrine of vicarious satisfaction is just as much contained in the speech of Jehovah, as in those verses in which the heathen are supposed to be introduced as speaking.

But we must here also enter into an examination of the passages by which Gesenius* endeavours, in opposition to De Wette, to prove, that the doctrine of vicarious satisfaction by man is very widely diffused elsewhere in the Old Testament, and is deeply impressed in the mode of thinking among the Hebrews. How little the passages which he has quoted belong here, has been amply shown by Steudel.† These passages are as follows: Ex. 20: 5, "The iniquity of the fathers is visited upon the children." Here, however, the language cannot relate to vicarious satisfaction; because this does not consist in another's being punished together with the guilty, but in the circumstance that he who has committed the sin is thereby entirely freed from punishment,—that another takes this punishment upon himself. But this law had an entirely different object and an entirely different import. The physical impression of physical punishments and rewards, was to be rendered still more forcible by their extension to the posterity of the pious and the wicked. All ancient lawgivers regarded it as necessary to secure the maintenance of their laws by the same means. Cicero says on this subject:‡ "I am not ignorant, how hard it is that the sins of parents should be visited upon their children. But this was

* L. c. p. 189 sq.

† L. c. I. p. 37 sq.

‡ "Nec vero me fugit, quam sit acerbum, parentum scelera filiorum poenis lui. Sed hoc praeclare legibus comparatum est, ut caritas liberorum amiciores parentes reipublicae redderet." Ep. 12 ad Brutum, ed. Ern. 1774. T. III. p. 1155.

wisely provided by the laws, in order that affection for their children might render parents better members of the commonwealth." Now if in other states such a law was considered indispensably necessary for attaining the object of the state, we shall find it so much the more tolerable in the theocracy, as the object of the latter was more exalted than that of all other states.—"According to 2 Sam. 21: 1—14, punishment is executed upon the posterity, when it had not taken place before." Nearly the same also holds good here. The crime which Saul had perpetrated upon the Gibeonites remained unpunished, and had brought a plague upon the land of the Israelites, who suffered it to remain unpunished. As the proper author of the offence could not be punished, and yet the punishment must be executed in order to preserve the sanctity of the law inviolate among the people; the posterity, who, according to the law referred to, might also be subjected to punishment, were punished; or, the perpetrator was punished in them. It is sometimes inevitable that a part suffers, in order to effect the preservation of the whole; which last could be effected in the theocracy, only by most strictly maintaining the sanctity of the law. Moreover the language here cannot refer to a vicarious satisfaction, because in this transaction, not the perpetrator, but the people who had suffered the deed to go unpunished, were freed from the penalty incurred.—"David's sin in numbering the people, Jehovah caused to be expiated by a pestilence during three days, and by the death of 7000 men; 2 Sam. 24: 10—25." Here also the narrative has nothing to do with a vicarious satisfaction. The punishment was not voluntarily assumed, nor did the people suffer innocently; for even if they had not in this specific case participated in the guilt, still they could not complain of the punishment as being unjust, because on account of their general sinfulness aside from this, no punishment too severe could fall upon them. That David was not exempted from punishment through the punishment of the people, appears from the circumstance, that in v. 17 he prays to God in deep distress, that he would rather punish him and his family. The object of the punishment inflicted upon the people in this case, was to establish the sanctity of the law, and to excite a feeling of awe before the divine justice in a people, who being as yet rude and carnal, must be led and kept in obedience by these external chastisements, because it could not yet be led by love.—"The sin which David committed with Bathsheba was ex-

piated by the death of the child; 2 Sam. 12: 15—18.” This case does not at all prove what it is brought forward to prove; for Nathan had already declared to David the forgiveness of the sin, (v. 13,) before he announced to him the death of the child. Hence this death cannot be regarded as vicarious. Indeed, the loss of the child was so painful to David himself, (v. 22,) that the suffering surely affected him more than it did the child. The reason why the child must die is given in the narration itself, v. 14. Had David been permitted to go without punishment, the enemies of the Lord would have accused him of partiality, and would have taken occasion to blaspheme his name. Moreover, the pain of David for the loss of the child must have added intensity to his pain for the cause of it, the sin which he had committed.—“Because Achan seized upon the consecrated thing, the whole army of Joshua was given over to the enemy; Josh. 7: 1.” Here likewise the whole affair has nothing to do with a vicarious satisfaction; for the delinquent himself was not freed from punishment by the calamity which fell upon the people. On the contrary, he was burned, together with all his property and his family; compare v. 15, 24. The object in punishing the people, was to excite them to zeal for the extirpation of every crime and every misdemeanor from their midst. The individual will be subjected to a close inspection, when the whole mass of community is made responsible for his actions. It was nothing more than a theocratic punishment, inflicted as a warning.—“Even in the book of Isaiah itself, c. 65: 7, sinners are punished also for the sin of their fathers, as well as their own.” That here is no vicarious satisfaction, (which demands the personal innocence of the sufferer as well as the voluntary assumption of the suffering,) appears from the fact, that Jehovah says: “I will recompense *your* transgressions and the transgression of your fathers together.” The sense is no other than the following: Ye, who are so much the more deserving of punishment because ye will not suffer the forbearance of God to lead you to repentance, shall receive in full measure the punishment merited by your ancestors, of whom ye fall no whit short in point of wickedness.—“The passage in Daniel 11: 35 approaches still nearer the one before us. Here the language relates to the death of the pious as martyrs under religious persecution, and it is said: ‘The pious shall fall, in order to purge them (the others), to purify and sanctify them;’ which can hardly be understood otherwise than

of deliverance from the penalty of sin through the death of these martyrs." But the sense of this passage is evidently no other, than that the example, given by the pious, of self-denial and of firmness in the faith of their fathers,—a firmness not to be shaken even by death itself,—will exert a salutary influence upon the rest of the people and confirm the wavering. Such an influence is confirmed by the history of all religious oppressions.—"Among the Arabians, also, a very common proverbial expression is founded upon this idea, viz. *فِدَاكَ نَفْسِي*, *my life*

be thy ransom; and several that are similar. All this shows at least, that the idea of vicarious satisfaction is very familiar to the Orientals, and hence passed over into the language itself." What these expressions have to do here, can scarcely be conceived. They signify nothing more, than: Thou art so dear to me, that I would willingly give up the dearest object, even my own life and that of my father, could I thereby rescue thee from impending danger.

The result of our examination is this. Among all the passages brought forward by Gesenius, there is not one which contains the idea of a vicarious satisfaction made by man for man. Moreover, the doctrinal views of the Old Testament entirely exclude this idea. Least of all can we assume a vicarious satisfaction made by the Israelitish people; because, in them, the essential requisites for this were wholly wanting, viz. innocence and the voluntary assumption of the suffering.

(d) The fourth characteristic also of the suffering subject, the entire and devoted *patience* manifested towards the will of God, is not applicable to the Israelitish people. How can it be said of the whole people, that they did not open their mouth in complaint, when their noblest and best members poured out their sadness in complaints and imprecations? Compare Jer. 20: 7 sq. 15: 10—21. Ps. 137: 8, 9. Lam. 3: 64—66. Surely the Israelites must have been an entirely different people from what they are described to be by the prophets, and especially by Isaiah himself, if the prophet could bestow this commendation upon them.

3. In this interpretation it has been assumed altogether arbitrarily, that in v. 1—10 the heathen, or the foreign nations hitherto inimical to the Jews, are introduced as speaking. The heathen are never in this manner introduced as speaking, without

some intimation of it in what precedes and follows. And should we be willing not to insist on this point; still, how could these nations, or how could the prophet in their name, say, that it is the burden of *their* sins which lies upon the exiled Jews?

4. In this hypothesis it is assumed without ground, that the death and burial of the servant of God, is to be referred only to the misfortunes and fall of the Israelitish people. It is true that in Ezek. c. 37, the carrying away into exile is described under the figure of death; and the deliverance from the same, under the figure of a resurrection; compare also Is. 26: 19. But there every thing leads us to take the language merely as figurative; while here, on the contrary, there is not the least intimation of this kind.

5. This exposition is opposed by the parallel passages, in which the servant of God is clearly distinguished from the people. Compare c. 42: 6. 49: 5, 6. 50: 9.

6. According to this hypothesis many verses must be subjected to a very forced interpretation. So e. g. c. 53: 1.* Likewise v. 2, where Rosenmueller explains the words, "He grew up before him as a shoot, and as a root out of a dry soil," after the example of Jarchi: *Præquam ad hanc magnitudinem ascenderet, gens erat perquam humilis et ascendit e terra sicut surculus.*" But such a figure would be entirely inappropriate; since the Israelites were at first prosperous, and did not experience adversity until afterwards. Compare Ps. 80: 9. Ezek. 19: 10—13. Jer. 2: 21.†

II. We shall not need to dwell so long upon the interpretation, which makes the pious part of the Jewish people the subject of the prophecy. It has much similarity to the hypothesis of the collective body of the prophets, and is met by many of the arguments immediately to be adduced against that hypothesis. Of the arguments which go to show that the interpretation with reference to the whole Jewish people is inadmissible, those adduced above under Nos. 1, 2, and 4, will, with some slight modifications, apply also to the present exposition. What may be further specifically urged against it, is the following. The per-

* Compare the exposition above, p. 343, 344.

† Compare the refutation of the preceding hypothesis in Origen *contra Celsum* I. 11. § 7. according to the divisions of Mosheim.—Hulsii *Nucleus prophetiæ* Lugd. 1683, p. 672 sq.—Jahn *App. Herm.* II. 40 sq.—Martini, Hansi, Steudel, Keller, etc.

sons speaking represent themselves as entirely free from all suffering, v. 1—9; they put themselves in contrast with that suffering servant of God who took upon himself the misery due to them. But how could the wicked part of the people say this, who shared in the same exile the unhappy lot of the righteous? How could the suffering of the righteous be vicarious for the wicked, when the latter themselves suffered? That the wicked did in exile enjoy comparatively a better lot than the righteous, is a groundless hypothesis. It is opposed by the example of Daniel, of Esther and Mordecai, of Ezra, and of the opulent Nehemiah. Neh. 5: 14—19.

Against this exposition we may also refer particularly to the treatise of Jahn above mentioned,* and also to the "Letters on *Isaiah c. 53.*"† In these last, another turn which has been given to this hypothesis, though properly deserving no refutation, is fully refuted. It supposes עַבְדֵי יְהוָה to designate only the more distinguished part of the nation, who were carried away into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, and during the seventy years made expiation for the sins of their brethren and died, but afterwards returned from exile in their posterity. These now the author of this prophecy, being himself one of the Jews left behind, presents and commends to his countrymen in Palestine, as their deliverers and sanctifiers. Some of the principal arguments against this perfectly strange idea are the following.

1. The supposition that only the best and most distinguished were deported, is contradicted by the passage in Ezek. 20: 38, where it is said, that the rebellious and faithless should be singled out by Jehovah and carried away. Also by the passage in Jer. 39: 9, 10, where it is said, that only a mass of the lowest people was left behind. Indeed it was among the distinguished and the nobles, that the corruption was peculiarly great, as appears from the animadversions of the prophets; and hence they, in a special manner, were subjected to punishment. Compare 2 Chron. 36: 14 sq.

2. The Israelites who were left in Palestine, fled to Egypt; Jer. 43: 4—8. 44: 1, 2. 2 Kings 25: 26. Consequently no settled inhabitants remained in the country. Palestine became a wild land of nomades. There no where occurs even a single

* Appendix Herm. II. 40 sq.

† Briefe über Jes. c. 53, in Vol. VI. of Eichhorn's Bibliothek.

word to intimate, that the returning exiles found any part of the earlier inhabitants still in the country.

These arguments are so cogent, that we scarcely need further to call attention to the fact, that this hypothesis can be carried out only by many distortions of the text, that it erroneously presupposes the passage not to have been written by Isaiah, etc. etc.

III. We come now to the last hypothesis which we are to notice, viz. to the opinion of those who regard the collective body of the prophets as the subject of the prophecy, and suppose that this contains as it were an apotheosis of the prophetic order. The prophets, who, before the exile, had already to encounter much suffering, were exposed during the exile to still greater contempt and derision; to which may be further added contempt and derision on the part of the heathen. Hence we may explain, it is said, the apology of the prophetic order for themselves, on the one hand; and, on the other, the origin of hopes so splendid and enthusiastic, as we find here and in the parallel passages, c. 42 etc.*—Against this hypothesis we remark as follows.

1. The assumption of such a personification of the prophetic order rests upon arguments which prove nothing. This will appear from an examination of the passages to which its defenders appeal. The first is c. 44: 26, where Jehovah says מְקִיִּם דְּבַר עֲבָדִי וְעַצְתִּי מִלְּאֲזָכְרִי וְשִׁלִּים, "I am he that confirms the word of his servant, and fulfils the prophecy of his messengers." Here the parallel מִלְּאֲזָכְרִי denotes, it is said, that עֲבָדִי stands collectively. But there is here no ground whatever for supposing that the parallelism is synonymous, and not rather a synthetic one. Indeed the latter is rendered much more probable, by the second member of the verse: "Who says of Jerusalem, it shall be inhabited; of the cities of Judah, they shall again be built up;" where Jerusalem and the cities of Judah in like manner do not form a synonymous, but a synthetic parallelism.† By the expression, servant of Jehovah, we are here to understand Isaiah himself, as in c. 20: 3. What he says in the first member with respect to himself, he says in the second with reference to all the prophets of the true God.—The second passage, which is alleged only by De Wette, and is passed over by Gesenius as

* Compare Gesenius l. c. p. 11, 12.

† Compare Möller, De Authentia Or. Jes. c. 40—66. p. 184.

not affording decisive proof, is c. 59: 21. "And I make this covenant with them, saith the Lord; my Spirit which is upon thee, and my words which I have put into thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever." This is said to be equivalent to the following: "The communications which thou hast made under the inspiration of my Spirit, shall be repeated by all the prophets of later times, who are, as it were, the sons of that prophet."* Admitting even that this explanation is correct, still the passage would not even then prove a personification of the prophetic order. But Rosenmueller, after the example of the best interpreters, very justly remarks:† "He does not here address the prophet, as Jerome and others have supposed, but the Hebrew people; as also the preceding and following words most clearly show. There is here an enallage of persons; the prophet begins to speak of the people in the third person plural (אֲנִי); but proceeds in the second person singular, directing his discourse to the people." All the preceding and following promises refer to the whole community; and it would be a singular translation, if the prophet first announced a covenant to be made with this community, and then, in assigning its object, passed suddenly to the mercies that would accrue, not to the people, but to the prophetic order.—Upon the third passage, c. 53: 6, we need not dwell, since it has already been refuted by the proof derived from the term אֲנִי.‡

But the hypothesis of a personification of the prophetic order, is not merely incapable of proof; it is also wholly destitute of probability. It depends upon the entirely false supposition, that the prophets formed a sort of close corporation or guild. They differed from the priests by the very circumstance, that the latter constituted a separate order which always supplied its own members; whereas the appointment to the prophetic office de-

* "Quae tu spiritus mei afflatu protulisti, ea ab omnibus seniorum temporum prophetis, qui sunt quasi filii illius prophetae, repetentur."

† "Non prophetam, ut Hieronymus et alii existimarunt, alloquitur, sed populum Hebraeum, uti et verba praemissa et quae sequuntur clarissime ostendunt. Est autem hic personarum enallage, quum enim in tertia plur. persona (אֲנִי) loqui coepisset vates, perguit in persona secunda singularis, oratione ad populum ipsum directa. Cf. c. 32: 2."

‡ See above, p. 360, 361.

pended solely upon the will of Jehovah, and every prophet stood in a certain relation to him, and not to the other prophets. Thus the argument which was adduced against the hypothesis of the whole Jewish people under No. 1, (p. 525 above,) applies to the advocates of the present interpretation in a still higher degree. The defenders of the former hypothesis can indeed appeal to passages where the Jewish people appear as an individual; but these latter cannot with justice appeal to a single passage, where the prophets are thus represented.

2. But this opinion appears most untenable, if we take the position of its defenders, and deny the genuineness of the second part of Isaiah. Immediately after the Babylonish exile, the prophetic office ceases; Jewish tradition, with one voice, represents Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, as the last prophets, and reckons prophecy among those things which were wanting to the second temple. The further communication of the prophetic spirit was awaited only in a future period. All the Jewish chronologists assume the cessation of the prophetic office as a chronological epoch, and begin with it a new era; as is done in 1 Macc. 9: 27; compare 1 Macc. 4: 46. 14: 41.* Now, even leaving entirely out of view the true idea of a prophet, it is difficult to conceive, how the prophet could here speak of a great corporation of the prophets, while there were but few prophets in existence, and these, in respect to the power, the abundance, and the purity of the spirit, so far inferior to the more ancient prophets. It can also hardly be conceived, how the prophet could indulge the enthusiastic hope, that they whose standing had already sunk so low among the people before the exile, should hereafter arrive at such glory, should spread the true religion over the whole earth, and even, as the defenders of this hypothesis maintain, should live to enjoy a worldly triumph.

3. Of the arguments which have been exhibited above against the interpretation with respect to the whole people, those adduced under Nos. 2 and 4, (p. 526, 533,) apply also to this.

* Numerous passages from the Talmud and from other Jewish writers are collected in Knibbe's *Historie der Propheten*, ubers. von Freytag, Bern 1709. p. 347 sq. and in J. Smith's *Dissertatio de Prophetia et Prophetis*, c. 12; reprinted at the end of Clerici Comm. in Proph. Amst. 1731 fol. p. XXVI.

We find no example to show, that the prophets voluntarily devoted themselves for others, in the hope of delivering them from sin by their own sufferings. On the contrary, when sufferings are inflicted upon them, they always declare that a severe punishment from God will fall upon the authors of these sufferings. Compare e. g. Jer. 20: 12. That the prophets were very far from regarding themselves as entirely free from sin and guilt, we have already seen.

4. The servant of Jehovah can here be no other than he who forms the subject of the parallel prophecies, c. 42 etc. In these there occur still other things, which can in no way be referred to the prophetic order. Thus in c. 49: 3, the servant of God is said to be Israel,—a difficulty which Gesenius knows not how to remove otherwise, than by declaring, contrary to the authority of the manuscripts and versions, the word *Israel* to be spurious.

5. The prophet regards himself as distinct from the servant of God, and puts himself in opposition to him, v. 2 sq. He includes himself with the people. How could now the prophet say, that he took part in despising the prophetic order, that he endured his sufferings for himself, regarded himself as one smitten of God, etc? Gesenius appeals* to c. 59: 9—13, where the prophet reckons himself with the people, and calls their sins his own. So also c. 42: 24. This however is a different case. The prophet, like every other member of the nation, had a real part in their sins; compare Dan. 9: 5 sq. But how could he take a part in despising his own order? how could the vicarious sufferings, in which he himself participated, be borne for him?

6. The sufferings which the prophets endured in exile, were the same as those which the people endured. The example of Jeremiah proves, that the prophets were in no wise peculiarly oppressed by the heathen. Nebuchadnezzar, after the conquest of the city, showed him great attention and left him free to choose the place of his residence. Compare Jer. 39: 11 sq. How then could the people depise them? how could they regard them as smitten of God?

7. The sufferings of the prophets could not be regarded as substituted for the sufferings of the wicked part of the people; for the latter suffered as well as the former.

* L. c. p. 159.

8. The prophets, according to this hypothesis, indulge the hope, that they should become the rulers of the restored and flourishing state, and should celebrate worldly triumphs. Aside from the folly of this hope, it would have been contrary to the very destination of the prophetic order. The government in the theocracy was, by divine appointment, for ever assigned to the posterity of David. The prophets, then, by usurping it, would have rebelled against the God whose rights they were appointed to defend. The prophets were extraordinary messengers of God, the invisible head of the theocracy; they were called to teach, to reprove, to warn, and to console; they were messengers of peace and righteousness to a rebellious people. That they ever remained true to this destination, is shown by the whole Israelitish history.

9. But if we take what is said of the servant of God *figuratively*, as indeed it must be taken; and find in the passage, not worldly, but spiritual triumphs; still, what is said would not even then apply to the prophetic order. It would be contrary to the analogy of all the other prophecies respecting the conversion of the heathen, were the prophets here to ascribe this work to themselves. We nowhere find an example to show, that the prophets mistook their destination to act only upon the covenant people; there is no where mention of any attempt made by them, to extend their sphere of action to the heathen also. They never attribute to themselves the accomplishment of the high hopes which they had with respect to the future; but always to the Messiah alone. Indeed, they are so little influenced by prejudices in behalf of their own order, they give themselves up so entirely to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, as even repeatedly to declare, that in the times of the Messiah the necessity for the prophetic office will entirely cease, because all will then be immediately taught of God. Compare e. g. Joel c. 3. Isa. 54: 13. 59: 21. 4: 3. 11: 9. Ezek. 11: 19. 36: 27. Jer. 31: 33.

10. It is an unnatural supposition of these interpreters, that the death and burial refer to one part of the prophetic order; the exaltation, on the contrary, to the survivors; while yet it is obviously one and the same subject, who suffers, dies, and is exalted.

Thus, then, the interpretation which rests upon the infallible testimony of the New Testament, is proved, by the weight of internal and external evidence, to be the correct one, in opposition to all those who reject that testimony. If now the ground which has produced these devious expositions be once removed; there will then be as little occasion for a detailed refutation of them, as there now is, that the interpreter should still notice the perverse interpretations of the Socinians. We conclude with the words of Storr :* “ Let others deride so great a king ; he with more justice derides the insignificant men, whom he knows to be given to himself to be broken in pieces, if they obstinately refuse to regard this prophecy and other numerous evidences of the truth (Ps. 2). O that those at least, who wish to be called the seed of Christ, would suffer themselves to be brought back into the right way and to be delivered from those sins, which Christ with the severest suffering has long since borne ; and would thus learn to live unto righteousness, to walk in the steps of the Lord, and thus teach, by their example also, the efficacy of his doctrine, which many have already experienced.”

* “ Rideant alii tantum regem, ridet ille majori jure homunciones, quos sibi, si et hoc vaticinium et alia multa veritatis argumenta serio meditari pertinaciter nolint, nihilo secius, at conterendos, datos esse novit (Ps. 2). Utinam ii saltem, qui semen Christi salutari volunt, in rectam viam se reduci et peccato, quod cum summa patientia dudum Christus portavit, liberari paterentur, sicque justitiæ vivere, vestigiis domini insistere et doctrinae ejus efficaciam, quam multi jam experti sunt, suo quoque exemplo docere discerent.”

ART. IV.—THE MERITS OF CALVIN AS AN INTERPRETER OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.*

By Prof. Tholuck of Halle. Translated by Leonard Woods Jr. Assistant Instructor in the Theol. Sem. Andover.

THE second centennial festival of the reformation, in 1817, which was so rich in various blessings, called anew the attention of theologians to the long neglected, but noble monuments of our restored church; and the influence which these began to exert upon the different departments of modern theology, was very soon visible. To Lücke belongs the honour of having first referred, in the department of exegesis, to Luther, Beza, Calvin, Camerarius, and many other excellent interpreters of the period of the reformation. He was followed by the writer of these pages, in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. Pointed, as he was, on the one hand by Neander to the ancient ecclesiastical fathers, and on the other, by the newly awakened interest in the period of the reformation to the fathers of the Evangelical church, he supposed he could do nothing more useful for the exegesis of the New Testament, than to give an antepast of these exegetical works to his more youthful contemporaries, in copious select extracts, and thus excite an interest in these noble products of a sound Christian spirit. And especially he found himself compelled duly to acknowledge the great exegetical talent of Calvin, and to recommend him as a model. That he attained his object, is proved by the exegetical works of Rheinwald, Gebser, Hengstenberg, Boehmer, and Pelt, all of which are composed with a faithful use of the treasures of exegetical literature contained in the early fathers, and in those of the reformation, and more especially in the works of Calvin. Winer too, who did not even mention Calvin in the first edition

* The following article is from Tholuck's "*Literarischer Anzeiger*" for July 1831. It was written, as the reader will perceive, with particular reference to a new edition of Calvin's Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles; of which the first volume had then just left the press. This edition was undertaken at the suggestion of Prof. Tholuck; and some of his pious English friends furnished funds to aid in carrying it through the press, so as to permit it to be sold at a very moderate price.

of his Commentary on the Galatians, gives the following testimony in the third : *Calvinus miram in pervidenda apostoli mente subtilitatem, in exponenda perspicuitatem probavit.*

The acknowledgment of the extraordinary merits of Calvin in the interpretation of the Scriptures will, without doubt, become still more and more general,—especially now, that his Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles are about to be placed in the hands of all who love the thorough and pious study of the New Testament. The first part of the edition now in the course of publication at Halle, containing the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, is just issued. And this new edition furnishes the writer of these pages with a fit and welcome occasion, to offer a few words designed to promote the just estimation of Calvin as an interpreter. May they serve to attract still more to this new work, that public attention and interest already excited in other ways in its behalf.

It has been conceded by many candid and learned Lutheran theologians, (Semler, for example,) that the theology of the Reformed church has, from the first, done more than that of the Lutheran, for the cause of an impartial historical and grammatical interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. While the Lutheran commentators, as Luther himself, Melancthon, Musculus, Chytraeus, Brentius, Bugenhagen, and Balduin, made it their chief concern to prove the *Loci communes* of the Lutheran system, and to shed additional light upon them by doctrinal and practical digressions, the Reformed interpreters, Calvin, Beza, Zwingli, Bucer, and Mercer, have from the first been characterized by a more severe method. It has been their great object, by the aid of a thorough knowledge of the original languages of the Bible, and of the antiquities, manners, customs, etc. of the ancient world, to give a connected developement of the real sense in the mind of the sacred writers. With respect to Bullinger only can it be said, and not with perfect justice even in respect to him, that he rather follows the Lutheran method ; as on the other hand, it is affirmed of the writings of the Lutheran Camerarius, who however was a philologist as well as theologian, that they rather approximated to the method of Beza. It was from the Reformed church, too, that the great exegetical geniuses of the Arminian party, Grotius, Episcopius, and Clericus, proceeded ; though it must be acknowledged, that in their case this grammatical and historical method appears in connexion with a superficial apprehension of the doctrines of the

Bible, and a perverse tendency to reduce them down to a plain level.

Among the critical historians of exegesis, there are two whose opinions are more particularly deserving of notice here, —the sagacious Richard Simon, and the industrius Gottlob Wilhelm Meyer. The enlightened catholic, Richard Simon, although too unqualified in the censure which he pronounces, as might indeed be expected from his hostility to the Evangelical church, has yet well apprehended the imperfections of the Lutheran method, when he says respecting the commentaries of Melancthon : *On n'y voit que des disputes, soit contre les Catholiques, soit contre ceux de son parti. Sa methode, est même tres ennuyeuse. Il faut lire beaucoup, pour trouver quelque chose qui regarde l'auteur qu'il fait profession d'interpréter.* "We find there nothing but disputes, either against the catholics, or against those of his own party. His method is even very tiresome. It is necessary to read a great deal, before one can find any thing which relates to the author whom he professes to interpret." On the contrary he allows, as far as his prejudices will permit, the most distinguished exegetical merits to the Reformed theologians, and especially to Beza ; although even here he is led by the animosity of party spirit, to the most unfounded and perverse assertions. Thus he ascribes to the great Calvin only a very moderate knowledge of Greek,* and ventures to assert respecting his acquaintance with Hebrew, *il n'en connoissoit guères que les caractères !†* "he knew nothing more than the letters !" It is indeed true, that Calvin first began to study Hebrew with more attention when he went to Bâsle ; but he was at that time only twenty six years old, and every glance at his Commentary on the Old Testament assures us, not only that he understood Hebrew, but that he had a very thorough knowledge of this language. On this point Meyer may be consulted. But after all this, Simon finds himself compelled to confess respecting Calvin's Commentaries, that if the "polemical declamations" contained in them were taken away, *il seroit un ouvrage utile à tout le monde*, "it would be a work useful to every body."

As to Meyer, the critical rule by which he estimates the interpreters of ancient times, is indeed very inadequate. He makes

* *Histoire des Commentateurs*, p. 747.

† *Histoire Crit. du V. Test.* p. 455.

their greater or less adherence to established orthodoxy the chief standard by which he measures their greatness; something as Fuhrmann,* in a doctrinal respect, makes his bow just so many degrees lower to every modern theologian, in proportion to the number of the dogmas of supernaturalism which he has set aside. Still, Meyer knew how to value the knowledge of languages, and thorough historical science; and in this respect he treats Calvin and Beza with special regard.

J. W. H. Ziegenbein, from whom we have (besides a translation of Senebier) a little book entitled, "The works of Calvin and Beza, arranged in chronological order, with critical and historical notes, Hamburg, 1790," has never to our knowledge, fulfilled his promise, to furnish a separate essay on the spirit of the writings of these two reformers. It will not be amiss, in this place, to quote a general estimate of Calvin from a man, who will be acknowledged to be anything rather than a bigoted mystic. *C'étoit*, says Bayle respecting him, *un homme à qui Dieu avoit conféré de grands talens, beaucoup d'esprit, un jugement exquis, une fidèle mémoire, une plume solide, éloquente, infatigable, un grand savoir, un grand zèle pour la vérité.* "He was a man upon whom God had conferred great talents, a high degree of intelligence, an exquisite judgment, a faithful memory, a pen instructive, eloquent, unwearied, great knowledge, and great zeal for the truth." And now the praters of the *Allgemeine Kirchen-Zeitung*, who have never seen a single leaf of Calvin, come forward, and would feign persuade people, that the mystics praise Calvin merely because he burnt Servetus! But this is surely meant rather as a jest; although as such it is quite too coarse.

With the exception of the books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Esther, Nehemiah, Ezra, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, and the Apocalypse, Calvin commented on the whole of the Holy Scriptures; and numerous Latin and French editions of his commentaries have appeared. On some of the books, he has written commentaries in the proper sense; others he has explained in lectures, and others still, (as the first book of Samuel and Job,) in homilies.† These

* In his book, *Aufhellungen der neueren Gottesgelehrten*.

† A list of the different editions of Calvin may be found, e. g. in Walch's *Bibl. Theol.* Vol. IV. The finest and most complete edition of the entire works of Calvin, is, as is well known, that published at

exegetical works are not all of equal value. Among his commentaries on the New Testament, those on the Epistles of Paul are by far the best; that on the Acts also deserves very high commendation; the Harmony of the Gospels contains fine passages, but is more diffuse and burdened with digressions; and when Calvin says, in the noble preface addressed to the Frankfort Senate, *in quo commentario quantopere sudaverim, longius referre nihil attinet*, he is to be understood as speaking principally of the composition of the *harmony* as such,—a work in which he must be allowed to have exhibited very peculiar excellence.

With regard to Calvin's commentaries on the Old Testament, we design to be very brief, and would here offer only the following remarks. First of all, then, they exhibit, like the labours of the Reformed theologians in general, a freedom from an anxious adherence to the established system of faith. He is by no means solicitous to insist, in all cases, and with zeal, upon that meaning, which tends most to the confirmation of christian truths. Penetrated by the conviction, that the truths of Christianity would stand firm, though one *dictum probans* after another should fall away, he makes it his great object to ascertain, what sense is the most probable. It is very possible, that in following this direction of mind, he may have unnecessarily sacrificed this and the other proof-text; still the principle upon which he proceeded is in all cases to be approved. Respecting the thrice repeated *Holy*, Is. 6: 3, he remarks as follows: "The ancients appeal to this passage, when they wish to prove, in opposition to the Arians, that there are three persons in one divine essence. The opinion of such persons, I do not indeed disapprove; but if I had to do with heretics, I should prefer to rely upon more valid supports."* With regard to *נֶחֱמָץ*, *branch*, Is. 4: 2, he is not

Amsterdam, 1617, Tom. I—IX. in the 7th vol. of which his Commentaries on the New Testament Epistles are contained. Respecting the separate edition of the Pauline Epistles, published in the year 1751, (others in the years 1748, 1756, and in French in the year 1760,) and which is now very rare, compare Schellhorn's *Ergötzlichkeiten aus der Kirchenhistorie*, Bd. XIII. St. 21. p. 2240.

* "Veteres hoc testimonio usi sunt, quum vellent adversus Arianos, tres personas in una Dei essentia probare. Quorum ego sententiam non improbo; sed si mihi res cum haereticis esset, mallem firmioribus testimoniis uti."

disposed to consider it as an appellation of the Messiah, though much may be said in favour of such an interpretation; but all things considered, he does not hesitate to understand the *branch of God* and *the fruit of the earth* as an abundant and unwonted increase of favour, by which God refreshed the famishing in Israel.* In Ps. 33: 6, and Is. 11: 4, he understands by *spiritus oris* nothing more than *sermo*, and adds, that "in proving the divinity of the Spirit against Sabellius, he should not dare to rely on that evidence. Therefore, let it be sufficient for us, that God so formed the heavens by his word, that the eternal divinity of Christ may be hence proved."†

The same maxim, connected with a laduable aversion to forced interpretation, and the fear of becoming, as he often said, a laughing-stock to the Jews, prevented him from making the *ἡ ἀπληρωθῆ* of the New Testament, taken in its strictest sense, the rule by which he explained the texts of the Old Testament cited in the New; and also from seeking to find, in them all, direct prophecies. As the idea of *fulfilment* is a complex one, and by it both the coming to pass of a direct prediction, and the occurrence of something merely analogous to a preceding event, or similar to it, are intended; so the phrase *ἡ ἀπληρωθῆ* is taken by Calvin in a *wider* and a *narrower* sense. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, in passages like Matt. 2: 15. John 2: 17. Rom. c. 10, etc. he finds in the citations from the Old Testament only the indication of real analogies; while in other places, where direct prophecies occur, (even in Matt. 1: 23,) he endeavours to make out the prophecy, though with great judgment, and with the least possible violence to the text. Calvin's Commentary on the Old Testament is also especially valuable, as being free from doctrinal prejudice, and—what indeed stands closely connected with this freedom—as furnishing an accurate development of the logical connexion and historical interpretation. It was this very doctrinal impartiality, however, which obtained for him from the Lutherans the predicate of *Judaizans*. It was principally this excellence, too, which led Scaliger, who was rarely

* "Sed omnibus propius expensis non dubito, germen Dei et fructum terrae accipere pro copioso et insolito gratiae proventu, qui famelicos recreavit."

† "Ergo in probanda deitate Spiritus, hoc testimonio Sabellium urgere non audeam. Quare nobis sufficiat, Deum verbo suo ita cœlos formasse, ut hinc probetur aeterna Christi divinitas."

pleased with any body, to exclaim, *O quam Calvinus bene assequitur mentem prophetarum,—nemo melius!*

The other excellence of Calvin's commentaries on the Old Testament which we shall notice, is the lively religious feeling, which they every where breathe, and which especially is most beautifully evinced in his interpretation of the Psalms. Here we have a man long practised and tried by internal and external conflicts for the kingdom of God, to interpret the elegiac and penitential Psalms of David; and here indeed such an one only can be the successful interpreter. Of this Calvin himself was conscious. In his preface to the Commentary, he acknowledges on the one hand, that this labour had been the means of spiritual profit to himself; and on the other, that his own experience in the christian warfare, had rendered him in some respects peculiarly qualified for the interpretation of David's Psalms. "If," he says in the first place, "the perusal of my commentaries confers as much benefit on the church of God, as I myself have reaped advantage from the composition of them, I shall have no cause to regret the work I have undertaken." He then adds: "But if the labour undertaken by me in these commentaries is profitable to my readers, let them know that by my own small experience in the conflicts with which the Lord has exercised me, I have been not a little aided, both in applying to present use whatever of instruction could be gathered, and in penetrating more easily into the sense of the writer and of his Psalms."* Here Calvin subjoins a comparison of the course in which he had been led, and of his own conflicts, with those of David, in which he takes with heart-felt gratitude a survey of his whole past life.

It is moreover remarkable, though easily explained from the entire devotion of this commentator to Christ, how readily he always detects the religious element even in the Old Testament; and how well he succeeds in deriving general religious truths

* "Si tantum utilitatis afferat ecclesiae Dei commentariorum meorum lectio, quantum ego ex scriptione fructus percepi, non erit cur me suscepti laboris poeniteat." "Caeterum si labor a me in his commentariis sumtus lectoribus proderit, sciant mediocri certaminum quibus me Dominus exercuit experientia me non mediocriter esse adjutum, non modo ut accommodarem ad praesentem usum quidquid licuerat doctrinae colligere, sed ut ad consilium scriptoris ejusque Psalmorum intelligendum facilius pateret via."

from particular facts and observations. Compare his remarks on the speech of Rabshakeh, Is. c. 36; on Is. c. 2; on Micah c. 4; and many other places. For example, on Is. 36: 15, he observes: "Nothing is more easy than to lead away a people from their true hope, by the offer of a present advantage. Our senses always cling fast to the present state of things. Such, then, is the argument of Rabshakeh: Hezekiah promises you the aid of God, but it is not visible; he makes you dependent upon an uncertain thing. But my king promises you advantages which are immediate." Again, on Micah 4: 6, he remarks: "Although the church at times differs hardly at all from a man who is dead, or at least wounded, yet God again raises up his own people. And this ought to be carefully observed; for no sooner does the church cease to be resplendent, than we begin to think it is wholly extinct. But lo! the church is so preserved in the world, that it suddenly arises from the dead; in short the preservation of the church brings with it almost daily miracles. Its life cannot continue without many resurrections." On Is. c. 13, where the predictions of the divine judgments upon foreign nations begin, he says: "But few understand, that these things are determined by the counsel of God. For there is nothing more difficult than to persuade men, that this world is governed by the providence of God. Many acknowledge it in words, but very few have it deeply impressed upon their hearts." Truly, the serious study of Calvin's commentaries on the Old Testament, would tend to arouse the attention of many in our own times, to the deep, practical, religious import of the Hebrew Scriptures.

As we are principally concerned with the exegesis of the New Testament, we shall only add here a few words from Meyer respecting Calvin, as an interpreter of the Old Testament. "Calvin too," he says,* "as well as Zwingli, and even still more than he, would have the best founded claims upon our special estimation, even though he were less known by some particular interpretations, which he first gave to various controverted passages, and which have served as models to his followers. Of this we may be convinced especially from his interpretation of the Old Testament, which commends itself to us in a very unusual degree, not only by its great copiousness, and its extent over most of the Old Testament Scriptures, but still more by its very instructive contents. By the natural, and for the most part

* Th. II. p. 450.

successful, elucidation which he has given of the grammatical sense in general, by the valuable philological remarks which he has occasionally interspersed, and by the many peculiar explanations which he has suggested, he has sufficiently proved his capacity to apprehend the sense of the sacred records, and fully justifies us in ascribing to him a better acquaintance with the Hebrew language, than R. Simon is inclined to allow him. And his farther investigations respecting the sense, after it had been thus grammatically explained, whether in the historic, the poetic, or the prophetic parts, show us every where a man, who, not satisfied with the traditionary meaning, seeks out the historical relations of his author, and endeavours to penetrate more deeply into his spirit; so far, indeed, as his habits of thinking in theology, and his many doctrinal prepossessions would allow him to do this."

We come now to Calvin's exegetical works on the New Testament; and the first thing in them which claims commendation, so far as the form is concerned, is *elegance of diction* connected with *conciseness of expression*,—attributes which belong especially to his Prefaces. This elegance appears, however, rather as the general character of the whole, than in a careful *delectus verborum*. He is far from the affected purity of a Bembo or Castalio, who supply the place of appropriately Christian expressions with heathen terms, in which no one ever recognizes the christian sense; who think it necessary for example, to use *respublica* for *ecclesia*, *genius* for *angelus*, *lotio* for *baptismus*. He is even less scrupulous in the use of language than Beza or Erasmus; or than Ernesti, Knapp, and Winer, in more modern times. He writes *poenitentiam agite*, where Beza thinks it necessary to translate *resipiscite*. He speaks of a faith *cujus sedes non in cerebro sed in corde est*, of an *adoratio Dei pro capitis cujusque sensu*. In general, he disdains those words with which a heathenish idea is associated, which many but too often substitute for the christian meaning; he makes use, for example, of *sanctimonia vitæ* instead of *honestas*; of *conversio* and *regeneratio* instead of *emendatio morum*; of *viris Spiritu Dei plenis*, instead of *viris probis*. He employs such terms as *e converso*, *circumstantiæ*, *secundum litteram*, etc. It is not so much, therefore, from the particular choice of words, that he may be called classical, as from the general *colour* of his discourse, though even this is less Roman than Erasmic. If, on the one hand, his style is frequently deficient in the *numerus*, it is on the other hand free from that oratorical diffuseness, that

ambitus verborum, into which the slavish imitators of Ciceronian Latinity, especially the theologians of Holland, often fell. On the contrary, we every where feel the heart of Calvin through his style; and few indeed have been the ecclesiastical writers, who have known so well how to connect with a Roman Latinity so much exhibition of christian warmth, or so much *affectus* with so much *gravitas*.

Another excellence which belongs to his exegetical writings, when compared with those of his contemporaries, in respect to their form, is their *symmetry* and freedom from immoderate digressions. As has been already observed, the Lutheran interpreters mostly employ the text for the sake of illustrating the *Loci communes* so important in their view, rather than confine themselves strictly to the connected interpretation of it. This is the case especially with Luther and Melanchthon. Hence we often find, that Melanchthon omits the explanation of really difficult texts, while he enlarges on others which furnish him materials for his doctrinal expositions. Calvin, indeed, has not kept himself entirely free from the method of his times, and he often breaks out unexpectedly into declamations against the pope and monks. This, however, is far less frequent with him than with others; and considering the wants of the period at which he wrote, such a species of polemics connecting itself with exegesis, and arising from the Scripture texts, cannot be altogether condemned, and at that time, may have been even necessary. It ought never, however, to be carried so far, as to cause the reader, in the meanwhile, wholly to lose sight of the original text; as is often the case with Luther and Melanchthon.

On this subject, this great man has himself expressed his own views in his excellent preface to the Epistle to the Romans, dedicated to his friend Grynaeus. "I remember," he says, "that about three years since, when we were talking familiarly together respecting the best mode of interpreting Scripture, the opinion which then was most pleasing to you, was likewise approved by me above any other. We both of us thought, that the principal excellence of the interpreter consisted in *perspicuousness* & *brevity*. And indeed, since it is almost his whole business, to lay open the mind of the writer whom he undertakes to interpret, if he withdraws his hearers from that, he so far turns aside from his main end, or at least wanders beyond his limits. We therefore wished, that there might be some one among those who at the present day seek to benefit theology by this spe-

cies of labour, who would both aim at perspicuity, and at the same time be careful not to detain the student too long by prolix commentaries."

Passing now from the form to the *nature* of Calvin's commentaries on the New Testament, we notice in them the following qualities; viz. I. Doctrinal impartiality. II. Exegetical tact. III. Various learning. IV. Deep christian piety.

I. The *doctrinal impartiality* of an interpreter consists, as has been already remarked, in this, that while he cherishes a high regard for what has been received in the church from the first as orthodox, he does not suffer himself to be compelled by this to adopt an interpretation of a passage of Scripture, which is not founded in the context, or which stands in opposition to the laws of language. A single individual must naturally hesitate, before rejecting that sense of a passage which the great majority of learned and pious interpreters of different periods have adopted; but, provided that by so doing, he overthrows no fundamental truth of Christianity, he will not still forbear to reject that sense, whenever the context or the language make it necessary. If, on the one hand, the Socinian exegesis, and more lately that of the Neologians, have fallen into great error, by neglecting exegetical tradition;* the Lutheran exegesis of the 17th century was, on the other hand, in the greatest danger of making, like the Catholic church, tradition anew the great principle of interpretation. Between these two extremes, Calvin maintains the just medium. On this subject he has some excellent remarks in the preface already mentioned. "God has never," he says, "thought his servants worthy of so great a benefit, as to confer upon any of them a knowledge full and perfect in every part; but has left them in partial ignorance; partly no doubt, with the design of keeping them humble, and partly to promote a disposition for fraternal intercourse. Since therefore, during the present life, it is hardly to be hoped, though very much to be desired, that there should be a constant agreement among us in the sense we give to particular passages of Scripture; let us be allowed to dissent from the opinion of those who have gone before us; and at the same time let us guard against doing it from any love of novelty, from any disposition to ridicule others,

* Respecting the importance of this in the Evangelical church, vid. Buddeus *Isagoge*, p. 1558, and Lücke in the "*Berliner theol. Zeitschrift*," 3tes Heft.

from the instigation of hatred, or from the enticement of ambition. On the contrary, let us dissent only as we are compelled to do so by necessity, and uninfluenced by any motive but that of doing good ; and, in fine, let this license of opinion be rather used with regard to the exposition of the Scriptures, than with regard to the doctrines of religion, where the Lord is more especially desirous that the minds of his friends should be agreed, and where less liberty should therefore be assumed."

In the department of New Testament criticism,* Calvin is far from the *luxurians ingenium* of Luther, who, undervaluing the firm basis of historic evidence, called in question the genuineness of books of Scripture, on no other ground than his own subjective opinion. But Calvin was equally far from contending tenaciously for the apostolic origin of those Scriptures, to which the testimony of history is opposed. Still, he guards himself, with great moderation and wisdom, from pronouncing a positive rejection even of those books which have a majority of historical testimony against them. Thus he says, for example, in the argument prefixed to the second Epistle of Peter : " Since the majesty of the Spirit of Christ is evinced in all parts of this Epistle, I have scruples about rejecting it altogether, although I may not here recognize the genuine phraseology of Peter."† Respecting the Epistle of Jude he says : " Although respecting this Epistle also there were conflicting opinions among the ancients, still as the reading of it is useful, and it contains nothing inconsistent with the purity of the apostolic doctrine, and has now for a long time possessed authority with the best Christians, I cheerfully enumerate it with the rest."‡ Respecting the Epistle to the Hebrews, he says : " I cannot be prevailed upon to acknowledge Paul as the author ;"§ and he then proceeds to

* *Kritik* ; by which is meant the investigation of the genuineness, canonical authority, etc. of the books of Scripture, the correctness of readings, etc.

TRANS.

† " Certe quum in omnibus epistolae partibus Spiritus Christi majestas se exerat, eam prorsus repudiare mihi religio est, utcunque genuinam Petri phrasin hic non agnoscam."

‡ " Tametsi de hac quoque Epistola diversis sententiis inter veteres certatum fuit, quia tamen utilis est lectu, nec quidquam a puritate apostolicae doctrinae alienum continet, jamque olim apud optimos quosque auctoritatem obtinuit, eam libenter aliis adnumero."

§ " Ego ut Paulum agnoscam auctorem, adduci nequeo."

establish his doubts with the greatest critical and philological acumen.

In regard also to some particular texts, the authority of which has been called in question on critical grounds, Calvin exhibits the same freedom from prejudice, in connexion with the same moderation. Thus in respect to John 8: 1 sq. and 1 John 5: 7, which he regards as probably spurious, though yet he does not go so far as to remove them from the text. He adopted the reading *θεός* in 1 Tim. 3: 16, with somewhat too much confidence perhaps, though it is indeed capable of being defended; and on the other hand, with a haste very unusual with him, he declared the two clauses with *ἔγραψα* in 1 John 2: 14, to be a gloss, because he thought them superfluous; while Pellicanus, explaining them more correctly, remarks: *repetam igitur nequeat elabi*.—In general, Calvin shows less fondness for critical investigations, than either Erasmus or Beza. In verbal criticism, he is deficient in accuracy. The various readings of less importance, he for the most part wholly neglects. His prevailing interest is *theological*. And on this very account, we should naturally expect to find him prejudiced, and anxious to bring together all the proof-texts which could possibly be collected, in behalf of orthodox doctrines. Exactly the opposite of this, however, is true of his commentaries on the New Testament, as we have already remarked with regard to those on the Old. On John 10: 30, he remarks: "The ancients perverted this passage, that they might prove, that Christ was *ὁμοούσιος* (consubstantial) with the Father. Christ does not here speak concerning unity of essence, but rather concerning the agreement (consensus) which he had with the Father; so that whatever is done by Christ will be confirmed by the power of the Father." So on 1 John 5: 7, "When it is said, that *three are one*, reference is had, not so much to essence, as to consent."* In the interpretation of Matt. 16: 18, he does not resort, as we shall soon see, to the forced explanation of Luther; but rather concedes something to the Romish church. On Heb. 11: 21, he alludes to the deviation of the LXX from the pointing of the received text, and remarks with great impartiality: "The apostle does not hesitate to accommodate to his own purpose, what was commonly received. He wrote indeed to the Jews; but to those, who, be-

* "Quod dicit tres esse unum, ad essentiam non refertur, sed ad consensum potius."

ing dispersed through various countries, had exchanged their national language for Greek. We know, that in such a matter, the apostles were not very scrupulous. In the thing itself, however, there is but little difference."* He refuses to take πόρνη, Heb. 11: 31, in the milder sense of *caupona*, and renders it, according to the sense of the Hebrew, פְּזִיז by *meretrix*.

We have already remarked with what freedom he judges respecting the New Testament ἵνα πληρωθῇ, and the citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews. On this subject we will quote a few passages. On Heb. 4: 4, he observes: "He (the writer) now begins to embellish the passage which he had cited from David. Before, he had treated it according to the letter, as they say, i. e. in its genuine sense; but now, in embellishing it, he enlarges, and so rather alludes to the words of David, than interprets them. A similar ἐξεργασία is found in Paul's Epistle to the Romans, c. 10: 6."—And on this passage in the Epistle to the Romans, he remarks: "Moses mentions heaven and the sea, as places very remote, and difficult of access to man; but Paul, as if some spiritual meaning lay hid under these words, applies them to the death and resurrection of Christ. And should any one allege, that such an interpretation is too forced and subtle, let him consider that it was not the design of the apostle to explain with anxious fidelity this passage of Moses, but merely to apply it to the discussion of the subject in hand. He does not therefore repeat, syllable for syllable, the words of Moses; but he makes use of that embellishment, by which he may better adapt the testimony of Moses to his own purpose. Moses had spoken of inaccessible places; Paul mentions the places which are most of all hidden from our view, but to which our faith is still to have regard. And so, if you will understand these words as spoken by way of amplification or embellishment, you cannot say that Paul put an improper or violent construction upon the words of Moses; but must rather confess, that without any injury to the sense, he elegantly plays on the terms, *heaven* and *Moses*;—*eleganter ad vocabula coeli et Mosis allussisse.*"

* "Quod vulgo receptum erat, apostolus non dubitat suo instituto accommodare. Judaeis quidem scribebat, sed qui in varias regiones dispersi, patriam linguam Graeca mutaverant. Scimus autem hac in parte apostolos non adeo fuisse scrupulosos. Caeterum in re ipsa parum est discriminis."

II. In connexion with this freedom from doctrinal prejudice, we find in Calvin a peculiarly happy *exegetical tact*, which makes it even impossible for him to adopt forced interpretations. How very averse he was to all force, appears from the fact, that he refused to drag John into the historic series of the three first Evangelists, as the Lutheran theologians have mostly done. The same aversion to every thing violent and uncertain, withheld him from commenting on the Apocalypse. When the interpreter of our own times meets with passages in the New Testament, or even in the Old, where the common orthodox view gives a sense too rigid and repulsive, let him open Calvin, and he will commonly find this rigid idea developed from the connexion in a lively and attractive manner. Calvin eminently deserves the title of an *interpretes facilis et elegans*. Examples in proof of what has been said, may be found every where; we suggest particularly the Epistles to the Hebrews and the Corinthians; the reader may also compare his commentary on John 1: 52. 5: 31, 33. 2 Cor. 12: 7; especially, his very spirited explanation of 1 Pet. 3: 19 seq. We shall here only give a few examples, in which Calvin proves his happy tact, not only in developing and establishing the common meaning, but in some interpretations of his own, differing from the common. On Matt. 11: 11, where, after the example of the ancients, Erasmus and Luther, Melancthon and Camerarius, and among the Reformed teachers Zwingli and Pellicanus, and in general by far the greater number of interpreters,* have referred *ὁ μικρότερος* to the Messiah in his state of humiliation, Calvin came forward decidedly in behalf of an explanation which has lately become almost universal, and elucidated it with clearness. "John," he says, "was honoured by the Saviour with such distinguished praise, that the Jews might be led to regard more attentively the message which he had brought. Then, the teachers who were soon to follow, are preferred to him, in order that the majesty of the Gospel might be conspicuous, both above the law and above that intermediate ministration."† And after him

* In modern times, Heumann, Kleuker, Fritzsche, have adopted the same interpretation, only a little modified.

† "Tam praeclaro elogio ornatur Johannes, ut attentius observent Judaei quam attulerat legationem. Deinde illi praeferuntur, qui paulo post secuturi erant doctores, ut evangelii majestas supra legem et illud medium praeconium emineat."

Beza says: "That resplendent light which shone from the preaching of Christ upon the world, is contrasted with that spark, as it were, which had shone until the time of John."

And in verse 19 of the same chapter, where Luther, Oslander, Brentz, Hunnius, (Melancthon wholly omits this difficult passage,) give to *δικαιοῦν* the classical sense of *condemn*, which is wholly unusual in the New Testament; Calvin, after he has judiciously and spiritedly weighed many other opinions, suggests the following, which is much more natural, and to which Calovius was obliged in the end to assent: "I have not yet," he says, "advanced that opinion which in my judgment suits the best, and is the real one. In the first place, there is a silent antithesis in the words of Christ between true sons and bastards, who display the empty title, without having the thing itself. As if Christ had said, 'Let those who proudly boast themselves to be the sons of Wisdom, go on in their own insolence. She will notwithstanding maintain her credit and authority with her true sons.' Besides, this sentiment suits better with the context, and answers to the former member, where it was said, that God was justified by the people. Therefore, although many apostates may separate from the church of God, still the faith of the gospel will always remain inviolate among all the elect, who are truly of the fold." Zwingli and Pellicanus interpret somewhat differently, though even they do not take *δικαιοῦν* in the sense of *condemn*. Zwingli interprets as follows: "She (Wisdom) is acquitted in the judgment of the Jews themselves. When they are condemned, they know, in their own consciences, that it is not unjust, since although drawn and induced in so many ways, they still refuse to obey."* In the interpretation of Matt. 16: 18, while Luther, and after him Calovius, Lyser, Lange, Rus, Heumann, and many others, had resorted to an explanation, which had before been given by catholic interpreters,† referring the clause *ἐπὶ ταυτῇ τῇ πέτρᾳ* to Christ *δεικνυκῶς*,‡ Calvin declares himself for the unquestionably natural reference of

* "Liberata est propriis Judaeorum sententiis; quum damnantur, suis conscientiis agnoscunt esse non iniquum, quum tot viis ducti et illecti obtemperare noluerunt."

† Vid. Calovius' Bibl. Illustr. ad. h. l.

‡ There is some salt in the witticism of Michaelis on this interpretation, when he says, "*This index-finger (pointing to Christ) is not that of Christ, but of the polemic interpreters.*"

it to Peter himself, and remarks, in allusion to the very appropriate parallel text in Eph. 2: 20, which had been also adduced by other protestant Commentators: "Although this is extended to all the faithful, all of whom are the temples of God, and being united together by faith, make one temple; still it denotes the pre-eminent excellence of Peter among the rest, since each one receives more or less in his own order, according to the measure of the grace of Christ."* Here Calvin concedes what, as we think, may justly be conceded to the catholics, that our Lord in this declaration had reference to the uncommon activity of Peter in the first establishment of the church at the feast of Pentecost, which first foundation of the church was laid by Peter.

The exegetical tact of Calvin appears eminently in the *method* of his interpretation. Cautious and always clear, he first unfolds the difficulties in the construction, and everywhere develops with acuteness the *ὑπερβατα, ἀνανταπόδοτα, ἐπανορθώσεις*; he then explains the words, and at the same time, the rhetorical figures,—climax, paronomasia, antanaclasis; he also notices the peculiarities in phraseology of the different writers, Paul, John, etc.† and finally he deduces the sense in the most natural way, so that it seems to arise, as it were of itself, to the reader; as is always the case with every good interpretation. What we miss most in his commentaries, is the illustration from parallel passages, with which he is altogether too sparing.

We have observed, also, some instances of forced interpretation, though these are very few. Examples of this kind may be seen in 1 Cor. 5: 13, where *ὁ πονηρός*, which plainly denotes the offending person, is referred to Satan; and in James 2: 1, where he renders, with Erasmus, *τῆς δόξης, ex opinione*, and refers it to the *acceptio personarum*.

III. As to the *learning* of Calvin, this quality does not appear so conspicuously in his exegetical works, as in those of his friend

* "Quamquam hoc ad omnes fideles extenditur, quorum singuli sunt Dei templa, et fide inter se compacti unum templum simul efficiunt, eximia tamen Petri inter alios excellentia notatur, quemadmodum quisque suo ordine pro donationis Christi mensura plus vel minus accipit."

† Comp. his remarks on *κόσμος*, John 16: 20; on *σάραξ*, John 3: 6; on *μὴ γένοιτο*, Rom. 6: 2.

Beza. As we have before remarked, he is not always accurate in the business of criticism, and pays no special attention to the Codices. He very seldom quotes, and then only in a general way, the ancient Greek interpreters;* and never suffers himself to go into that detailed criticism of their interpretations, nor even² of the translation of Erasmus and the Vulgate, which we find in Beza. He occupies himself, too, far less with philological investigations, and even where he enters upon them, he makes them very general. It would be doing him great injustice, however, to conclude from this, that he had not the requisite ability. Who would draw a conclusion from Melancthon's commentaries, respecting his knowledge of the Greek language? As Calvin himself informs us, it was his design to furnish a *compendium*; and this not merely for learned theologians, but also,—since at that time, high and low, old and young, kings, civilians, physicians, and in short every body, was irresistibly attracted toward the newly revived study of the Bible,—for all educated classes, who devoted their attention to the examination of the Scriptures. That the labours of others were not rendered superfluous by his own, he himself most deeply felt; and indeed he was the principal means of inducing Beza to publish his commentaries.

But although exegetical learning is not so conspicuous in Calvin's works, as in Beza's, it is still obvious, that his popular interpretation is founded upon profound and learned studies. Indeed, the Christians of that age, were as far as possible from undervaluing christian learning. They saw clearly, that all human knowledge and power might and must be made to promote the glory of christian truth. On occasion of the saying of Epimenides, quoted by Paul, in Tit. 1: 12, Calvin makes an excellent observation, expressing his views on this subject. "We gather from this passage, that those are superstitious, who never venture to quote anything from profane authors. Since all truth is from God, if any thing has been said aptly and truly even by wicked men, it ought not to be rejected, because it proceeded from God. And since all things are of God, why is it not lawful to turn to his glory, whatever may be aptly applied to this use? But on this subject let the discourse of Basil be read, *πρὸς τοὺς νέους ὁπως ἂν ἐξ ἑλλ. κ. τ. λ.*"† On 1 Cor. 8: 1, he makes the excel-

* In some cases, however, he passes judgment upon Erasmus, Origen, and Chrysostom; e. g. 1 Tim. 5: 17. Rom. 6: 6. 7: 14.

† "Ceterum colligimus ex hoc loco, superstitiosos esse, qui ex profanis auctoribus nihil mutuari audent. Nam cum omnis veritas ex

lent observation : " Science is no more to be blamed because it puffs up, than a sword is, when it falls into the hands of a madman. This is said *in reference to certain fanatics*, who violently exclaim against all arts and learning, as if they were calculated only to inflate the mind, and were not the most useful instruments both of piety, and of common life."* We are even tempted to believe, that the love of science exerted too great influence upon Calvin, when we remember how he resisted the entreaties of Farel to aid the defenders of the truth in the work of the Lord at Geneva, saying that he must study more ; and how he afterwards endeavoured to invest himself with a professorship in addition to his clerical office. Compare the charming account of this in Beza's *Vita Calvini*, A. D. 1534.

That Calvin read the Roman classics, and indeed, was very familiar with them, is sufficiently obvious from his style. Besides, he makes frequent quotations from Gellius, Seneca,† Horace, and especially Ovid, Cicero, and Quintilian. He did not indeed learn Greek before his residence in Bourges, but he could not have been then, at most, more than twenty two years old ; and it is not therefore strange that with his resolute spirit, he made himself complete master of it. We have proof of his Greek scholarship in his frequent citations from Greek authors, which were certainly derived from his own reading. He quotes Plutarch, 1 Tim. 5: 13. Col. 2: 29. Plato, 1 Cor. 10: 20. 14: 7. Eph. 4: 17. Col. 2: 18. 1 Tim. 2: 1. 5: 19. Tit. 1: 7, 12. 2: 6 ; etc. Polybius, 2 Cor. 9: 4 ; etc. But this is still more obvious from the many just verbal criticisms which he has given, and which here and there refer back also to the Hebrew usage. He explains פְּקָדָה, 1 Cor. 15: 45 ; בְּרִית, Heb. 9: 16 ; לַעֲוֹנָם, Heb. 7: 17 ; בְּרָהּ, Rom. 9: 28. He observes, on Phil. 3: 5, that his friend Capito derived the

Deo sit, si quid scite et vere ab impiis dictum est, non debet repudiari, quia a Deo est profectum. Deinde cum omnia Dei sint, cur fas non esset in ejus gloriam applicare quidquid in eum usum apte conferri potest? Sed ea de re, legatur Basilii oratio, πρὸς τοὺς νέους ὅπως ἂν εἰς ἑλλ. κ. τ. λ."

* "Scientia tamen nihil propterea (quod inflat) magis vituperanda est quam gladius si in manus furiosi incidat. Hoc propter quosdam fanaticos dictum sit, qui contra omnes artes doctrinasque furiose clamitant, quasi tantum ad inflandos homines valeant, ac non utilissima sint tam pietatis quam communis vitæ instrumenta."

† His first work was a commentary on Seneca de *Clementia*.

name *Pharisee* not, as is common, from their *separateness*, but from the *accurate interpretation of their Scriptures*, and that he himself preferred this. On 1 Pet. 2: 6, he remarks, that the Hebrew future often stands for the imperative. He explains *ὑπομονή*, Rom. 2: 7, very justly, as meaning not *patientia*, but *perseverantia*; he explains *ὁμοίωμα*, Rom. 6: 5; distinguishes between *psalmus*, *hymnus*, and *oda*, Col. 3: 16: *προσεύχαι, δεήσεις, ἐντεύξεις*, with reference to Plato, 1 Tim. 1: 4; *ὄημα* and *λόγος*, John 1: 1; *κακία* and *πονηρία*, Rom. 1: 28; *προτιθέναι*, Rom. 3: 25; *ὁρμή*, James 3: 4; *ὑπόδειγμα*, Heb. 8: 4; *σκιαγραφία*, Heb. 10: 1. He interprets the difficult word *παράρρυνεῖν*, Heb. 2: 1, which Luther, following the Vulgate, had first rendered *verfliessen*, to *flow away*, and afterwards, still more indefinitely, *dahinfahren*, to *pass away*. He notices the use of *ἀπό* for *ὑπό* in passive constructions, Luke 7: 35. In Acts 24: 20, he renders, more correctly than either the Vulgate, Erasmus, or Luther, the participle *στάντος* as praeter. He remarks the use of the expegetical *καί*, Rom. 8: 3.

We must also notice here his incorrect interpretation (*παρεμνησία*) of the clause *εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα*, 1 Cor. 8: 6. Although he gave to *εἰς* in Rom. 11: 39, the meaning *for*, denoting the *end* or *purpose* of man, a meaning both grammatically correct and deeply religious,* he yet regarded it here as standing for *ἐν* and referring to the preservation of the world. He was led to this interpretation by the clause *δι' αὐτοῦ*, shortly following; and this too he would explain as referring to preservation.

It remains here to inquire, how much in these commentaries is to be attributed to Calvin himself, and for how much he was indebted to others. He seldom quotes other interpreters by name. Semler affirms,† that Calvin is more indebted to Pellicanus, than to any other. Pellicanus is an excellent interpreter of the Old and New Testaments and of the Apocrypha, who has much that is altogether original, and who is not sufficiently known.‡ But after an extensive comparison among the exegetical works of these writers on the New Testament, we have found Calvin dependent neither on him nor on Zwingli.

IV. We now pass on to consider the excellencies of the exeget-

* Augustin: *Tu fecisti nos ad Te, Domine*. Winer understands it in the same way.

† Versuch einer freiern theologischen Lehrart.

‡ His works were published at Basle, 1538, in 7 Vol. fol.

ical writings of Calvin in a religious respect. To what degree faith in the Redeemer was an affair of the heart with this sagacious and deeply learned man ; how much he sought for the salvation and edification of his own soul in the way of practical self-denial, may be seen by those who are not acquainted with his Institutes, his Epistles, and his Sermons, from many of his noble prefaces to his Commentaries, and especially from the affecting dedication to Galeazzo Caraccioli, which he has prefixed to the Epistles to the Corinthians. We cannot refrain from giving the conclusion of this dedication, in which he thus consoles an Italian nobleman, a nephew of pope Paul IV, who had forsaken riches, honour, and family for the sake of the gospel, and had fled to Geneva.

“ Among Christians it ought to be more than common and usual, to forsake not only estates and castles and principalities, with cheerfulness of mind, if otherwise we cannot follow Christ, but even, in comparison with him, readily and willingly to despise whatever is held most precious under heaven. But how great is our backwardness, or rather sluggishness ! for while many coldly assent to the doctrines of the gospel, scarcely one in a hundred will endure to be stripped of any, even the smallest possession, for the sake of Christ ;—scarcely one who can be brought without the greatest difficulty, to surrender the slightest comfort ; so far are they from being ready, as they ought to be, to give up life itself. I could wish, that in respect to self-denial, which is the chief of the virtues, all might resemble you. You are indeed the best witness to me, as I also am to you, how little we are pleased with the manner of those, who having forsaken their country, bring hither the same affections which they exercised there. But since it is better that many things should be recollected by the reader, than expressed by me in words, I now turn to pray, that God, who has thus far animated you with the wonderful virtues of his Spirit, would keep you even to the end in unsubdued constancy. For I am not ignorant how great are the conflicts with which God has exercised you ; from which you may in your singular prudence draw the conclusion, that a hard and laborious warfare yet remains before you. And since you have learned by many experiences how necessary it is, that a hand should be stretched out to us from heaven, you will readily join with me in seeking from thence the gift of perseverance. My prayer is, that Christ our King, to whom supreme power is given by the Father, and in whom are hid all the treasures of

spiritual wisdom, may keep you long and safely for the promotion of his kingdom, and may go on to triumph in you over Satan and his faction."

A Christian, whose own internal life is so active, and who seeks daily to make progress in the practical imitation of Jesus, must necessarily read the Scriptures with an enlightened eye, and be able to seize and develop their deeper religious contents. So far Calvin and the other Reformers stand on the same level; except perhaps Beza and Camerarius, in whose commentaries the religious element is kept in the back ground. But it is one thing, with deep christian feeling to apprehend the fundamental New Testament ideas and particular terms according to their internal import; and quite another thing to interpret, with a *psychology resting upon christian experience*, the Holy Scriptures in their full connexion. It is the latter which distinguishes Calvin from his venerable contemporaries. The unity of the Spirit which binds together all the Reformers in one spiritual body, is very delightfully prominent in Calvin in his explanation of those peculiar ideas, which are fundamental to the christian system. In harmony with Luther, and in opposition to Erasmus, Calvin explains the most important New Testament ideas; e. g. *faith*, in his excellent note on Heb. 11: 1; *flesh and spirit*, compare his note on John 3: 6; the *kingdom of God*, and *regeneration*, compare John 3: 3; the *law*, compare Rom. 3: 20; *righteousness by faith*, compare Rom. 3: 21; etc. But he does more than this. In the Pauline Epistles, he merges himself in the spirit of the apostle, and becoming one with him, as every one clearly feels, he deduces every where the explanation of that which is particular, from that which is general; and is in this respect to be compared with Chrysostom, whose rhetorical education, however, sometimes exerted a bad influence upon him. The whole history of the New Testament becomes in his hand alive and vivid. He lives in every person who comes forward, either speaking or acting, in the wicked, as well as in the good; and explains every discourse from the circumstances, and from the soul of him who speaks. In the Acts of the Apostles, this his art shows itself in a way worthy of admiration. He apprehends, admirably, the exact state of mind of the person acting, and lays it before the reader; and especially he interprets so well the speeches of Paul, that in a perfectly natural way, they become at the same time a sermon for the reader. He advances general and widely comprehensive religious remarks and observations; though this is

rarely done discursively, but usually in natural and immediate connexion with the explanation of the text itself.—We wish to give a clear view of his skill by a single example, and select for this purpose the conversation between our Lord and Nicodemus.

JOHN iii. 1. In passing to the explanation of this section, Calvin begins with the acute observation, that this passage is intimately connected with the preceding. Nicodemus, he says, is given by the evangelist, as a specimen of the class of people who had been spoken of in the last verse of the preceding chapter, whose faith rested upon no other basis, than miracles. He causes it to be noted, that his demeanor furnishes us with a clear insight into the general state of mind of the inhabitants of Jerusalem at that time. This Nicodemus was a distinguished man, and at the same time upright, and yet ignorant and unenlightened with regard to the facts of the internal spiritual world. In noticing, however, these special and temporary ends of this narration of the evangelist, Calvin by no means loses sight of its more general religious aim. “The evangelist,” he says, “relates this history in full, because it contains instruction respecting the corrupt nature of the human race, and because it teaches, who has rightly entered into the school of Christ, and by what beginnings it becomes us to form ourselves for advancement in this heavenly doctrine. But the same reason which justifies us in expecting from Nicodemus a more enlightened knowledge, (viz. that he is a Pharisee and therefore acquainted with the Scriptures, and also a ruler among the Jews,) is on the other hand, the very reason, as Calvin remarks, which makes it difficult for him to possess and exercise this just and pious disposition; whence we are admonished, that those who are eminent in this world are often held entangled by the worst snares.”

Verse 2. “The learned scribe comes by night. He was afraid; for the splendour of his own dignity had blinded his eyes. Shame too was there; for he thought, like all ambitious men, that it would be over with his reputation, if he once forsook the Sanhedrim. But how much soever he might have been prepossessed with his own knowledge, there was still in him a seed of genuine godly fear. For when he hears, that a new prophet had appeared, he feels an awakening desire; but where there is no fear of God, a desire of such a kind cannot be supposed. Many, indeed, long for a new doctrine, merely because it is new. It is easy to see, however, that it was not curiosity

which influenced Nicodemus; for he wished to be thoroughly instructed." In this way Calvin certainly apprehends the character of Nicodemus very justly.—"The words of the address," Calvin continues, "express the following sense: Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God. Nicodemus here recognizes the great principle upon which the office of teaching in the church is founded, viz. that God must have called. But of this very thing, enthusiastic spirits boast themselves the most. Therefore Nicodemus wisely adds a reason, viz. that Christ performed miracles. All miraculous power, he argues, leads directly back to God. It is hence clear, that God himself must have acted through Christ. Miracles have the twofold object of exciting the first beginnings of faith, and of confirming the faith produced by the word. The first object we see fully attained in Nicodemus." Then follows an observation respecting the apparent miracles of false prophets.

Verse 3. "Christ begins his discourse with a repeated *ἀμήν*; for he was about to say something of the highest import, and wished to excite the listless spirit of his hearer to attention; for which purpose Christ always in John makes use of this double *ἀμήν*. What Christ here answers, appears at first sight *longe petatum et prope intempestivum*. But it is exactly what belongs in this place. The mind of Nicodemus was a field, grown over and over with tares; it needed to be first cleared and ploughed. This was the object of the discourse respecting the new birth. This discourse is so full of meaning, that each particular expression needs to be separately considered. To *see* the kingdom of God, is as much as to *enter* into it, as the context shows. The *kingdom of God* is not, as many suppose, *heaven*; but rather that spiritual life, which is begun by faith in this world, and daily increases according to the continual advances of faith.* The expression is general and comprehends the whole human race. The *oratio indefinita* which we here find, is equivalent to the *oratio universalis*: *quicumque non fuerit*. Hence this text is a proof of the general depravity of the human race. Attention must also be paid to the term *born again*. It denotes the commencement of a new existence in respect to the whole man. Consequently, the corruption must pervade the whole man.

* "Cum potius spirituales vitam significet, quae fide in hoc mundo inchoatur, magisque in dies adolescit, secundum assiduos fidei progressus."

Erasmus follows Cyril in rendering *ἄνωθεν*, *a supernis*. It is true, this term in Greek is ambiguous. But Nicodemus understands it afterwards in the sense of *πάλιν*, and the conversation moreover was in Hebrew ; and in Hebrew there is no ambiguity."

Verse 4. "The exact phrase, *new birth*, does not indeed occur in the Old Testament, but we find instead of it the term *renewal*. Had therefore Nicodemus read the Scriptures diligently, he must have known this. But it was with the later Jews, as with the papists, they speculated on every possible subject, and in the meanwhile neglected the study of the Scriptures."

Verse 5. "This expression has been very differently understood. Some have supposed, that regeneration itself was divided into two parts ; that the *water* indicated the denial of the old man, the negative side ; the *spirit*, the communication of new life, the positive side. Others have supposed, that here is a silent antithesis, and that water and spirit, as the subtler elements, are opposed to the grosser earthly elements, and that Christ meant to say, Ye must be spiritual, like air and water, which seek to ascend. Both explanations appear to me, to be foreign to the intention of Christ. In accordance with Chrysostom, most have referred the water to the act of baptism ; and from this expression have concluded the absolute necessity of baptism to salvation. Granting now, that Christ did in reality speak of baptism, he would not certainly have limited salvation to the external sign. The mention of baptism appears to me, however, not appropriate to this place. The object of Christ was only to call the attention of Nicodemus to the fact, that he, as long as he was inwardly unrenewed, could not understand the gospel. As therefore, in another place mention is made of the baptism with fire and the Spirit, where one designates figuratively, what the other does literally, so I understand it here. The copula stands here, as often, epexegetically ; and then afterwards the discourse is merely respecting the baptism of the Spirit and not of water : *aqua nihil aliud est, quam interior Spiritus sancti purgatio et vegetatio*."

Verse 6. "Christ takes for granted the maxim, that only the spiritually minded can be citizens of the kingdom of God. Is this decided, then we do not belong by nature to the kingdom of God. As Christ here speaks of the necessity of a new birth, it is obvious from the very contrast, that *flesh* here denotes the whole natural man. *Insulse papistae theologastri ad partem quam vocant sensualem restringunt*. The notion of *being born* teaches expressly an origin from something altogether new." Here follows

the answer of two doctrinal doubts, viz. (1) Whether it does not follow from this, that the human soul is propagated with the body? (2) As in this degenerate and vitiated nature there is some remnant of the gifts of God, how can it be said, that the whole man is corrupt?

Verses 7, 8. "According to some, the sense of the words is: Thou and those like thee cannot indeed understand what is meant by regeneration, since ye are so contracted in your views, that ye are unable to understand even the objects of the material world. Others ingeniously, though unnaturally, make the following the point of comparison: The wind is the image of free power; the children of God are those who are truly free, who move where and as they please; therefore it is with regeneration, as with the blowing of the wind. Chrysostom and Cyril have made the point of comparison with more justice, as follows: As in the wind, the power is felt, though its origin is unknown, so it is with regeneration. This explanation, I prefer, but will attempt to state it more plainly, with its reasons. I proceed on the supposition, that Christ borrows a comparison from the natural order of things. He wished to show, that even in the material world, there are wonderful exertions of divine power, whose cause is concealed. All inhale from the air the spirit of life; its motion every one feels; but how it originates and where it goes, no one understands. After this example of our Saviour, the apostle reasons 1 Cor. 15: 36. To the opponents of the doctrine of the resurrection it appears incredible, that new life should be called up from the dust. The apostle alludes to the corn of wheat which must decay in order that the seed may spring up. How limited, therefore, are the views of those, who refuse to be led even by the common course of nature to any thing higher, so as to recognize in the spiritual kingdom of Christ the far more powerful hand of God. When Christ says, 'Marvel not at this,' he does not of course forbid pious admiration, but that doubting wonder, which considers the thing as a fable. Now as to the particular point of comparison, a *will* is ascribed to the wind not in a literal sense, but because its motion does not appear to be regulated by any fixed laws. Were its motion as regular as that of the water, its unrestrained freedom would be less conspicuous. In the same way is the working of a higher than a human, yea of a divine Spirit, visible in man, while the manner in which it operates,—its internal rule or law,—is not capable of being known.

Verse 9. "What hinders Nicodemus from believing is plain. It is because he cannot see the *how* of this divine operation. We may properly, indeed, inquire with modesty into the *how* and the *wherefore* of the divine operations; but wo unto us, if we would measure the infinity of the divine power by the standard of our own reason!"

Verse 10. "Christ greatly humbles the proud scribe, by objecting against him the very thing, in which he supposed he had given the greatest proof of his sagacity. The emphasis lies upon ταῦτα. Exactly that which is the foundation of all true religion, and which the Scriptures insist upon, times without number, thou knowest not."

This connected extract will serve the purpose, of giving to those who have never met with Calvin, an idea of his method, and especially of that psychology, founded upon religious experience, without which no one can be a good interpreter of Scripture.

Let then this great teacher of a true and profound knowledge of the Scriptures, go forth anew into an age, to which he had become in a great measure a stranger. We know with certainty he will find hundreds and thousands of friends; and only one consideration could make us at all solicitous respecting this new circulation of his Commentaries. This is the recollection, that his view of *Predestination* appears, in all its sternness, wherever an opportunity occurs. With an observation on this subject we shall bring our remarks to a close. We believe that even this part of Calvin's Commentaries will do more good than hurt. As one extreme often serves to restrain and limit the other, so we think it will turn out here. A profound truth lies at the foundation of Calvinism; and that very aspect of the Divine Being and of human nature, which our age is most inclined to overlook, is made prominent in this system. If it be so, that our age has been accustomed to set up man, with numberless claims on God, as a Prometheus, in opposition to the Supreme Being; and that this mode of thinking has in any degree affected the views even of evangelical theologians; it may be, that the inexorable severity with which Calvin takes every thing from man, and gives every thing to God, will exert a salutary influence upon many; while the strong current of the age, diametrically opposed as it is to this mode of thinking, may prove a sufficient security against the Calvinistic extreme. Should not this, however, be the case,—should the consistency of Calvinism compel from one

and another an unconditional surrender,—so be it ; there is always something more noble and majestic in the power inherent in the iron view of Calvinism, than in the weakness of a carnal Pelagianism.

We feel the same composure with regard to the new edition of Calvin's *Institutes* which has been undertaken in Würtemberg. With joy we bid it welcome. And even if its tendency should be, to establish many theologians in the partial views of Calvinism, it will not fail, at the same time, to promote that unconquerable and fixed power of faith, which has always been peculiar to strict Calvinism, and which, more than any thing else, is so necessary to our languid age.

ART. V.—THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION AND LITERATURE OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

By the Rev. J. B. Pusey, Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, England.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE Editor would render his best acknowledgements to Prof. Pusey for the following valuable article ; and he does not doubt that the christian public of this country will participate in the same feelings of grateful obligation.

Prof. Pusey is yet a young man. About 1825 or 1826 he spent a year in Germany ; where he left a very pleasing impression of his talents and piety in the hearts of many friends. In his present station he is the successor of the distinguished oriental scholar, the late Prof. Nicoll.

The following article has been kindly communicated by Prof. Pusey expressly for this work, so far as it relates to the course of theological education preparatory to obtaining orders in the English church. It was sent in the epistolary form, in which it now stands. The subjoined Appendix on English theological Literature, was communicated by him in the same manner to Prof. Tholuck, and published in the *Literarischer Anzeiger* of the latter in July 1831. As given here, it is a translation from

the German, and the learned author is therefore not responsible for the style of this part. Extracts from the letter which accompanied the present communication, will be found on a subsequent page.

EDITOR.

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

IN giving an account of theological education in England, I felt at first a difficulty, arising from my very imperfect acquaintance with the modes in which the christian dissenters educate their ministers; nor did I exactly know to remedy this deficiency. The arrival, however, of your fourth number, removes my embarrassment, by shewing me that you have established a wide correspondence in this country; and I may therefore confine myself to the institutions, in which I have been myself brought up.

It is rather difficult to explain these institutions, or rather the mode in which they work, without personal intercourse; as they are so familiar to myself, and so perfectly different from any thing which you have seen, either in your own country or in Germany. According to the old system throughout the continent, as well as here, university education appears to have been divided into two great portions; one preparatory, the other professional; the one employed in forming the mind so as to be capable of discharging the duties of each profession to which it might be called, the other in instructing the individual in the specific knowledge of that profession. In Germany, this appears to have been continued at least till Spener's time; in whose works I find notices, that the university education lasted for six or seven years; and who, I recollect, himself employed his early academical years in studies at which I was then much surprised. The division, however, seems to have now nearly ceased in Germany, (as it has in Denmark and Sweden,) as well as among ourselves; with this extraordinary difference, that on the continent, the *preparatory* education has been dropped, among ourselves, the *professional*. I know not when this took place, nor is it to our immediate purpose. Perhaps the practical mode in which our professional studies, are conducted, and which makes London, e. g. with its great hospitals, and courts of justice, a preferable and indeed the only place for the study of medicine and law, has contributed to destroy the professional

character of the universities generally ; and residence being dispensed with in the case of the two former professions, which could be best pursued elsewhere, it was unhappily not refused in the preparation for orders, which could have been best undertaken here. The result is, that to the inquiry, what direct theological education we have for the candidates for holy orders?—the answer must be, “absolutely none.” In *theory*, and according to the statutes of our university, it is supposed that seven years are employed (according to the old division) upon *Arts* ; and that every one who takes a higher degree in Divinity, (B. D.) attends for seven more years the lectures of the Divinity professor. In *fact*, from three to four years complete the preparatory education ; and the candidate for orders is further obliged to attend one course of lectures from the Divinity professor, which occupies but from six to eight weeks. These lectures correspond most nearly to the “*Encyclopaedia*” of Germany, being an outline of the several portions of theological study, and theological duty, with references to the books by which the student may afterwards pursue the subject for himself. Every thing else is left to the conscience of individuals. A certain preparation for orders *must* be made ; but the mode in which this is done, depends upon the individual himself, or the nature of the examination which he expects from the bishop, within whose diocese his future cure lies. Private study at home of the books which the bishop, or his chaplain, or older clerical friends, recommend, forms the general preparation ; some are happily initiated into the practical as well as the scientific parts of their profession, by residence with parochial clergy. Of those who pursue a longer course of study at the university, the greater portion belong to the several foundations of the place, the fellows, etc. For those, or any others who choose to reside, there are lectures on scriptural interpretation, doctrinal theology, and ecclesiastical history. But this is altogether voluntary on their part ; so that there can be no general rule given.

It remains to say in what way this defect of professional education is compensated. This is by the christian character of the *general* education. There is not indeed any distinct instruction for those who are going into the church ; but they will naturally avail themselves of that which is provided for all, in a greater degree than the rest. This instruction is again modified according to the body (i. e. the college) to which each individual belongs ; for though the final examinations are conducted

with reference to the whole as one body, the instruction is carried on distinctly in each of the twenty-four colleges or halls, of which the university is composed. Generally speaking, however, this instruction consists of the following branches. (1) A view of the evidences of Christianity, generally in connexion with Paley's work. (2) Explanation of one or more Gospels, and the Acts. (3) The history of the Old and New Testaments. (4) The doctrines of Christianity, in connexion with the articles of our church. Instruction on these subjects is given to all alike; attendance upon these lectures is *required*, generally in the last two years of residence; and all these subjects enter into the examination previous to the taking of the first degree, (B. A.) which is essential to entering into the church, of advantage in both the other professions, and is taken by many who do not enter into any profession at all. The instruction of the members of the university for the three first years, is carried on by the tutors, who are also fellows of the colleges, clergy generally from twenty-five to forty-five years of age. The religious or theological instruction is generally given by the elder of these persons, who, for the most part, have been or are parochial ministers in the town itself, or the villages in the immediate neighbourhood. This instruction is usually given catechetically; there are however, besides, in some colleges, lectures delivered to classes of students. The numbers of those who go through this education efficiently, i. e. take their degree, averages about three hundred annually; so that there will be toward twelve hundred at any given time in the different stages of preparation, besides those also who do not complete their education, but reside only for a time. The most important feature in this preparation is the individual superintendence and advice on the part of the tutor towards each of his pupils; which, while it leaves sufficient freedom for the developement of the character, is often very beneficial in forming it, and is very frequently the beginning of a friendship for life. For the acquisition of theological knowledge, besides the above college lectures, those of our Divinity professors and the Hebrew professor are open to the pupils. Indeed, two thirds of my classes are composed of those who have not taken their first degree.*

* It will be perceived that the above remarks refer particularly to the university of Oxford. It is, however, to be presumed, that they apply also in general, *mutatis mutandis*, to that of Cambridge.—ED.

I have now stated to you fully and unreservedly the deficiencies of our system ; and I have done it unshrinkingly. You will yourself see some very important advantages attending it ; and have indeed, in your third number, adverted to some grievous defects in the German system, from which ours is happily free. In a few words, our system appears to me to be best calculated *to form ministers of Christ ; the German, to impart theological knowledge.* The great defect of the German system, the want of individual guidance and superintendence, which is mitigated in some (but only a small) degree by some truly christian professors, you have yourself adverted to. Two other considerable evils in the system strike me, although this one lies at the foundation of all. They are, *first*, that theological studies are begun too soon ; and *secondly*, that the student is too much a passive recipient in them.

Were theology indeed a mere abstract science, a person of eighteen or nineteen might learn its facts, as well as those of any other science ; he might just as well be acquainted with the reasoning and abstract criticism of the Holy Scriptures, as with that of his classical authors. But if, as Aristotle observed of old, a young man is no fit auditor or judge of ethics, because his passions (I mean in their widest sense) are not yet properly disciplined, much less is he fit to enter, as a judge, upon any of those branches of theological instruction, which, to be rightly apprehended, require the previous schooling of the affections. A young man of the age at which they generally enter at the German universities, with all the feelings of recently acquired independence, and with the excitement of self-confidence to which this gives rise, is, generally speaking, in the last frame of mind for a sober and healthy apprehension of religious truth. Nor is the case much mended, (though this is something,) by the interval of a year, which, I am aware, frequently intervenes, before the commencement of theological study.

The second evil arises from the very quantity of instruction afforded. Undoubtedly, on many subjects, more knowledge may be imparted by continued delivery, on the German plan, than by instruction delivered catechetically, as it is given by the tutors, and in some measure by the professors, here. Yet if the object is not the mere communication of information, but the formation of the mind, so as to acquire and digest its future materials, then I think the almost exclusive employment of con-

tinued delivery likely to be pernicious. When too many lectures are not attended, there may be, even under this system, some prospect of subsequent digestion; even this is, I much fear, practically speaking, ordinarily very much hindered by the number of subjects crowded into the short space of academical education; but, at all events, the students attend the lectures in great measure without any previous acquaintance with the subject, and therefore are prepared *jurare in verba magistri*. Their independence is principally exerted in selecting the master whom they shall follow. To instruction given catechetically, it is essential, that the pupil shall have formed some previous ideas for himself; and it is in the correction, expansion, or direction of these, with of course the imparting of additional knowledge, that I think an instructor can be of most use. It is to this system of education, at least, rather than to any defect of the German mind, that I should ascribe their inferiority to the English in independence of character. You will recollect the bitter mockery of Lessing and Herder on their nation, as imitators. This has extended indeed far beyond their theology; witness the Frenchifying of their language, and their schools of philosophy; but it has also, as you are aware, exerted a very evil influence upon their theology itself; each imitator, as is always the case, exaggerating that which is peculiar to his master, i. e. generally speaking, his defects; and becoming in consequence more spiritless, as in the schools of Michaelis, Ernesti, etc. The *Seminarien* do something to diminish this evil; but, as far as I could judge, not enough.* I even thought that I saw a school forming itself in Berlin, under the invaluable Neander; (who would be the last person to encourage any such adherence to him or to any man's works;) but which I feared would take a very partial direction. In this I may be, and trust that I shall be, mistaken; but there are too many proofs of the evil working of the system. In no other country, or at least under no other system, could there have been, to take one instance only, so much and such watery following of our English paraphrasts. The ludicrous instance mentioned of their imitation of the physical defects of some valued master, (I think Baumgarten,) could yet only have happened when other imitation was extreme.

* See Vol. I. p. 22, 218, 626.

You will not think, from what I have written, that I have returned a blind admirer of what is English, merely because it is English. Our system, as well as the German, has certainly declined from the original; yet the piety of the founders of our colleges, has secured to us the most important branch of clerical education,—the personal guidance of the future ministers of our church. The same institutions also supply a remedy for the want of a more systematic education of the clergy, generally; (since it is nowhere necessary that the *whole* of the clergy should be a learned body, nor are they by any means such in Germany;) the fellowships supplying a body of men, who, though many are engaged in actual instruction, others in parochial duties, have, as a whole, considerable leisure for availing themselves of the valuable libraries with which each college is furnished; and are thus enabled *fontes adire remotos*. I do not mean, that our learned men have been uniformly fellows of colleges; nor can I, at this moment, name the proportion of those who have not been; but of all our Divinity professors, on both foundations, for about three centuries past, I know but of one, (excepting Peter Martyr and another foreigner,) who certainly was not a fellow of a college. Among the Hebrew professors, for the same period, there have been no exceptions. Of ten Arabic professors, three had not previously been fellows. One might easily add numbers of those who have been the great lights of our church; as Jewel, Hammond, Hooker, Bishop Hall, (Dr. Sanderson was Divinity professor,) Jeremy Taylor, and others, who were all fellows of colleges. Of late years, residence has been much diminished by the increase of population, and consequent increased demands for parochial ministers; and the leisure of these ministers has been also much lessened, by the enormous increase of parochial duty. Yet do I not doubt, that when the occasion comes, a mass of sound learning will be found, adequate to every need.*

An English divine does not generally write, unless there seems some occasion for this particular work; and it is remarkable to observe, how our immortal works, our *κτῆματα ἐς αἰεί*, were the

* I may name to you the new *Theological Library*, edited by Archdeacon Lyell and Mr. Rose, which is likely to be a very creditable and excellent addition to our theology.

production of some immediate necessity of the church. Our divines wrote for her ; not for themselves. German divines,— I do not mean to say any thing invidious, or too sweeping, or to suppose that the idea of usefulness is by any means excluded,— but as a body, I think, German divines write more because they have something to communicate. There is wanting, or at least, there is less apparent, that devotion to the good of the church as a whole, which was the animating soul of the gigantic efforts of our forefathers, and which still is the moving cause of every thing which our real divines undertake. Of course, in speaking of Germany generally, one cannot mean to include such men as Neander, Tholuck, and some others ; in whom this *kirchlicher Sinn*, the welfare of the church, is the very centre of their actions.

I know not how far the independence of our theologians may be in any way traced to the *general* nature of our education ; certainly they present a striking contrast to those of Germany, in the uniform absence of any school, and the originality of each writer ; while with the exception of the few leaders, one can hardly open a German book, without seeing how much the writer has been influenced by others. Certainly the most favourable education for a mind of any caliber, would be so much guidance as would prevent its losing time in setting out, without too rigidly prescribing its course ; a chart, instead of a pilot. The perfection of the system, I should think, would be a combination of the two methods. If I may be permitted to advert to my own mode of proceeding, I give my exegetical lectures, even to the highest class, catechetically, on the above grounds ; so that my lecture-room becomes somewhat like a *Seminarium*, at least one which I witnessed at Berlin. I find that with some little loss of time, I can communicate as much in this way, as by continued delivery ; and I hope to secure thereby a more fixed interest, as well as a more individual study of the portions of the Holy Scriptures.

I hope that the above observations will, in some degree, meet your views ; and I shall be most glad to explain further any points to which I may not have sufficiently adverted. You are, of course, at liberty to make any use which you please of them. I should be most pleased, if some of your theologians would, on their way to or return from Germany, visit their mother country and see our institutions on the spot.

APPENDIX.

Translated from the German by the Editor.*

BEFORE entering upon a description of the present situation of theology in England, I must premise a word upon the different circumstances of Germany and England. This difference I find to lie, *first*, in the predominating practical spirit and tendency of the English people; *secondly*, in the very different theological history which Germany and England have had; and *thirdly*, in the different arrangement of the universities of the two countries.

It will not have escaped your notice, how few, if indeed any, of our theological productions, have sprung from a spirit of abstract investigation. Our greatest, yea some of our immortal works, have been called forth by the necessity of the times. The writings of a Chillingworth, Hooker, Butler, Bull, and so most others, did not arise from any interest which the objects they treat of may have in themselves for an inquiring mind; but merely from the circumstance, that at that very time the christian church, and just the English christian church, had need of such writings. Hence, little is published among us, in times when there is no particular necessity. The materials are collected by the learned, their views are more or less circulated, but—nothing is printed. Why? Because no pressing necessity demands it. The German writes, because he has something to communicate; the Englishman, because he hopes to attain some definite useful object. Of course, this also determines the nature of the subjects on which we write. At one time, a whole mass of controversial writings against certain errors will appear at once; at another time, a whole mass of evidences, etc. Thus, recently among us a strong love of reading has been awakened among the lower classes, which alas! has been supplied with miserable food. This is the cause why our clergy are, at present, chiefly occupied with popular works.

As to the second point, it may be remarked, that in our earlier theology there never existed so complete a scholastic system, as was the case with you in Germany, according to the *Formula Concordiae*.† Of course, modern German theologi-

* See the Preliminary Notice on p. 568 above.

† One of the most important symbolical books of the protestant church, drawn up by twelve distinguished divines, in compliance

ans, even the orthodox, can no longer adopt unconditionally the earlier theological treatises ; since they doubtless view these subjects in a more liberal spirit than their ancestors. We, on the contrary, who have ourselves undergone less change, can make much more use of the writings of our ancestors, which also are really composed in a freer manner. To this we may add a national peculiarity. When we Englishmen are once satisfied with a work in general, we admire its spirit, prize it highly, and study it over again and again, although we may have much to censure in it as to particulars. So far as I know, this is not the case in Germany. If a book, in particular points, does not satisfy the Germans, it is very soon regarded as obsolete ; and some other one must take its place, which shall reproduce the old materials in a new form. I apprehend, that a great proportion of the modern German books have arisen merely in this way. In our less extensive literature, on the other hand, there are, as I must think, many more original writers.—It may have been with us, too, in the theological department, as it was in the mathematical. When a mind so vast as that of Newton appeared, all gazed upon him with astonishment and veneration, and supposed, from the mere feeling of admiration and gratitude, that man could go no further.

But more especially unfavourable to the production of new scientific works, is the situation of our universities. What abundant materials for future printed books, does a German professor collect in his *written* courses of lectures ! With us, all instruction is given catechetically. In this way a basis for future printed works is scarcely laid. Besides, the whole of an university education with us, is directed to the general cultivation of the mind, and not to the professional sciences. It is indeed true, that religious or theological studies have a place there ; but still, learned theologians are rarely found in the universities. Until the twenty-first year, the course of study is only preparatory ; and as no one is obliged to remain longer at the university, so this rarely takes place. We have, in all England, only *six* theological professors in the whole, the professor of Hebrew included ; and these again do not divide themselves among the several branches of theology, but each lectures on any branch,

with the wishes of the Elector of Saxony. It was subscribed in 1577 by several electors, princes, counts, estates, etc. and was printed in 1580.

EDITOR.

or all branches, as he pleases. We must also further consider, that our population has so much increased, that neither the lower clergy nor the bishops have much time remaining for scientific labours. The canonical offices of the church might indeed put many in a situation to live more entirely for science; but these also are mostly held in connexion with important stations, of which the business occupies much time. Properly speaking, we have by no means among us that multitude of university scholars, which Germany possesses; and who are called by their very duties and their daily occupation, to the further advancement of theological science.

In giving now a specification of what has actually been done among us in the last thirty years, I will first present a general view, and at a future day perhaps subjoin some details in reference to the more interesting parts.

I begin with *Ecclesiastical History*. This has been, in fact, little cultivated; two branches of it excepted, which have recently been taken up in consequence of the renewed contest with the Romish church; I mean, the history of our own reformation, and that of the primitive christian church. The works upon the first of these, have been called forth by the false assertions of the widely circulated writings of the papist Lingard. His history of the English reformation perverted many of the facts, and made it necessary to come out in defence of the characters of our reformers, especially of Cranmer. The two protestant histories of this period, which have recently been published by Joames and Carwithen, both exhibit great industry and accuracy. The first especially shows extensive investigation. The Bampton Lectures of the same writer, on the doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon church, afford also important illustrations.—I must confess to you, that while perusing German works, I have often had occasion to regret, that your countrymen were not more accurately acquainted with our church history. The Germans have been too much in the habit of regarding the history of our church only from one side, viz. as the production of state policy. It may however, on the other hand, be most clearly shewn, that the great work could never have been accomplished on the part of the state alone, had there not actually been with us, as in Germany, a great majority of the people, as well as of the clergy, who had a lively feeling of the need of true Christianity. In this feeling lay a power far stronger than the power of the state.

On the history of the first centuries of the church, we have received at the same time learned works from both universities; and several more still will probably shortly appear. In Cambridge, Bishop Kaye [bishop of Lincoln] has recently published *Illustrations of the Ecclesiastical History of the second and third Centuries from Tertullian*, with an account of the writings and opinions of Justin Martyr. It is understood that this is only the commencement of a larger series of works. The author has occupied himself particularly with Tertullian; and although the work is rendered heavy by its strict adherence to Mosheim's subdivisions, and still more so because the author has distributed all the doctrinal views of the primitive church under the thirty nine articles of our confession, still it will probably have the effect in some degree to stir up again among us the study of the fathers. It cannot indeed be so much termed an elaboration of precious metals in the German sense, as rather the products gathered from a mine, as the author himself describes it. The work upon Justin is better arranged. He examines the question, yet without reference to Winer: Whether the ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων are our Gospels? and decides it in the affirmative.—The collection of fragments of the Ante-Nicene fathers, made by our learned Dr Routh in his *Reliquiae Sacrae*, I hardly need to mention. I have wondered, however, that German writers have not taken more notice of this work; and especially of that noble testimony for the Canon, out of the second century, which Routh has reprinted from Muratori, with corrections.—We have also not long since received from Dr Burton, the present Regius Professor of Theology in Oxford, a learned work on the Heresies of the apostolic age, (with the particular object of explaining allusions in the New Testament,) and on the Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ. There is also an interesting history of the allegorical interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, from Philo down through all the fathers, by Coneybeare; only, that here also merely the facts are given, and not results. New and improved editions of the earlier fathers may also be expected. It will also be a noble contribution to oriental church-history, when we shall receive the Chronicon of Elias of Nisibis translated from the Syriac by Mr Forshall, and the Apostolic Constitutions translated from the Ethiopic by Mr Platt;—for both of which the Oriental Translation Society has opened the way.

For the history of God's ancient people Israel, something has

been done by Russely, who has filled out the interval which lies between the work of Shuckford and that of Prideaux. The first of these, who commenced his history with the creation, did not continue his work to the time when Prideaux begins. This earlier part ought indeed properly to be rewritten; for Shuckford is full of strange and untenable theories. Russely, of whom only one part has yet appeared, does not write without sound judgment. I ought also to mention a work, which, although in a popular form, is written with an intimate knowledge of the subject, and especially with a diligent use of oriental travellers; and appears as a part of the widely circulated *Family Library*; I mean Milman's History of the Jews, in 3 vols. This work has excited much attention; inasmuch as many attacks have been made upon it, and many essays written against it, as being a production of rationalism. The author, however, is not a rationalist; as he had already sufficiently shown in his Bampton Lectures. He set out with the endeavour, to exhibit all the events in the most vivid manner, just as they must have appeared to eye-witnesses. In carrying out this principle, he seems, it is true, to have too much forgotten what lies behind the scenes; and the persons who appear, often seem as if acting too much from their own thoughts and decisions. And although the author himself regards Moses as the inspired instrument of God, yet he nevertheless presents him more in the light in which he appears externally, as a highly gifted man. It may therefore, on good grounds, be objected to the work, that it accommodates itself too much to the taste of the reading public, instead of elevating this along with itself to a higher contemplation of history. Hence too we may explain, why the whole object or bearing of the Old Testament history, in respect to that of the New Testament, is thrown so far into the background. What has given the greatest offence among us, is the explanation which the author has given of the miracles; where he has defended the position, that the miracles of the Old Testament have at bottom a natural substratum, although the agency of God was also exerted in them;—a mode of viewing the subject, which in this country is wholly unusual, and therefore offensive. For the later periods of Jewish history, the author declares himself much indebted to the work of Jost.

I pass to *Apologetic Theology* or the Evidences of Christianity. Here we still make use very generally of the immortal works of Butler and Paley, and also of those of Abbadie, Grotius, and

Pascal. On the genuineness of the New Testament, Lardner is still the standard work, and Less is also used. Few learned works in this department have appeared; though the popular works of this kind have been innumerable, among which Chalmers's 'Evidence of the Christian Revelation,' deserves special notice. A very instructive book is Whateley's 'Peculiarities of the Christian Religion.' Milman has published Bampton Lectures on the 'Character and Conduct of the Apostles,' as an auxiliary proof of the divine origin of Christianity. The work of Dean Ireland, a comparison between Heathenism and Christianity, which appeared in 1809, and was composed for a high school, displays great talent. The 'Evidences' of Sumner, now bishop of Chester, are written with vivacity and not without research. One branch of apologetical theology is treated in a very peculiar manner by Davison, in his celebrated work, on the 'Plan, Use, and Inspiration of Prophecy,' 1824 and 1825. The following are the divisions of the work: (1) Connexion of prophecy with other proofs. (2) The prophets as moral teachers for their cotemporaries. (3) The character of prophecy in reference to the different periods of Jewish history. (4) Testimonies for the inspiration of prophecy. This last part alone is apologetical in the strict sense; and although a German would be surprised at many things in this book, and would therefore be prejudiced against it; (because, for example, the author goes into no critical investigations as to the time when the several books were written, and really believes in a lost prophecy of Enoch, etc.) still we must nevertheless assure the Germans, that this is the work of a powerful and independent mind, and, with the exception of single imperfections, well rewards the study of it.

As to investigations in respect to particular books, there is much that is good in Grave's 'Lectures on the Pentateuch;' although there is also much which requires sifting. On the credibility of the Mosaic history, the first part of Sumner's 'Records of the Creation,' may be compared; where there is much that is well said, especially as to the originality of the religious doctrines of the Jews. We have also received a History of Infidelity from Van Mildert, in his Boyle's Lectures. The author begins with the divine threat of enmity between the seed of the serpent and mankind. As this important declaration stands at the very threshold of the history of our race, so there is also no occasion for fear, although it should be actually carried

into effect. God has known, God has declared from the beginning of all history, that through all the ages of history this enmity should subsist; but along with this terrible threat there stands also in the beginning the promise, that "the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head." From this view, the first volume proceeds to review all the forms of this enmity against the gospel, from the earliest heathen and Jewish opposers down to Mohammedanism, and thence to the French revolution. In the second volume the different objections to revelation are considered, which are drawn *a priori* and *a posteriori*. I ought also here to mention a work which has made some noise, and given some offence, viz. Forster's 'Mohammedanism unveiled.' The ground idea of the author is good. The object is to show, that Mohammedanism, viewed in reference to the divine plan of the universe, forms a part of this divine plan, viz. an intermediate step between Heathenism and Christianity. But the author alas! has been misled by a perverse literal interpretation of the Old Testament. He regards Mohammedism as the crown of Ismaelism; and hence seeks to show, in the most tedious manner possible, the entire accordance of history with the prophecies respecting Isaac and Ishmael.

We come next to *Interpretation* and *Criticism*. In these branches little has been done. For the understanding of the Scriptures, we still use chiefly the earlier commentators of this country and of Germany. Since Lowth, there is scarcely any thing to be mentioned, except Blayney on Jeremiah and Zechariah, and Newcome on Ezekiel and the minor prophets; all of which works appeared at the close of the last century. The exegetical works most commonly in the hands of our clergy, are Lowth, Whitby, Hammond, Clark's and Paley's paraphrases; while those who can and will go deeper, take perhaps Chrysostom and Theophylact to their aid. Bishop Horsely, the sharp-sighted antagonist of the Socinian Priestley, published a translation of the Psalms, and some isolated investigations upon the historical books and several of the prophets; the latter were published by his son after his death. The bishop was, without doubt, a very acute scholar; but was nevertheless too hasty, and belonged to the conjectural school of Hutchinson. Much is expected from a new translation of the Psalms by Dr Friend of Cambridge, who has the reputation of being a good orientalist; it will appear shortly. In the department of the New Testament, the exposition of the Apocalypse by Dean

Woodhouse makes a pleasing exception from the swarm of literal interpretations of that book, which wholly mistake the character of prophecy. The author has also brought forward some new proofs in behalf of the genuineness of the Apocalypse. Many a good interpretation is also found in the Lectures upon Acts, by Bishop Blomfield; in other respects a popular work.

Criticism is at rest, ever since the notes of Marsh on Michaelis. Hug, as you know, has been translated into English; but unfortunately the translator, Dr Wait, who otherwise is a good orientalist, has only here and there pointed out the inaccuracies or strained theories of Hug. Dr Wait moreover was not sufficiently acquainted with the German. His own notes are chiefly illustrations from Jewish and oriental antiquities, which do not strictly belong to the subject. Besides this, he corrects what Hug has said of the Basmuric version, as also of the Sclavonic, Servian, and Georgian versions, and of Professor Lee's edition of the Syriac New Testament. Professor Lee is now occupied with the collation of all the Syriac manuscripts of the New Testament which are found in England. The Oriental Translation Society are to publish this work. The translator of Schleiermacher's Essay on Luke, has prefixed to the work a clear and critical exposition of the various theories respecting the origin of the Gospels, from the time of Michaelis onward; in which exposition is also included the investigation of a pious and excellent Englishman, Veysie, respecting Marsh's hypothesis, published in 1808. It is singular that Veysie accords with Schleiermacher in this, that the basis of our gospel history consists of several narratives; which, however, according to the English critic, proceeded immediately from the apostles; but according to the German critic, only mediately. The old theory, that Matthew was used by Mark, and both again by Luke, has found a new defender in Creswell, in his *Harmony of the Evangelists*, Oxford, 1830. The author has gone wholly to the original sources; I have not as yet studied his work, but I hear from various quarters, that it is full of learning.

Among us the text of Griesbach is entirely current. Bishop Marsh adopted it absolutely; though our Greek philologist Gaisford rejects it. In 1815 appeared also against it the work of Nolan, 'Enquiry into the Integrity of the Received Text of the New Testament,' which undertakes to defend the authority of the Byzantine text and of the Brescian manuscripts of the *Itala*.

The work however rests upon arbitrary assumptions. In respect to the criticism of the Old Testament, I know of nothing to mention, except a re-impression of Walton's *Prolegomena* with Dathe's notes.

In regard to *Doctrinal Theology*, our efforts are all directed to the exposition of the *Symbola* and of the thirty-nine articles of the English church. We still study Jackson, King, and Pearson, on the apostolic creed, and Bennet on the thirty-nine articles. Our earlier sermons also contain rich doctrinal treasures, which are still much used ; as the sermons of Andrews, Allestree, Taylor, etc. New works in this department are occasioned only by the controversies with Anti-Trinitarians, Papists, and Calvinists. Against the former, we have the work of Archbishop Magee on the Atonement,—a very learned work, but unfortunately most wretchedly arranged. It consists of three octavo volumes, containing only dissertations on two sermons, which fill but 65 pages. The learned work of Dr Burton abovementioned, is the result of a long and careful study of the Ante-Nicene fathers. It follows in general the order of time, and specifies under each father what he says in favour of the divinity of the Saviour. I will here just give the note where the author shows, that Griesbach's remarks on the reading *ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ*, Acts 20: 28, are not wholly correct. Griesbach asserts, that some of the earlier fathers, and among them Athanasius, directly denied that the expression *αἷμα τοῦ θεοῦ* occurs in Scripture. Burton shews not only the contrary in reference to other fathers, viz. that they often used the expression *αἷμα θεοῦ*, but also that Athanasius himself often employed this expression. In the passage referred to by Griesbach, but incorrectly quoted by him, it is said : *οὐδαμοῦ δὲ αἷμα θεοῦ, διότι σαρκὸς παραδεδώκασι αἱ γράφαι — αἱ δὲ γράφαι ἐν σαρκὶ θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς θεοῦ ἀνθρώπου γενομένου αἷμα καὶ πάθος καὶ ἀνάστασιν κηρύττουσι σώματος θεοῦ*. The most ancient manuscripts of the Syriac version, which Prof. Lee has collated, have likewise the reading *θεοῦ*.—The late bishop Heber published, while still young, his Bampton Lectures on the personality of the Holy Spirit. They are skilfully written, as was to be expected ; but the subject was too difficult for his age at the time.

In the controversy with the Romish church, the most important works are those of Marsh and Blanco White, which have also been translated into German.—Against the Calvinists we have received many not unimportant works. Among the most

important are Laurence's 'Bampton Lectures on the Articles of the English Church, falsely called Calvinistic;' and the quarto work of Copleston on Predestination. Sumner on the Apostolical Office, and Whately on the Difficulties in the writings of St. Paul, give a clear exposition of the doctrines of the apostle. This latter book was intended for the younger clergy; many of whom among us, through fear of falling into Calvinism, hold themselves entirely aloof from Paul's writings; and the object of it is to excite them to the study of this apostle.

ART. VI. FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

- 1 *Extracts from a Letter to the Editor from the* REV. J. B. PUSEY, *Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, Eng.**

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD, JAN. 19, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am truly sorry to have to begin my correspondence with an apology for the long delay which has been allowed to intervene before its commencement. You will, however, I trust, have ascribed it to any other grounds, rather than to a want of interest in the share which you are taking in our great and common cause. Indeed I have been looking with anxiety to America, ever since I learnt to what extent the education of your young divines was carried on in Germany; and especially since I thought I saw, in some, a tendency to be dazzled by the theories of the rationalist divines. I felt anxious, therefore, not only for my own country,—since American literature must assuredly one day exercise a considerable influence amongst us, and German literature would at once be Anglicized,—but because English America forms in itself so large a portion of the church of Christ. It was therefore with great joy, that I heard of your efforts, and of your having engaged in the same sort of undertaking which I had once proposed to myself; that of separating the wheat from the chaff of German theology, and so, by supplying the fair requisitions of theological students, to prevent the introduction of the evil combined with it. Had I then had no-

* See the Preliminary Notice on p. 568 above.

thing to do, but to express my deep pleasure at the undertaking of yourself and your colleagues, I should have lost no time in so doing. In order, however, in any degree to discharge the duty of giving an account of the theological education of this country, I wished first to see the plan of your work. * *

I hope in the course of the present year to send you my lamented friend and predecessor Dr Nicoll's Catalogue of the Bodleian Arabic Manuscripts, the concluding part of which I am carrying through the press. His learning was very first rate, and he is an irreparable loss to us. When I have done this task, and the *very intellectual* process of index-arranging to Uri's mass of confusion, I hope to set about the examination of our manuscript treasures for myself; and, if I live, I shall have great pleasure in sending you the results. I hope to see an increasing friendly intercourse between like-minded theologians in our two countries.

I have not sent you my two publications on German theology; because, with the advantage of continued intercourse with Professor Tholuck, you doubtless know much more about it than myself. It is a problem of immense interest and importance to solve, how Germany, from having been, in appearance at least, sound, became, by a rapid change and to a fearful extent, an unbelieving church. It is a subject of deep interest to ascertain, if it may be, what end, if any beyond example, was intended by this temporary victory of evil,—what end it is to serve in God's dispensations with his church here. It is a strange phenomenon, that to publications which in England produced but little effect,—those of the English and French deists,—so large an influence is now historically ascribed in the extension of unbelief in Germany. This single fact gives a certain probability to the supposition, that it was the nature of the soil alone, which gave these weeds their speedy growth. I was startled when Neander, on my asking him to what he ascribed the progress of unbelief in Germany, said, "the dead orthodoxy." I was much prejudiced, at first, against the opinion; but came at last to no other result. I have been sadly misconceived in England, by some; but the first publication was written too hastily, and was far too brief for its purpose. * *

Wishing you, and those who labour with you, all success and blessing, I remain ever yours, most truly and faithfully.

J. B. PUSEY.

2. *Extracts from a Letter to the* REV. JOHN PROUDFIT, *of Newburyport, Mass. from* M. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, *Professor of Theology at Geneva, Switzerland. Translated from the French.**

GENEVA, JAN. 20, 1832.

DEAR BROTHER IN CHRIST OUR HOPE,

* * *

I was present at that great and delightful assembly of brethren at Lausanne.—I spoke much of your fasts in the United States, and of the blessings we had enjoyed in consequence of that which we had observed with you at Geneva; and all the brethren, with one heart, agreed on the observance of a day of fasting and prayer, which has been the first of the regenerated church of Christ on the continent of Europe.† Oh! that your prayers may be united with our's, that the Spirit may be poured out from on high, and that the desert may become as Carmel!

Our friends of the Committee of the new school of theology at Geneva, desire me to give you some intelligence in relation to its affairs. The instructions of the school will comprehend two courses of lectures; the one in winter commencing in December, the other in summer commencing from Easter. Our regular courses of lectures, therefore, will open after Easter.—But we shall enter on preliminary courses during the present month (January). We advance in faith. We await all from the Lord. We would have commenced with a single pupil. The Protestant faculty of Montauban began with four pupils. We have already more. Many members of seminaries hitherto Roman Catholics, have been individually announced to us from France.

Gausson is no longer at Satigny. The opposite party of our church, irritated by the noble testimony which he has rendered to the eternal divinity of our Lord Jesus, have gone so far as to remove him from his parish. This is very happy for our school, to which he will now be entirely devoted. He is truly the Cal-

* Kindly communicated by the Rev. Mr Proudfit for the Biblical Repository.

† The writer refers to a day of fasting and prayer which had been extensively observed for the same object, viz. the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the churches of Switzerland, France, Holland, and Germany.

vin of our times—Calvin, with equally high endowments and a more attractive charity. We await the arrival of our professor, M. Steiger, from Berlin, of whom my friend Tholuck of Halle, writes me as follows: "If he has access to the necessary means, he will make the present age an epoch in the learned world." M. Steiger is desirous to bring with him another German scholar, his friend, a devoted Christian and deeply skilled in the Oriental languages. He has written to me, in relation to him as follows: "The publications of M. Havernick would exert an important influence towards restoring the theology of protestant France; while he would be a valuable accession to our faculty, from the high distinction which he enjoys in France and Germany." It is very probable that we shall accept the offer of M. Havernick, and that he will be our's. Nothing is yet decided as to Monod of Lyons.

* * *

We wish to erect a building to contain the lecture-rooms of our school of theology, and to furnish a residence for one of our professors; and also, a large chapel, in which the gospel of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ may be preached to the great numbers, who do not belong to the dissenting community of the Bourg-de-four and Pré l'Evêque. * *

I have opened a course of lectures on the history of the reformation and of the reformers of Germany in the 16th century. It is delivered at the Casino, in a large hall, and is much frequented by persons of all ages, sexes, and ranks. Although the course is properly historical, you will readily perceive that this glorious history of the reformation affords me an opportunity of saying many things of practical utility, and exceedingly appropriate to the present state of Geneva. May the divine blessing attend them! I have printed my introductory discourse, "On the study of the history of Christianity and its especial utility at the present period,"—of which I send you a copy. Gaussen also sends you a copy of the "Memoirs of the Council of State."

All our friends charge me with their fraternal regards. May the care of Christ be extended to you and all the American church!

Your devoted brother,

MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ.

3. *From the same to the same.*

GENEVA, APRIL 15, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,

* * *

Our preliminary courses of lectures have just closed. We shall commence the summer *semester* one week after Easter ; it will continue till September. The following will be the branches of instruction.

I. EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY. *M. Havernick*, Licentiate of Theology from Rostock. 1. Hebrew Grammar. 2. Interpretation of Genesis, and of historical portions of the other books of the Pentateuch.—*M. Steiger*. 1. General Introduction to the New Testament. 2. Exegesis of the New Testament, commencing with the Gospel of Matthew.

II. HISTORICAL THEOLOGY. *M. Merle d'Aubigné*. 1. History of the church of Christ during the period of persecution. 2. Archaeology of christian worship, and of christian manners and customs.

III. DOCTRINAL THEOLOGY. *M. Gaussen*. Practical Theology.—*M. Galland*. Character and attributes of the minister of Christ.

In the preliminary courses of the winter, we have had fourteen regular students. At the commencement, there were also about 30 who attended irregularly. These were students of the unitarian faculty. In our regular courses, we shall probably, *Deo volente*, have still more.

We continue to receive tokens of much sympathy for our establishment. You will have seen, in the Archives du Christianisme, that the king of the Netherlands has published an edict in favour of our school, and has made us a donation. A committee has also been formed in England and Scotland in our behalf. We think some of inviting our brother, M. Adolphe Monod, late pastor at Lyons, to make a journey in the south of France, in reference to the general interests of the kingdom of God, as also in aid of the particular interests of the Seminary. This brother possesses, as you know, strong faith and admirable gifts. The government have just confirmed the decree of the Consistory to which he belonged, by which he was deposed from the ministry, for attempting to maintain in his church the *doctrine* and the *discipline* of the Reformed churches of France.

Should he make this journey, we hope that God will deign to make him an instrument of good to his cause.

* * *

We commend ourselves to your prayers and to your christian affection.

Adieu,

MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ.

ART. VII. LITERARY NOTICES.

The following are a few of the recent theological and other publications in Germany. Some English ones are referred to in the preceding pages; while the more important ones, as the Works of Robert Hall, the new Theological Library, etc. are in a course of republication in this country. It may here be remarked, that the semi-annual catalogue of German publications for the last half of 1831, was unusually barren in important theological works.

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1. BAUMGARTEN-CRUSIUS, Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmengeschichte, 1ste Abtheilung, 8vo. Jena.—To be completed in two parts.

2. HARMS, Archidiaconus, Pastoraltheologie, in Reden an Theologiestudirende. 2tes Buch.—This is the second part of a work addressed by its excellent author, in conversations, to the theological students of Germany. He writes with great originality and with a spice of eccentricity; and treats of the subject according to the division of the three *P*'s, viz. under the heads of *Preacher*, *Priest*, and *Pastor*. The work is calculated, with the divine blessing, to produce great effect upon those to whom it is addressed.

3. HEINEMANN, Koheleth übersetzt, nebst grammatisch exegetischem Commentar, 8vo. Berlin.

4. NITZSCH, Prof. C. Immanuel, System der christlichen Lehre, 2te verbesserte Auflage, 8vo. Bonn.

5. ROSENKRANZ, Dr. C. Encyclopaedie der theologischen Wissenschaften, 8vo. Halle.

6. ROSENMUELLER, Prof. E. F. C. Scholia in V. Test. in Compendium redacta, Vol. IV.—Also under the title: Scholia in Jobum, 8vo. p. 500. Lips. 1832.

7. RUECKERT, Friederich, (Prof. of Or. Lit. at Erlangen,) Hebräische Propheten übersetzt u. erläutert. 1ste Lieferung, Uebersetzung von Isa. 40—66, u. von den kleinern Propheten.—8vo. Leipzig.

8. RUECKERT, L. F. Commentar uber den Brief Pauli an die Römer, 8vo. pp. 720. Leipzig.

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TERMS OF ADMISSION TO THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, ANDOVER.

Mistakes having often been made by persons at a distance, respecting the terms of admission to this Seminary, the Trustees at their late meeting voted, that seasonable and extensive public notice, respecting these terms, should be given by the President. To those who wish to apply for membership in the Seminary, information on the following points may be sufficient.

1. The *regular time* for admission is five weeks after the anniversary, which will hereafter be the *second* (instead of the fourth) Wednesday of September.

2. The laws require that every candidate for admission into the Seminary shall, *previously to his examination*, produce to the Faculty satisfactory testimonials from persons of information and respectability, and of reputed piety, that he possesses good natural and acquired talents; that he has been regularly educated at some respectable College or University, or has otherwise made literary acquisitions, which, as preparatory to theological studies, are substantially equivalent to a liberal education; and that he sustains a fair moral character, is of a prudent and discreet deportment, and is hopefully possessed of personal piety. He shall

also exhibit to the Faculty proper testimonials of his being in full communion with some church of Christ; in default of which he shall subscribe a declaration of his belief in the Christian religion.

3. Every candidate thus introduced, is to be examined by the Faculty, with reference to his personal piety, his object in pursuing theological studies, his knowledge of the learned languages, of Hebrew Grammar, and of the Hebrew Chrestomathy of Professor Stuart, so far as the extracts from Genesis and Exodus extend. In cases where the candidate has not been regularly educated at a College, he must also be prepared to sustain an examination in Mathematics, Logic, Rhetoric, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, and Intellectual Philosophy.

4. No candidate will hereafter be examined on any of these particulars, with a view to partial admission to privileges, such as lectures, room, and use of the Library, till he is prepared for examination *on the whole*. Nor can any one apply for charitable assistance the first year, who is not thus examined and approved *within the first three weeks* of the year.

5. In every case of application for admission *after the regular time*, the candidate, besides the usual requisitions at the opening of the year, will be examined on all the studies gone over by the class.

E. PORTER, *President*.

Theol. Sem. Andover, May 22, 1832.

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**ART. I.—THE LIFE OF CARSTEN NIEBUHR, THE ORIENTAL
TRAVELLER.**

By his Son, R. G. Niebuhr. Translated from the German by the Editor.

INTRODUCTION.

No event in the literary world has had a more direct and important bearing upon the study of the Bible, and the branches of learning connected with it, than the scientific expedition sent out by the king of Denmark to Arabia and the adjacent countries, in 1760. Viewing the subject in this light, I have thought that an account of the origin and progress of that expedition, would not only form an article appropriate to the character and object of this work, but would also afford much useful and interesting information to the student of biblical literature, and to readers in general. For this purpose, nothing seemed so well adapted as the following biography of Niebuhr, the distinguished traveller, written by his no less distinguished son, the historian of Rome.

Out of the five persons, of whom the expedition was originally composed, Niebuhr was the only survivor. Of his qualifications as a scientific traveller, and of the manner in which he executed the task assigned him, it is not now necessary to speak. Time, which tries all things, has tried him fully; and has stamped upon his work the seal of truth, modesty, and completeness. Seventy years have now elapsed, and still no traveller returns from the East, who does not bear testimony to the accuracy and fulness of his descriptions; who does not indeed regard his work as still the best guide-book for those who visit the same regions. The generation of men with whom he had

to do, have indeed passed away ; but the manners and customs of the people, and above all the aspects and character both of the civil and physical geography of the East, remain unchanged. Revolutions like those of Europe, which affect the private life and manners of the people, as well as the external appearance of countries and the political relations of states, are there almost unknown ; and hence the descriptions of Niebuhr are at the present day, for the most part, as minutely accurate, as at the time when they were written. In the strong and apothegmatic language of the celebrated Johannes von Müller, it may be truly said of Niebuhr : "What a name among travellers ! the man who tells nothing which he did not see ; and what he saw, saw as it is !"*

Of the writer of the following article, it is here necessary strictly to say little, in addition to the occasional notices of his early life, which are scattered through the article itself. But as very little is known in this country of his career, the following outline of his life may not be unacceptable. He first studied (1793) at the university of Kiel, resided afterwards (1795) a year and a half at Edinburgh, and travelled for six months more in England. His professional studies were jurisprudence and finance ; his taste led him more to history. He was employed at Copenhagen in the service of the Danish government, and was for a time one of the directors of the Bank. In 1806, in consequence of his talents for finance, he was invited to enter into the service of Prussia, and was employed in the ministry. While the French had possession of Berlin, he followed the court to Königsberg and Memel, and resided for a time at Riga. After the reëstablishment of tranquillity at Berlin, the foundation of the new university drew his attention again more directly to his favourite studies ; and at the urgent request of his friends he commenced, at the opening of the university in 1810, his first course of lectures on Roman History. Encouraged by the distinguished favour with which these lectures were received, not only by the students, but by the learned and intelligent of all classes ; and living in daily and intimate intercourse with scholars like Buttmann, Spalding, Heindorf, and Von Savigny ; he was led to expand this course into his great work, the History of

* "Welcher Name unter den Reisenden ! des Mannes, der nichts sagt, was er nicht sah, and was er sah, sah wie es ist !" J. von Müller, *Vorrede zu Persepolis*, Herder's Werke, zur Philos. u. Gesch. Th. I. p. 11.

ancient Rome, of which the first and second volumes appeared in 1811 and 1812.

He was twice sent as ambassador to Holland, first in 1808, and again in 1814. In 1816, he was sent by the king of Prussia as ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Rome. It is understood that the appointment was given to him with the special view, that the historian of Rome might have opportunity to pursue his studies in the midst of the 'eternal' city. That a sojourn among the scenes which he was engaged in describing, should exert a strong influence upon his critical judgment; that in examining the localities around him, very much would present itself to him under a new and more striking aspect; was not only to be expected, but has been realized to the public, in the subsequent editions of his great work. His very entrance into Italy was signalized by one of the most important literary discoveries of modern times, that of the lost *Institutes* of Gaius in the cathedral library at Verona. At Rome, besides his official duties and the studies connected with his historical works, he employed his leisure moments in examining the manuscripts of the Vatican; the result of which he gave to the public in 1820, in his collection of unpublished *Fragments* of Cicero and Livy. The removal of Angelo Mai to the Vatican, prevented his proceeding further in this course; though he took the liveliest interest in the publication of Cicero's *Republic*, discovered by the latter. As a scholar and diplomatist he lived with dignity and enjoyed the highest respect; while his house was the resort of the learned men and artists of all countries, who congregate at Rome.

On his return to Germany in 1823, he remained six weeks at St. Gall in Switzerland, in order to examine the manuscripts in that celebrated library. His labours were only rewarded by the discovery of some remains of the later Roman poetry, in the works of Merobaudes. His journey terminated somewhat unexpectedly at the newly established university of Bonn, where, during the winter of 1823—24, he occupied himself in preparations for the third volume of his *History*. Here he at length fixed his residence. The consciousness of the disproportion between the first two volumes of his history, printed twelve years before, and the riper progress of his subsequent researches, became now so vivid, that he resolved to rewrite them. At the same time he took up again the long abandoned calling of a public lecturer,—not as a professor of the univer-

sity, but in connexion with his privilege as member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences at Berlin. His lectures on Roman History and Antiquities, on Greek History, on the History of the ancient and modern World, and on ancient Geography and Statistics, riveted the attention of his numerous auditors, by the richness of the materials, profoundness of investigation, and the freshness and vividness of the views. The remodeling of the early volumes of his History, became rather a new creation. The first volume appeared in 1827, and a third edition of it in 1828. The second volume, in its new dress, appeared only a few months before his death. The preparations for the third volume, which was to complete his plan, were already made, and the manuscript of the first sheets ready for the press, when a fire in the night destroyed the upper story of his house, and with it this manuscript. Seven weeks after this calamity, however, the destroyed manuscript was replaced, and the printing commenced. It is understood that the preparations for this volume are in such a state, that we may hope for the completion of the work, in the same style and spirit, from one of his surviving friends.

Another important enterprise which he instigated, and of which he undertook the superintendence, was a new edition of the Byzantine historians. He himself led the way by a critical revision of the work of Agathias. Of this great collection, eight or ten volumes had appeared before his death; and the work is to be continued under the patronage of the Berlin Academy of Sciences.

After seven years of restless literary activity at Bonn, Niebuhr was seized with an inflammatory fever on Christmas day, 1830, and died Jan. 2, 1831. His second wife survived him only twelve days.*

The biographical sketch, from which the following article is translated, was first published in 1816.† This should every where be borne in mind while reading it; and especially in

* For most of the preceding notices, the Editor is indebted to an article in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* for March 1831, *Intelligenzblatt* No. 14.

† It first appeared in the *Kieler Blätter*, and was afterwards published separately. At a later period it was revised by the author, and inserted in the collection of his smaller treatises published under the title: *Kleine historische und philologische Schriften von B. G. Niebuhr. Erste Sammlung.* Bonn, 1828.

those passages where Niebuhr is spoken of as so preëminent in comparison with all other oriental travellers. This preëminence is still justly his due; but at that time Burckhardt was not known as a traveller. The same traits of character which have stamped a value upon the works of the former, belong perhaps in an equal degree to the latter; the same talent and eagerness for observation; the same modesty and caution in respect to what they had not seen or experienced themselves. But their circumstances and objects were widely different. Niebuhr travelled for science, and accomplished the object for which he was sent; while all that Burckhardt effected was only preparatory to his grand object, the exploring of the interior of Africa. The former took accurate surveys and made definite inquiries; the latter turned his attention more to the manners and habits of the people, and could make only general observations on other subjects. Niebuhr prepared his works himself, in the midst of literary leisure, and with the aid of learned men and all the necessary books of reference, by which to correct or modify the impressions of his own experience. Burckhardt wrote out his journals as he could seize time, in Syria and Egypt, without the aid of learned men or books; he transmitted them to England and never lived to revise them; and they were published by other hands after his decease. It is this circumstance of leisure preparation, probably, which gives to the works of Niebuhr their character of entire accuracy. In this respect, the recent Travels of Rüppell, which are only sketches and almost wholly of a scientific character, would not perhaps suffer on a comparison. The results of the journey of Ehrenberg and Hemprich, who were sent out to Egypt and the adjacent countries by the king of Prussia in 1820, have not yet been sufficiently given to the public, to judge of their comparative value.

It will be perceived that the following sketch speaks of Niebuhr only in a literary and scientific point of view. His religious character is left entirely out of sight; except in one short paragraph near the close, where his firm belief in the special interpositions of Providence is mentioned. We have no means of supplying this deficiency, except so far as his faith in miracles is attested, in his remarks on the passage of the Israelites through the Red sea; where he regards the circumstances as the "work of Providence, as a miracle;" and affirms, that if they were all produced by mere natural causes and were not miraculous, then he "does not know what learned men understand by

the word miracle."*—Of the religious views of the younger Niebuhr, we have no knowledge whatever.

In order to give a full and complete view of the origin and progress of the celebrated expedition to Arabia, I have subjoined in an appendix the account given of it by J. D. Michaelis, by whom the enterprize was originally suggested. This is indeed no more than an act of justice to Michaelis; as the reader will perceive in the sequel. The appendix is chiefly drawn from his Autobiography, written near the close of his life, and published by Hassencamp after his decease.—EDITOR.

LIFE OF CARSTEN NIEBUHR.

Hadeln is a Friesland province adjacent to the mouth of the Elbe, and belonged formerly, under its ancient name Hadelre, to the seventh of the United Provinces of the Low Countries. After the dissolution of the great Frisian confederation, the country lost its republican freedom; fell, after various fortunes, under the dominion of the dukes of Saxe-Lauenbourg, and with this dukedom, under the sovereignty of Hanover.

The country consists of marsh land, with the exception of three parishes of moor. The peasants are, as is common in Friesland, absolute proprietors; every one owns his farm with the most perfect right of property, lives on it, and takes care of it himself. Until their subjection to the French, the administration was free in the hands of magistrates, chosen by the common people; and it is not to be doubted, that the Hanoverian government has also in this point restored the good old order of things; not forgetting that, after the annihilation of foreign usurpation, nations have the same right to claim their former constitutional liberties, as princes the sovereignty. The taxes also were light, and the peasantry enjoyed an uncommon degree of prosperity.

In this country, among this free people, as a free peasant, Carsten Niebuhr was born, March 17th, 1733, in Westerende Lüdingworth, on the farm of his father. This latter and his ancestors, from the grandfather of his great-grandfather,—our information does not reach higher,—inhabited as peasants their own farms; all of them in good circumstances, without belonging to the wealthy.

* Description of Arabia, p. 417, Germ. ed.

Carsten Niebuhr lost his mother before he was six weeks old ; and having been brought up by hand, without the milk of a nurse, his extraordinary strength and vigour may contribute to remove the apprehensions of those, who are unable to obtain other nourishment for an infant. He grew up under the care of a step-mother, in the house of his father, where his mode of living and occupations, as well as his education, were distinguished by nothing from those of other peasant boys. Probably it was his own longing for information, that occasioned his father to send him to the Latin school in Otterndorf, and somewhat later to that of Altenbruch ; merely however in order that he might acquire a little more knowledge than an ordinary farmer. But the dismissal of the school-master in Altenbruch, and the prejudices of his guardian, (for his father had died meanwhile,) put an early end to his studies, even before he was far enough advanced to experience any profit from this first beginning, when he afterwards commenced his literary career anew.

At the partition of the paternal inheritance among the orphan children, there fell to his share only a trifling sum, insufficient to purchase any landed property ; and thus necessity would have compelled him to acquire some degree of knowledge as a means of existence, even if he had been able by his nature to live without mental occupation and cultivation. But he was obliged to be satisfied with those acquirements, which could be made without the instruction of any regular school. He therefore devoted himself to music, and learned in the course of a year to play on several instruments for the purpose of getting a place as an organist. But these employments also did not meet the approbation of his guardians. His uncle, by his mother's side, took him into his house, and here he lived again four years exclusively as a farmer.

But the farther he advanced in life, the less could he bear that emptiness of mind, from which people of this condition can only be relieved, either as in ancient times, by common consultation on the affairs of the parish, or as is the case with the English farmer, by acquiring general information through reading. He felt an internal impulse to occupy himself and to become useful to the world.

The accidental circumstances, which very often decide the course of life of distinguished men, deserve to be kept in remembrance. Those indeed were entirely accidental, which gave to my father the direction he afterwards followed without any

interruption, until he became the first among the travellers of modern times. A lawsuit in regard to the superficial contents of a farm, could only be decided by a geometrical survey; and there being no surveyor in all the country of Hadeln, one had to be called from another place. Niebuhr had a high degree of ancestral feeling for the honour of his province; and this occurrence seemed to him a reproach upon it; he could fulfil a duty towards his country, by devoting himself to this science; and at the same time, he was glad to see before himself a vocation and object of pursuit for life. Meanwhile he had arrived at full age; and hearing that he could obtain in Bremen regular instruction in practical geometry, he went thither. This plan, however, did not succeed. The professor on whom he had depended, was dead. He would not have declined the instruction of an inferior practical surveyor; but this man wished to take him as a boarder in his house; and the young countryman, diffident, bashful, and of the severest principles as he was, found the obliging manners of the two sisters of his intended teacher so questionable, that he left Bremen on the spot. He now set his face towards Hamburgh; but here he had to experience a new disappointment and another trial of his perseverance.

He had already passed his twenty second year, when he came to Hamburgh in order to profit by the mathematical lessons of Succow, and, without being ashamed of his advanced age, to begin anew his school studies. His income was not sufficient to support him, even in the very frugal way of living which was natural to him. He was, however, decided to use so much of his little fortune, as should be necessary for the accomplishment of his purpose. In the summer of the year 1755, we find him in Hamburgh. This we learn by his letters to his intelligent, and at that time only friend, the President Beymgra-ben, which are still preserved with veneration by the family of the latter.

But Succow had just been called to Jena, and the mathematical professorship remained vacant for some time, before it was again filled by the deceased Büsch. The other lessons in the gymnasium could only be made intelligible and profitable by the most studious diligence, and through private instruction. A countryman of Niebuhr, by the name of Witke, who lived at that time as a candidate of theology in Hamburgh, and died afterwards as pastor in Otterndorf, gave him faithfully and in

the most friendly manner this private instruction ; and he it was, whom my father always regarded as the author of his mental culture, and loved and revered, as such, all his life, with a feeling of pious gratitude.

Eight months were entirely devoted to preparatory studies, (he being still almost unacquainted with the Latin language,) before he could become a student in the gymnasium ; and twelve months more were wholly insufficient, notwithstanding all his exertions and his perfect health of body and mind, to acquire what every youth, more favoured by circumstances, carries with him to the university without difficulty. For this reason, among other things, he never learned Greek, which was always a subject of great regret to him.

Under Büsch he began to study mathematics. The oldest and at the same time the most distinguished pupil of this learned man, he became afterwards his intimate friend, and remained so all his life.

To stop in the middle of his course was entirely contrary to his nature. He had gone to Hamburgh only for the sake of geometry and some auxiliary studies ; but the more the sciences became familiar to him, the less he could be satisfied, without becoming acquainted with them to a greater extent and depth. He went, therefore, at Easter 1757, to Göttingen. Mathematics continued to be his principal study. The diminution of his small fortune obliged him, however, more and more to think of procuring a place ; and to arrange accordingly the objects of his studies. He expected to find such a situation in the corps of engineers in the service of Hanover ; where at that time, as in almost all the German armies, officers of deep mathematical knowledge were very rare, and could therefore hope, in some measure, to be masters of their own fortunes by their merits.

He studied with all the firmness, which is the consequence of a decided, simple, and modest plan of life, for more than a year, without being disturbed or distracted by the events of the seven years' war ; during which Göttingen was frequently in the power of different armies. About this time it occurred to him, that there existed in his family a stipend for those members of it, who should become students. He asked his friend to examine, whether it was founded only for *poor* students, or without this restriction, "in order to afford the means of learning something useful ? Only in this case would he permit himself, to ap-

ply for it." He obtained it, and employed it to provide himself with mathematical instruments.

Frederic V reigned at that time in Denmark in envied peace. The memory of Lewis XIV shone still untarnished in all the false light of his glory ; and it was after this definite model, that the ministers of the Danish monarch endeavoured to induce their master to perform the duties of his station ; still, however, as a peaceful king. There has seldom existed a minister, whose intentions were more blameless, than those of the Baron J. H. E. Bernstorff, the elder of the two successive ministers of this name ; and there was perhaps no one among the continental statesmen of his time, who equalled him in knowledge, genius, and generosity. Nevertheless, history will probably hereafter decide, as many of his contemporaries in the very country which he so ardently wished to raise and embellish, justly felt, (though their feeling was mixed and infected with personal prejudices,) that his system of administration was not the true one for Denmark. If it could not be denied, that the nation had been sinking for a century, yet it was not difficult to perceive, that this was the natural result of foreign forms, obtruded upon the country, and an internal suffocation of the genius and spirit of the people ; perfectly analogous to the process, by which the Jesuitical contra-reformers have morally destroyed the Bohemians ; and that, to remedy the evil as far as possible, both the peasants and the cities must be politically relieved, and aided in a peculiar manner. The extraordinary and beneficent greatness of the second Count Bernstorff, on the contrary, will, even after all the misfortunes of a dreadful period, be remembered by a grateful nation, not alone with melancholy feelings ; for some of his creations are not to be destroyed, and are the only foundation for a happier futurity ; and the whole of his administration is an endearing model. As the most shining merits of his uncle, perhaps, will be reckoned hereafter, the emancipation of the peasants, the leisure of Klopstock, and the scientific expedition to Arabia.

This latter was indeed originally occasioned by Michaelis, who had represented to the Danish minister, that many illustrations for the philology of the Old Testament might be gained by actual observation and by information collected in Arabia ; since this country was to be considered as yet unexplored by European travellers. His original idea was limited to the mission of a single learned man, an oriental philologist of his own

school, by way of India to Yemen; an undertaking which would have resulted in nothing, even if the envoy had returned. Fortunately the minister himself perceived this, and proposed of his own accord to make the expedition far more extensive. And thus it happened, that the original project, at least so far as it regards the questions with which the primary author of the plan furnished the travellers, sunk to a very trifling and subordinate matter; while the important results which were produced by the two persons to whom alone the glory of the expedition belonged, were not at all contemplated or intended by him.

It seems that the first proposition was made to the Baron Bernstorff as early as A. D. 1756. This latter, having accepted it with all the vivacity and liberality of his mind, and having authorised Michaelis to propose to him a philologist; who is there, that would not have expected this learned man to have named the person, who among all his contemporaries had no rival in the renown of Arabian philology? who, as was known to all Germany, was, in a literal sense, struggling with hunger, and who moreover was a school acquaintance of Michaelis,—Reiske? Instead of him, he recommended one of his pupils, Von Haven, whose knowledge at that time must have been little more than that of a schoolboy; since, after spending two years in Rome, in the Vatican and among the Maronites, in farther preparation, he never rose above the deepest mediocrity.

Michaelis was commissioned by Bernstorff to propose also a mathematician and a natural philosopher; by the addition of whom this minister fortunately gave value and importance to the mission. To name the first, Michaelis addressed himself in the Academy of Sciences at Göttingen, of which he was then director, to Kästner. A student from Hanover, named Bölzing, accepted the proposal at first, but withdrew again after some time from timidity. Kästner would undoubtedly have chosen, from the first, not Bölzing, but my father, had the latter then been long enough at the university to enable his instructor to foresee, with some certainty, the degree of skilfulness which a young man would acquire, whose general character and talents alone could then be perceived. Fortunately Kästner was now sufficiently acquainted with him, as his pupil. One day in the summer of 1758, (we do not find a nearer designation of the time,) he entered the room of my father, as he was going home from the sitting of the Academy, where he had just proposed him. "Would you like to travel to Arabia?" "Why not, if some

one defrayed the expense?" answered my father, who was bound by nothing to his home, and who was urged onward by an unlimited desire of knowledge to visit distant climes. "The expense," replied Kästner, "will be borne by the king of Denmark." He explained himself farther on the subject and how the offer was occasioned. Niebuhr was decided on the spot, so far as his own inclination was concerned. As he thought however very humbly of himself, and very highly of the sciences and of truly learned men, he despaired of his capacity and usefulness. But Kästner set his mind at rest about it, by promising him a long term for preparation, especially for the study of astronomy under Mayer; and by assuring him, that with his strength of mind, and his diligence, this would be perfectly sufficient.

The same evening my father went to see Professor Mayer, the promise of whose instruction in astronomy was the only thing still wanting to fix his resolution. Mayer, who was not so light-minded as Kästner, dissuaded the young man from a plan, the dangers and difficulties of which he did not know; but his character made it irrevocable. Mayer therefore promised him the instruction he asked for.

Michaelis, to whom he presented himself the following day, seems to have taken this quick decision for levity and inconsideration. He forced upon him the term of a week, the better to reflect upon it. The week passed away, without my father's troubling himself any more about a thing, which was already decided in his own mind; and Michaelis now accepted his declaration. His conditions were eighteen months for preparation, (until Easter 1760,) and during this time the same salary that was granted to Von Haven. Baron Bernstorff consented to them without hesitation.

From that time he lived entirely for his destination. He continued the study of pure mathematics, perfected himself in drawing, and endeavoured to acquire as much historical knowledge, as he could with his imperfect preliminary studies, without leaving his main purpose too much out of view. He also exercised himself in practical mechanics, that he might learn to handle his instruments; and also in all those points of mechanical skill, the acquirement and practice of which would be a waste of time for every one in Europe, who does not make them his business. But he was principally occupied with two courses of private lessons, viz. in the Arabic language with Michaelis,

and in astronomy with Mayer. Of these he preserved a very different remembrance. He had indeed little talent and little inclination for the grammatical part of languages; but what made him averse to the instruction in Arabic, was the circumstance, that after several months, his teacher had carried him no farther than the first fables of Lokman. He thus acquired the conviction, that the professor by no means possessed any special treasure of Arabic knowledge and philology. He therefore gave up this study, and this step Michaelis never forgave him.

Mayer was, without comparison, the first among the German astronomers and mathematicians of his time. His zeal to instruct Niebuhr was equal to that of his pupil to get instruction. Among all the men, whom this latter had known in the course of his long life, he loved and revered no one so highly, as Mayer; an intimate friendship arose between them. He preserved a passionate attachment for the memory of Mayer, even to his latest old age; and of all that Providence bestowed upon him, nothing made him more happy, than that his first lunar observations for ascertaining the longitude, reached his beloved teacher on his deathbed, before his consciousness had left him, and by the joy which they excited in him, revived his spirits anew; and that these very observations had determined the adjudication of the English prize to Mayer's widow. Indeed he ever acknowledged, that he owed to Mayer all his qualifications for his calling. The latter also had no warmer wish, than himself to educate a pupil who should be willing to employ his method of finding the longitude and his lunar tables, at that time still unprinted, and of which Niebuhr took a copy. It seems he foresaw, that prejudice and the common propensity to follow the ordinary courses of life, would for many years affect to disdain the adoption of his great discovery; but that, if confirmed by practical application, it was impossible to smother it entirely.

He took as lively an interest in my father's equipment for his journey, as if it had been his own business. For instance, he graduated his quadrant with his own hand; and the exactitude of this work of friendship is proved by the observations taken with it.

The time granted for preparation was protracted for half a year. It was not before the autumn of 1760 that my father left Göttingen. In Copenhagen he was received by the minister Von Bernstorff with the utmost benevolence, and acquired his confidence above all the other travellers whom he found already

collected there. Having received a pension for his preparation from the king, he had thought it his duty to provide himself with the instruments for observation at his own expense. He even felt himself happy, to get them in that way. Bernstorff, who learned it only accidentally, obliged him to accept an indemnification; and, out of respect for such strictness of principle, placed the money for the journey in his hands and at his disposal.

I should scarcely mention, that at this time he was made lieutenant of the corps of engineers, if there was not still preserved one of his letters which exhibits his modesty and views of those things in a very amiable light. He writes to the friend above mentioned: "Von Haven's appointment as professor in the university of Copenhagen, occasioned him to think also of a title for himself. The same had been offered to him; but he did not think himself worthy of it. That for which he had asked, seemed to him more appropriate for him. He might have had the place of captain, had he asked for it; but this would have been too much for so young a man. To make observations of some importance as a lieutenant, would do him honour; but to be called professor, without having investigated the depths of mathematics sufficiently, would be shameful to him."—At that time he had no other plan, but after his return from the journey to live in his own province, on the pension which was promised him.

We cannot here have any scruples to publish what he thought and said of his travelling companions, more than half a century after their death.

We have mentioned already Von Haven's unfitness in respect to knowledge of the language. But in general also, he had chosen a vocation for which nobody was less adapted. His only thought was of returning; his favourite conversation, the comfortable times which he expected in that case to enjoy; no desire of discoveries or observations made him forget the troubles and deprivations of the journey; and nobody felt himself so destitute and deprived of so many things as he. A luxurious table and good wine were for him the highest charms of life; and in Arabia, where the travellers found only bad water, and food scarcely sufficient to appease their hunger, his dissatisfaction rose to a despair which frequently amused his two more considerate companions; but sometimes also was revolting to them. Lazy by nature, he found himself in that hemisphere perfectly

excused from doing any thing; he moreover shewed himself sometimes haughty and assuming towards Niebuhr and Forskaal; he considered himself as the first and the chief of the company; and never could get over it, that my father should have charge of the money concerns. Nor, since his death, has there been found the least thing of value in his meager diaries.

Forskaal was, according to the judgment and testimony of my father, by far the most learned among all his travelling companions; nay, he would perhaps, if he had returned, have occupied the first place among the scholars of his time, by the deep universality of his genius and knowledge. He had originally studied theology; his free and aspiring mind had led him from Sweden to Germany; for a long time he was passionately devoted to speculative metaphysics; besides this he was occupied in the study of the oriental languages; and whilst he made himself familiar with all the branches of natural philosophy, he acquired a knowledge of physics and chemistry in all their extent, so far as it reached at that period. The metaphysics of a genius of such a cast, must have been very different from the scholastic wisdom of those times. The academical dissertation, in which he explained his views on these subjects, was considered in Göttingen as fanciful, in Sweden as heretical. It is to be regretted that we are not acquainted with it.

He was glad to leave his native country, where he every where met with hostility after his return from the university. He needed no preparation; the call for the journey found him perfectly equipped, to such an extent as few have ever been. In love of labour, in contempt of dangers, troubles, and deprivations of every kind, he was equal to my father. Both of them found themselves called to observe every thing which occurred to them. But Forskaal's learned education afforded him great advantages. He acquired the language in a much shorter time and in a more perfect manner, and was soon far enough advanced to read Arabic books with facility. His faults were a passion for disputation, capriciousness, and anger. Mutual esteem, and the same zeal for their purpose, laid the foundation of a pure friendship between my father and him; but their relation to each other was not without disturbance, until Forskaal had once experienced that the patience of his companion was not wholly imperturbable.—A careful use has been made of Forskaal's papers by his friend; and whatever they contained relating to history and national character and manners, is received

into his works, and marked with the name of the author. I shall speak hereafter of the publication of Forskaal's writings on natural history. It is painful to see how they are neglected. Besides the scientific descriptions, they are rich, not only in valuable observations on the life and the various applications of plants, and in the specification of their names in the languages of the different countries, but also in regard to information on the agriculture and geological structure especially of Egypt; to such a degree, indeed, as is no where else to be found. The deceased Vahl recovered and restored Forskaal's long neglected herbariums, so far as they could still be saved; and endeavoured to do justice to his memory. Linnaeus exhibited towards his former pupil an odious hostility. Forskaal had said to my father, that he should like to have a species of plant which he had discovered, (entered in his Flora under the name *Mimosella*,) named after himself. My father wrote to Linnaeus this wish of a deceased scholar and distinguished man; but instead of regarding it, the latter gave the name of Forskaal to another plant, discovered it is true by him, but where the designation given to the principal species permitted an odious allusion to the deceased.* This conduct my father could never forgive. Forskaal had also named a genus of plants after my father, who had always assisted him in his excursions and collections; but this seemed to the latter inappropriate, inasmuch as he was no botanist. It is assuredly the only instance of unfaithfulness which he allowed himself towards the papers of his friend, that he has removed from them every trace of the honour thus intended to be shewn him.

Of the physician, Dr Cramer, nothing can be said, but that he was most unfortunately selected, and was entirely without capacity, both as a physician and still more for all the direct objects of the journey. It is to be regretted, that the wish of Michaelis to engage the elder Hensler, could not have been realized.—Bauernfeind, the painter, was not unskilled in drawing; but he was a man of an uncultivated and very narrow mind, and a propensity to intemperance shortened his life.

The voyage commenced under the most unfavourable auspices. The company embarked on board the ship of war Greenland, which was despatched to the Mediterranean in order to

* The explanation of this allusion may be seen in Rees's Cyclopaedia, under the article *Forskalea*.—ED.

protect vessels sailing under the Danish flag, from being subjected to search by the English. This ship left the sound, Jan. 7th 1761; three times she was driven back by contrary winds into the road of Elsineur; and it was only on the fourth trial, on the 10th of March, that she could pursue her course without interruption to the Mediterranean. In all probability, such obstacles would not, at the present day, be of sufficient magnitude thus to hinder a ship of war on its voyage. But at that time the art of navigation was a thing wholly practical, almost mechanical, and very clumsily managed. Yet the officers of this ship were assuredly distinguished among their contemporaries; and the comparative excellency of the Danish mariner has been the same in every century.

Niebuhr remembered this voyage with pleasure. The stately and dignified character of the ship itself, and of the discipline and whole mode of living on board a man of war,—the simple and systematic activity and efficiency of the seamen, whose characteristic traits, from the commander down to the common sailor, were so similar to his own,—interested and gratified him in a high degree. Nor did he find the time monotonous; he made himself practically and by personal observation acquainted with the construction of the ship and the art of steering it; he exercised himself daily in taking celestial observations. This procured him the satisfaction of being acknowledged by the officers, as an active and useful member of their little community. In this way he acquired their decided respect and good will; for the attainment of which, among practical men, it is always necessary to appear to them superior to themselves in some one branch of their own pursuits, as well as ever ready to acknowledge and appreciate their superiority in other kindred branches.

Mayer, in his course of instruction, had ever kept in view the circumstance, that his pupil was about to be placed in a situation, where he would have to depend exclusively upon himself, without being sustained by the advice or assistance of any other person. Besides this, that great man had ever been himself his own teacher; and was conscious, how well an active and clear-sighted considerateness enables its possessor to find his own way. His whole practical instruction consisted in causing my father—after having sufficiently explained to him the object and nature of the observation and of the instrument—to try by himself how far he could succeed both in the observation and the calculation of it, without the guidance or even the presence of

his friend and teacher. Did he not fully succeed, he was to inform Mayer; but he himself must discover, both how far he had been successful, and where the difficulty lay; and then Mayer helped him out. While in Göttingen, he had little opportunity of calculating lunar distances; and was therefore anxious how he should succeed in it. The results of the calculations from his observations during this voyage, gave him more confidence; and should indeed have afforded him entire certainty, that he had now passed the years of pupilage. This, however, his diffidence prevented.

A stay of a few weeks at Marseilles, and a shorter one at Malta, afforded a very pleasing recreation to the travellers. Their scientific enterprise had become known far and wide in Europe; and it is difficult, at this day, fully to conceive of that general interest and sympathy, which every where procured for the travellers the kindest reception and the most respectful attentions. It was an enterprise which accorded with the spirit of the age, and had in it nothing isolated or strange. The king of Sardinia had sent the unfortunate Donati to the East; Asia had become known and interesting to Europeans, through the wars which the two great naval powers had waged against each other in India, and the kingdoms which they had alternately conquered there; England had begun to cause the world to be circumnavigated for the sake of discovery. It was just that period of gratified and self-complacent contentment in respect to science and literature, when the age supposed itself to have found and to be pursuing the path of uninterrupted approximation towards perfection in both. Learned men had now assumed a higher rank in society; and every one was ashamed not to regard their concerns as the first among the affairs of men.

The politeness of French courtesy exhibited itself in a very pleasing manner in both places; for even in Malta, the predominant class of society, although more or less mixed up out of all nations, was yet chiefly composed of French, who gave the tone to social intercourse, and united all the rest in the use of their language and manners. At Malta the chief attention was directed towards Niebuhr; and the knights of the order of St. John, to whom the island belonged, influenced by the false supposition that the difficulties arising out of his religion might be overcome, offered him, on condition of his joining them after the completion of his travels, all of the honours, distinctions, and privileges, to which the broadest and most pliant exposition of their laws could enable him to attain.

From Malta the travellers proceeded to the Dardanelles on board the same ship of war ; it having conveyed its convoy as far as Smyrna. In the Archipelago my father was attacked by the dysentery, which brought him near the grave. At Constantinople his health returned, though very slowly ; so that at the end of two months from the commencement of the attack, he was only so far recovered, as to be able, with evident hazard of relapse, to embark for Alexandria on board of a ship from Dulcigno. Here, on ship board, the travellers found themselves for the first time wholly among Orientals. The plague also broke out among the crowded mass of oriental passengers ; but the Europeans all remained exempt.

In Egypt the travellers remained a full year ; from the end of September 1761 till the beginning of October 1762. During this interval, my father with Forskaal and Von Haven visited Mount Sinai. The party did not travel in Egypt, any higher up than Cairo. My father determined, during their sojourn, the longitude of Alexandria, Cairo, Rosetta, and Damietta, by numerous lunar observations ; and with an exactness, which, to the astonishment of the French astronomers in Bonaparte's expedition, proved to be fully equal to their own. Equally accurate also did they and the army find his chart of the two arms of the Nile ; and likewise his plan of Cairo, which was sketched under the most difficult circumstances, in the midst of a fanatical rabble. I showed this plan in the year 1801 to a French officer, who had risen during the revolution from the station of a common soldier, and had served during the Egyptian expedition as an adjutant of Bonaparte, in order to obtain from him some information respecting the entrenchments thrown up by the French army around the city, and also some historical notices relative to the great insurrection in Cairo. This officer was hardly able to write, and was entirely unaccustomed to make use of plans ; he therefore needed a few minutes' time before he could transfer his local and ocular knowledge of the city into the symbolical representation of the drawing ; but so soon as this was done, he found himself step by step at home, and could not repress his astonishment.—My father also took the altitude of the pyramids, and copied many hieroglyphic inscriptions on obelisks and sarcophagi.

In October the travellers embarked at Suez on board of a Turkish ship ; they landed at Djidda (Jidda), and reached at Loheia the first point of their proper destination, the land of Ye-

men, in the last days of the year 1762. During this voyage my father made astronomical observations, as often as possible, to determine the geography; and examined, so far as he could, the waters of the Red sea nautically. From these difficult and most tedious labours he was able to sketch the chart of the Red sea; which, considering the circumstances and the helps, must be regarded as a master-piece.

After some stay in this friendly city, the company, and more especially Forskaal and Niebuhr, travelled over the western part of Yemen in various directions; the former for botanical purposes, and the latter in order to determine the geographical positions of the various places. They afterwards betook themselves along the sea coast to Mocha; where Von Haven died towards the end of May 1763. About the same time, my father was again attacked by the dysentery; but was saved by prudent foresight and the greatest temperance. His health, however, was not fully restored, when after much delay and many hindrances the party were enabled to set off for Saná, the capital of Yemen. He did not, however, suffer the danger to prevent him from accompanying them. The climate, and the vexations which Forskaal had partly occasioned and partly augmented by his capriciousness, brought upon the latter a bilious disorder, of which he died at Yerim, July 11, 1763.

The pain which my father felt at the loss of his friend, preyed the more deeply upon his spirits, because he felt himself to be continually ill. He pursued with his two remaining companions the journey to Saná, but without any hope of returning; and—what troubled him far more, since he had never felt any overweening love of life—apprehensive lest all the papers relative to the expedition, which had not been left in the hands of English friends in Mocha, might not by any care or foresight be preserved for Europe. He was filled with despondency at the thought of a total frustration of the objects of the journey, and also, not without good reason, at the idea that the public would not do justice to the manner in which he and Forskaal had endeavoured to fulfil their duties. This is the only period in all his travels, when he gave way to melancholy, and sunk under it. He felt himself, at last, in that state of gloomy resignation, which usually comes upon Europeans in torrid regions, when labouring under grief and sickness. Although both before and afterwards, he was ever ready, on the mere rumour of an inscription or ruin, to undertake the most difficult excursions;

yet now he neglected to turn a short distance out of the way, in order to copy the Hamyaric inscriptions at Höddafa,—a neglect which every person who regards the circumstances, will consider trivial; but one with which Niebuhr, even after the lapse of fifty years, was accustomed bitterly to reproach himself.

From the same cause, the surviving members of the expedition declined the friendly and sincere invitation, to remain a full year in Saná and Upper Yemen; which certainly would have been in entire accordance with the original plan. They hastened rather to descend again to the coast, before the English ships should have departed; and they made too great haste. They were consequently compelled to remain at Mocha through the whole of August and longer, before the ship in which they were to proceed to Bombay was ready. But Mocha, a city without water, in the arid sandy desert of Tehama, is a dreadful place of residence during the summer; and a few days only elapsed, before the surviving travellers, with their servant, were all attacked by the fever of this climate.

Bauernfeind and the servant died at sea. Cramer reached Bombay, remained ill several months, and died. My father was saved by extreme abstinence; which indeed is sufficient to render this hot climate as little injurious to the European, as to the native. The physician had prescribed to him, on account of the dysentery, to abstain from all animal food, and to live only on bread and a kind of rice tea, or ptisan. Under this regimen his disorder disappeared. After several weeks, the physician learned with astonishment, that Niebuhr still patiently continued the same diet; with which indeed few Europeans were inclined to purchase even their lives, in the midst of fatal disease.*

* The following are the remarks of Niebuhr himself, respecting the death of his companions and the causes which led to this melancholy catastrophe, as well as to his own repeated sickness. They are here translated from the preface to the German edition of his *Description of Arabia*, p. ix.—Ed.

“Although our little company was almost wholly destroyed by death, yet I do not think that others ought to be deterred, on this account, from travelling in Arabia. It would be an error to suppose, that my companions were hurried off by contagious diseases, because they died so rapidly one after another. I am much more of the opinion, that our diseases were our own fault; and consequently that others may easily guard against them. Our company was too large to submit readily, at first, to live according to the customs of the

Francis Scott, the merchant who had charge of the ship in which my father sailed from Mocha to Bombay, became his intimate friend. He was a younger son of Scott of Harden, an episcopal and formerly Jacobite family in Roxburghshire, to which also Sir Walter Scott belongs. Thirty five years afterwards, while I was a student in Edinburgh, the house of this gentleman, who then in the decline of life lived at his ease in the Scottish capital on the fortune acquired by honourable industry, was always open to me, and I was regarded in no other light than as a member of the family.

The reception which he found among the English, was extremely cordial. Bombay, at that time, was indeed widely different from what it is at present. Instead of being a man of scientific and liberal education, like a Duncan or Sir Evan Nepean or Sir John Malcolm, the governor at that time, according to the old system of the East India Company, was a factor who had risen in the service. The members of the council were in like manner men of ordinary education; the officers for the most part were persons out of all nations, who had embraced an obscure service as a refuge from adventures or an escape from want. Still, even in this retired colony, the noble English spirit was not imperceptible; and besides his friend Scott, there were many, whom the strong, honest, national good sense had ena-

country. At different times we could obtain no fermented or strong liquors, to which we were regularly accustomed; and yet we continued constantly to eat meat, which is regarded in all warm countries as very unhealthy. The cold evening air was so pleasant to us after the hot days, that we exposed ourselves to it too much. We ought also to have been more attentive to the very perceptible difference of temperature, between the mountainous regions and the lower plains. We hastened our journey too rapidly, in order to become acquainted with the interior of the country. We had difficult roads, and much trouble with the inhabitants; sometimes perhaps because we were not sufficiently acquainted with the country and its inhabitants, and often supposed unjustly that we had ground of complaint against them, without recollecting that one does not always travel with pleasure even in Europe. While my companions yet lived, I was myself several times very ill; because like them I chose to live in the European manner. But after I was surrounded only by Orientals, and learned how strictly one must take care of himself in those regions, I travelled in Persia, and from Bassora by land to Copenhagen, in perfect health, and with very little trouble from the inhabitants of those countries."

bled to acquire a peculiar intelligence and cultivation of their own, without the aid of traditional learning. In Egypt, my father had already found himself most at home among the English; and here in Bombay the foundation was laid for that mutual regard, which continued ever after, and of which I shall speak in the sequel.

Among his nearest friends was Captain Howe of the Royal Navy, a brother of Admiral Lord Howe and of General Sir William Howe. From him my father received engraved charts of the Indian seas, and of single portions, roads and harbours, of the south-eastern coast of Arabia. It was a source of pleasure to Niebuhr, to be able to requite the present of his friend by another, in which he could truly manifest to the English nation his gratitude for their hospitality. He gave him therefore a copy of his chart of the Red sea, which he had completed at Bombay, and which from Djidda northwards was wholly new to the English; for no British ship had then ever visited these waters. With the help of this chart they undertook the navigation some years afterwards. Since that time the chart has indeed been uncommonly improved and perfected by the English; the eastern coast by Sir Home Popham, and the western (which is entirely wanting in my father's chart) by the expedition set on foot by Lord Valentia; but the ground plan of all these more complete charts, is still that of Niebuhr.

In Bombay my father learned the English language. He collected also all the information which was to be obtained respecting the Parsees and Hindoos; visited the pagodas hewn in the rocks of Elephanta, and made drawings of their sculptures; not elegant, indeed, but so much the more faithful. That he was not, in general, an elegant draughtsman, could do no harm, so far as it regards the caricatures and hideous forms of Indian mythology.

He occupied himself, further, in reducing all his journals into proper order; and sent a copy of them over London to Denmark. He took an opportunity, also, of visiting Surat.

It had been at first arranged, that the travellers should return over India. But as now, when his health was restored, Niebuhr felt again in their full strength all the energy and inclination which had originally prompted him to undertake the expedition, this arrangement did not satisfy him, and he determined to return over land. He had now, however, to embrace much more in his plans of observation, than had been originally assigned to

him ; and accordingly he made it his duty, to observe and set down every thing which occurred to his notice. But in order to accomplish this, he was compelled to relieve himself, in some degree, from the harassing labours which attended his original vocation. After leaving Bombay, therefore, he gave up the practice of taking lunar observations ; since without the approval of his friend Mayer, whose death he first learned at Bombay, he did not, as he could and should have done, place any confidence in himself. What also contributed to this step, was the death of his Swedish servant, whom he had trained to assist him in the mechanical part of the observations. The omission is certainly much to be regretted ; for in regard to Persia and Turkey in Asia, we are still very deficient in observations of that sort. But whoever has witnessed how much Niebuhr himself was pained by the circumstance in his old age, will have been thereby led to respect and venerate him in a higher degree, than he can feel the want of the desired labours.

After a residence of fourteen months, Niebuhr left Bombay in December 1764 ; visited Maskat and made himself acquainted with the remarkable province of Oman ; remained however not long there, but hastened over Abuschäher (Busheer) and Shiraz to Persepolis.

These ruins, their inscriptions and bas-reliefs, had already been so far copied by three former travellers, that they had deeply excited my father's attention, as being the most important monuments of the East. The multitude of the inscriptions and figures of men and animals permitted the hope, that an interpreter would yet somewhere be found, who, when accurate copies of both should be laid before him, by comparing together the inscriptions and the figures, would be able to decipher and explain the former ; and Niebuhr's tact and comprehensive glance had already taught him, how unsatisfactory all the previous delineations were. Nothing which he had seen in the East, had attracted him so powerfully in anticipation ; he could not rest until he had reached Persepolis ; and the last night before his arrival was passed without sleep. The image of these ruins remained indelibly fixed upon his mind all his life long ; they were to him the crown of all that he had seen.

He continued among them three and a half weeks, in the midst of desolation ; and during this interval he laboured uninterruptedly in taking the measurement and drawings of the ruins. Those inscriptions which were on the higher parts of the walls,

could be distinctly traced, only when the sun's rays fell upon them; and as, in this atmosphere, the hard and originally polished black marble does not decay so as to lose its polish, the eyes of the traveller, already strained by his incessant labour, became dangerously inflamed. This circumstance, coupled with the death of his Armenian servant, compelled him most unwillingly to abandon this ancient Persian sanctuary, without having fully exhausted it in his delineations.

He returned over Shiraz to Abuschäher (Busheer), and thence across the Persian Gulf to Basra (Bassora). In Persia he collected historical accounts of the fortunes of that unhappy country, from the death of Nadir Shah until that time. By the help of these he has enriched the German translation of Sir William Jones's History of Nadir Shah, the Persian manuscript of which he himself brought to Europe; and has given to it a value now little known. Olivier at least, to speak with the utmost modesty, has given no better information respecting this period.

From Bassora he proceeded, in November 1765, over Meshed Ali and Meshed Hössein, places of resort for Mohammedan pilgrims which had as yet been visited by no European, to Bagdad; and thence over Mosul and Diarbekr to Aleppo, where he arrived June 6, 1766. By this time he had become entirely domesticated in the East; since he had been left alone, he could conform himself without difficulty or hindrance to oriental manners and customs. It is true, he was now travelling in far healthier regions; but he also had never enjoyed more perfect health.

During this interval of eighteen months, he had seen very little of Europeans, except at Karek, where the singular establishment of the Dutch existed at that time. In many of the larger Turkish cities which he visited, there were indeed convents of catholic missionaries; but these he regarded as disturbers of the peace of the unfortunate native Christians, and avoided them. He nevertheless adds his testimony, that among these catholic missionaries, by far the greater part of whom are only noted for ignorance and intolerance, there occur individual examples of sanctity and devotedness, such as can scarcely be found under other circumstances. He became acquainted at Bagdad, in particular, with Father Angelo, who during the prevalence of the plague nursed several thousands of the sick of every nation and faith; and whose own life, when he was himself attacked by the disease, was saved by a crisis, which pious minds might well

term miraculous.—But at Aleppo, Niebuhr found himself in a numerous society of European consuls and merchants of all nations, who at that time, when peace every where prevailed in Europe, lived together in uninterrupted harmony. Some of them were married; and their houses afforded the charm of European family life, in the enjoyment of female society.

Niebuhr's most pleasing and intimate intercourse was here also among the English. He became acquainted with Dr Patrick Russell, author of the work on the plague, and publisher of the *Description of Aleppo* written by his uncle Alexander Russell. This venerable friend of my father I have also many years afterwards personally known, and have listened to his stories of former times, as they flowed from a heart full of warm friendship and esteem.

Count Bernstorff had gladly approved of my father's determination to extend his journey; and as the circumstance soon became generally known, the Count was requested to permit him to visit Cyprus, in order to copy again the Phenician inscriptions at Citium; since it was supposed, that the delineation of them by Pococke must have been as little successful, as those which he had attempted of Greek inscriptions. My father found no such inscriptions; but I feel bound to confess, that his conjecture on this point can scarcely be well grounded, viz. that Pococke had found only Old Armenian inscriptions, such as he himself saw at Saline near Larneca, and had copied them imperfectly. The stones might easily have been removed in the interval.

An opportunity of crossing over to Jaffa enticed him to visit Palestine, where the geography of no single point had as yet been astronomically determined, and the topography of Jerusalem was still without any plan in which confidence could be placed. This he accomplished in the beginning of August, so far as time permitted. He returned then to Jaffa, made from Sidon an excursion across mount Lebanon to Damascus, and thence went again to Aleppo.

Five months and a half after his first arrival in that city, the 20th of November 1766, he left it again, to enter upon the direct and uninterrupted journey homeward. He travelled with a caravan as far as Brusa (Bursa). Asia Minor is exceedingly cold in winter, except the sunny land along the coast; and the traveller suffered as much from frost, ice-cold winds, and snow storms, upon the high plain of Taurus, as he could have done during a winter journey in the most northern regions. But in

the warm and delightful Brusa, he recovered from the effects of a species of fatigue and suffering to which he had been so long a stranger; and employed his leisure, as ever, in reducing all his observations to regular journals, charts, and plans. He reached Constantinople February 20, 1767.

In this capital of the Turkish empire, which six years before he had visited only as a sick man and a stranger in the East, and therefore could not fully examine, he remained three and a half months. He had now seen many Turkish provinces, and was acquainted with their interior arrangement and administration; and here in the capital he sought and acquired a knowledge of the general economy and administration, both civil and military, of the Turkish state at large. His very fundamental and satisfactory dissertations on these subjects, have been printed.

European Turkey can be attractive to those philologists only, who seek and behold in her Greece, Macedonia, and, in general, the past. My father therefore travelled rapidly, in fourteen days, through unsafe and almost impassable regions, to the Danube; and thence with little less speed through Wallachia and Moldavia. In the capital of the former of these countries, the plague was then raging. After the middle of July he entered once more, near Zwaniec, the territory of a christian state. The king of Poland, Stanislaus Poniatowsky, a man of refined manners and literary taste, and actuated in a high degree by that spirit of the times which did homage to science and to learned men, had requested of the Danish government, that my father might be permitted to take his homeward way through Poland. He received the celebrated traveller with the delicacy of an accomplished gentleman, who desires to make his guest feel, that he has not been invited out of mere curiosity. He succeeded in gaining the heart of my father, and in retaining it by a correspondence continued through many years. Indeed my father, who in the East had been shut out from all knowledge of public occurrences in Europe, afterwards, when the civil war broke out in Poland, looked upon the confederates as rebels, and always regarded his princely friend as a persecuted, legitimate, and excellent king.

On the way from Warsaw, he visited Göttingen, and also his native place; where during his absence a large marsh-farm had fallen to him, by the death of his mother's brother.

At Copenhagen, where he arrived in November, he was re-

ceived with great distinction by the court, the ministers, and by all the learned men. Count Bernstorff, who knew how to appreciate his worth in every respect, but who also, as the author of the expedition, felt his own honour to be connected with the success of it, seemed to wish to express his gratitude by the most friendly offices. My father became intimately acquainted with him; and through him with his nephew the great second Count Bernstorff, and with the widowed Countess Stolberg and her sons, at that time in their earliest youth.* Klopstock and the other family friends of the minister became intimate with him. His own nearest and dearest friends were Professor Krazenstein and his distinguished first wife.

His first business was the settlement of the money accounts of the expedition. From his own entries, he could not estimate the cost of the whole; because these did not include the sums which had been expended in preparatory measures. It seems, too, that he neglected to procure a copy of the general account. At least none such is to be found among his papers; while in these he cites the authority of another person for the statement, that the expenses of the whole expedition amounted only to 21,000 Danish rix dollars.† I remember to have heard, at Copenhagen, another and a somewhat (though not much) larger sum mentioned; but as a public request for information on this point has produced none, I must leave the matter undecided.

This comparatively small amount of the expenses, excited even at that time astonishment. They would naturally have risen much higher, had not my father, during the whole of the last four years, been the only survivor. Still, although a single traveller of course required fewer expenditures, yet they were

* These recollect how Bernstorff used to communicate to their mother my father's letters as they arrived; the reading of which was also a feast for the boys. These letters are said to have contained many lively traits, which my father either did not enter in his journals, or else passed over in preparing the account of his travels, because they seemed to him unimportant and to have no relation to science. It is greatly to be regretted, that it has not been possible to consult these letters in reference to the present biography. [The youths here referred to became afterwards the Counts Stolberg so well known in the literature of Germany. The younger became also celebrated by his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith in 1800. He died in 1819, and his elder brother in 1821. Ed.]

† About \$17,500. Ed.

also still further diminished by the circumstance, that he not only avoided every thing which was not necessary for his object, but also paid out of his own pocket for every thing which was in any way personal.

“A far more difficult reckoning,” he says in some notices of his life written for his family, “was that which I now had to render to the public in regard to my journey.” The materials contained in his journals were in the highest degree rich and profuse; and that he wrought them up with a degree of perfection, to which the entire artlessness and simplicity of his manner contributed not a little, every one will now acknowledge. He himself, however, distrusted his own capacity almost to despair. We have seen how he had grown up to manhood without any familiarity with literary labours; he had even read comparatively very little, especially in the German language. Indeed the High German dialect, the language of books, was not even his another tongue; he had learned it first as a youth, and never possessed it in any great extent or copiousness. Still more did he fear, lest through the want of adequate learning, he might exhibit things in a false or improper light; and thus subject himself to be misunderstood or unjustly estimated.

His first design was, to publish two separate works before his Travels; first, answers to the questions which had been directed to the travellers, out of his own and Forskaal’s papers; and secondly, the whole of his astronomical observations.

One would naturally have expected, that the questions which had induced Michaelis to apply to a foreign state to effect the solution of them, must have been definite and well considered inquiries, even if their number did not amount to a full hundred. This, however, was so little the case, that more than four years after the original proposition, when the travellers sailed from Copenhagen, only *two* unimportant questions had been presented by him. The remaining questions first reached them during their travels, in three different parcels.

More important than all these, without comparison, was the essay prepared by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres at Paris, with that true spirit of oriental philology, for which France has long been distinguished. It contained points of inquiry respecting the history, language, manners and customs, etc. of Yemen; and is to be found appended to the Questions of Michaelis.

As these are now generally known, it may safely be left to

the judgment of every one, whether satisfactory answers, even where it was worth the trouble, could possibly have been given to them? The philologist of the expedition certainly could not have done it in any case; Forskaal, who by the variety of his attainments was the only one adapted to it, made the attempt so far as he could. So long as Forskaal lived, my father, who knew nothing of Hebrew, took part in such inquiries only as incidental; though indeed he neglected nothing merely as being incidental. But after he was left alone, he spared no pains or trouble to procure answers to Michaelis's questions. In this way he accomplished in the widest extent, all which could be demanded of him in this department. He himself acknowledged the amount of what he effected, to be very small; and the modesty of expressions like those in his Preface, might well have averted the hostile thrusts of affected superiority in the *Autobiography of Michaelis*.*

* The remarks of Michaelis here referred to, will be found in the two last paragraphs but one, of the Appendix to this article. In order that the reader may have the whole case before him, so far as it appears from any printed documents, the remarks also of Niebuhr in his Preface, are here subjoined, both in regard to the value of the information collected by him, and the reasons which induced him to abandon his original plan of publication. See his *Description of Arabia*, German edition, Pref. p. xvii—xix.

“Since the greater part of the questions of Michaelis belong to sciences entirely different from those to which I had devoted myself; and as I first received them in full only in August 1764 at Bombay, and consequently more than a year after the death of my two companions, for whom the most of them were intended; there cannot reasonably be required of me so complete an answer to them, as might justly have been expected from my companions. As to the questions which had respect to the Hebrew language, I could do nothing more than shew the words to learned Jews, and note their answers. As these spoke no European language, but only Arabic, it is probable that many of their explanations, even if correct, must have sometimes remained obscure to me; because, although I could converse in Arabic on topics of daily occurrence, I was not yet in a condition to discourse as well in that language on scientific subjects. In respect to all the other questions, I enquired both of Mohammedans and Christians; and it often cost me a great deal of trouble to gain any information at all on these points. For a traveller who remains only a short time in a place, it is often very difficult to get acquainted with persons whom the inhabitants regard as learned; and even when he does sometimes obtain access to them, they are not particularly

As he now found these answers to be too unimportant for separate publication, and therefore properly decided to incorporate them with his larger work ; so other entirely different causes arose, which determined him not to publish separately his astronomical observations.

pleased with being overwhelmed with questions from a stranger. One must therefore ask questions on such topics, only incidentally. To do this requires not only much time and patience, but one must also be very cautious and distrustful in regard to the answers ; because he will find among Orientals also, persons who are ready either purposely or ignorantly to tell untruths, in order to avoid giving a stranger full information at once, or also in order to carry the appearance of knowing every thing. I have indeed endeavoured, so far as I was able, to sift both the accounts and those from whom I received them ; and have commonly made inquiries of more than one person in reference to every question. But still, I am not certain, whether I have not sometimes been put off with incorrect information ; and will therefore gladly change any thing, if such places shall be pointed out to me.

“My first intention was, to publish by itself every thing which I had collected for the illustration of the questions sent us by different learned men.”—“I afterwards sent a copy of all my own observations illustrative of Michaelis’s questions, and of what I had found adapted to this purpose among Forskaal’s papers, to Michaelis himself ; with the request, that he would look it carefully through, strike out and correct what he thought proper, or otherwise give me his remarks upon it in writing ; because I readily believe, that among my answers there are many of little importance, and some of no value at all. I have to regret, however, that he made no corrections of any consequence in my manuscript ; and that I have not yet received the notes, which I expected would have been afterwards forwarded. I have, therefore, not ventured to print the answers to the questions separately ; but, as they also have reference to Arabia, have preferred to incorporate them into my geographical description of that country.”

It is but justice to Michaelis to remark here, that in his review of Niebuhr’s Description of Arabia, (*Oriental. and Exeget. Bibliothek*, Th. iv. p. 64 sq.) he has commented upon the preceding statement of Niebuhr, and assigned the reasons at length why he did not comply with Niebuhr’s request. The reasons themselves are sufficient ; but they are brought forward with the air of a special pleader ; and thus a suspicion is excited, that they were not the only true ones. Michaelis affirms that Niebuhr was indignant at being thus disappointed. The probable inference therefore is, that Niebuhr had good reason to expect a different result.—ED.

I have already related how distrustful he was, in regard to the correctness of his lunar observations and the calculation of them. Had Mayer lived, *he* would have undertaken the examination of them; and when once pronounced correct by him, my father would have given them to the public with confidence. But now, he found no one who was master of Mayer's method, or who was able and willing to calm his timidity by a scientific examination.

It happened, on the contrary, very unfortunately, that Father Hell, who had been sent to observe the transit of Venus at Wardöhuus, near the northern extremity of Norway, resided in 1769 at Copenhagen. Father Hell was certainly a very skilful astronomer; but he was a Jesuit in science also, and disposed to depreciate and suppress the merits of others. As an instance of this, may be adduced the fact, that he took great pains to decry the quadrant which my father had used so constantly and with so great skill, as an insufficient instrument. On this point, however, it is true, he altered his language; for he himself took this very quadrant along with him to Norway. He was a declared opposer of Mayer's method; and since my father felt his superiority as a scientific astronomer, and acknowledged it with entire modesty, Father Hell took advantage of this circumstance to increase his distrust in the value of his observations, and to maintain the consecrated and only saving method by means of the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites. Of these also my father had taken some observations. The geographical readers of his *Travels* will recollect, that the longitude of Loheia is determined by this method, and that my father himself ascribes the calculations to Father Hell. No one ought however to be uninformed, how much his humility operated here also to his disadvantage; nor to conclude that he himself did not know how to calculate those observations. He had indeed already calculated them himself; but as Father Hell took the trouble to calculate them after him, my father, to his own unmerited abasement, ascribed to him the whole of the labour.

Enough of honour would indeed remain to him, both among his contemporaries and posterity, even were this misunderstanding never to be removed. But the impression which the cunning Jesuit thus made upon his mind, operated most injuriously. He did not indeed entirely lose all faith in the observations; but he now doubly distrusted their reception if made public; and therefore thought it his duty to withhold them, until some one

should be found, who would examine and pronounce upon them; a kindness which he received many years afterwards from Bürg.

He came therefore to the conclusion, to mould his materials into the form of the two works which have appeared.

For the publication of these works, Bernstorf afforded him a very liberal aid from the Danish government. All the engravings were made at the expense of the government, and the plates presented to him as his own property. All other expenses he sustained himself; as he had adopted the unfortunate plan of being his own publisher.

While he was thus engaged in preparing his Description of Arabia for the press, the political circumstances of Denmark suddenly changed in a manner the most painful to Niebuhr. Struensee got possession not only of the government, but also of the highest power; and Bernstorf was dismissed. My father did not regard himself as a public person; he never acted, not even on this occasion, in a way to excite notice; but he never denied his zealous attachment to Bernstorf, when all others timidly drew back from the fallen minister. He with a very few other faithful friends accompanied him to Roeskilde.

He never visited Struensee; and never made his appearance on any occasion, where he must have come in contact with the unprincipled rulers of that unheard of epoch. He gave loud utterance to his views and feelings; he rejoiced in the popular movements against these corrupters of their country; and participated in the rejoicings over their fall.

The Description of Arabia appeared at the Michaelmas fair, in the autumn of 1772. A book of this kind could not be generally read; it was adapted rather to comparatively a few. It is however difficult to conceive, how any one could have the face to attack a book so entirely classical, so unmeasurably rich in its contents, and withal so modest in its pretensions, and strive to degrade and trample it under foot, as was done by a reviewer in the *Gelehrte Anzeigen* of Lemgo. Personal enmity must have blinded the eyes and poisoned the mind of the author or instigator; but he accomplished his object, and caused the deepest mortification to a writer unacquainted with the everyday intercourse of literature, and already inclined to despondency by the lukewarm reception of his work.

My father reckoned upon a warmer interest in foreign countries; and for this the French translation, which he himself

published in the following year, appeared to be well calculated. He committed however in this business a twofold error; which augmented still more the influence of the evil star which presided over his bookselling enterprises. The translation ought to have appeared at the same time with the original; but now, a Dutch bookseller had made the same speculation, and his book was published at the same time. However incorrectly and wretchedly the French language is in general written in Holland, and however little credit the translations deserve, which were made there of Niebuhr's work; yet most unfortunately the Copenhagen translation, which was made by a French refugee clergyman, was still worse, and indeed so unreadable, that the novelty of its contents alone could have procured for it readers. My father, who understood French only moderately, could alas! not judge of this; and lost his money in this inconsiderate undertaking.

At this time there arrived at Copenhagen an ambassador sent by the Pacha of Tripoli to several of the northern courts, by the name of Abderrachman Aga. The object of his mission was to demand presents for his master, which the feeble government of Tripoli had at that time neither the power nor the courage to extort. The mission was also a favour to the envoy, who was entertained at free cost by the courts which acknowledged him, and received also presents for himself personally. The ministry at Copenhagen gave him, as a companion and attendant, a man who had formerly been consul in Barbary, and had therefore the reputation of understanding Arabic. With him, however, the Tripolitan, who possessed a good share of understanding, felt the time pass tediously; and indeed this person knew little more of Arabic, than Milphio, in the *Poenulus* of Plautus, did of the Punic. My father, who cherished for the natives of oriental regions the feelings of a countryman, visited him; and rejoiced in an opportunity to hear and speak Arabic, and also to indulge again in the habit, so long laid aside, of making himself acquainted with regions of the Arabian world which he had not himself visited, by information elicited from natives. In this way he made himself acquainted with Tripoli and Barbary. Still more important, however, were the accounts which he received respecting the interior of Africa; and these indeed were the first which had been collected concerning those hidden regions, since the time of John Leo, the African.* For two centuries

* This traveller lived at the close of the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. ED.

and a half, notwithstanding the extensive and frequent intercourse of Europeans with the northern coast and with Egypt, not even the smallest accession had been made to our knowledge of those countries. Geographers, therefore, could only compare and adapt to each other, with more or less critical tact and sagacity, the accounts of the Sherif Edrisi and of Leo, which were separated by an interval of about four hundred years;—and here the power of divination exhibited by D' Anville's genius appears wonderful. My father's accounts were collected sixteen years before the impulse was felt in England for discovery in Africa. They have been most surprisingly confirmed; and are among the most striking proofs of his peculiar talent for geographical investigation. Abderrachman Aga had visited several of the countries and capitals of Europe; but no other person had been found to question him in behalf of science. He was an important and capable witness. He had not, indeed, himself visited the Sahara or the negro countries; but he had traded thither; and besides the interest of the merchant, there was active in him a taste for geographical information, which is very common among the Orientals, and is promoted by the narrow limits within which their topics of conversation are confined. He even understood, in a measure, some of the negro languages; and from him and from a native of Bornou among his attendants, my father collected specimens of these tongues.

The discovery of two great Mohammedan civilized kingdoms in the interior of Africa; the assurance of the Tripolitan, that whoever knew how to travel as an Oriental, would meet with no greater difficulties than in Arabia, and with less fanaticism than in Egypt; an undoubtedly sincere invitation and assurance of all possible recommendation and furtherance; the consciousness of his own acquired adaptedness and habits; yea, even a sort of longing, which is felt also by other Europeans who have been domesticated in oriental nations, to return again to their calm and serious stillness; all this awakened in my father so earnest a desire to travel over Tripoli and Fezzan to the Niger, that he most probably would have undertaken this expedition at his own expense, and without even asking aid from the government, had not the duty of first completing the journal of his former travels held him back. And however great and numerous the dangers which might have threatened him, and which he could not calculate before hand; still, according to all human probability, we may believe, that he would have been successful. The Moor-

ish traders, who were rendered suspicious and jealous by the first subsequent ill planned attempts of the English Society, would have regarded him with no hostility ; and as to the difficulties and dangers of the journey itself, he was as well prepared and practised as a native of the East. His talent for the enterprise was too peculiar, too decided, too well cultivated and developed, not to have assured him success before every other traveller, except Brown.*

But his life was now to take a new direction. Had he remained unmarried, he would have hastened the completion of his works, in order to undertake the attractive adventure already described. But in the mean time, he became acquainted with my mother, the daughter of the deceased Blumenberg, the king's body physician, and betrothed himself to her. It was his first and only love ; and that it was deep and strong is sufficiently attested by the fact, that he sacrificed to it his proposed second journey of discovery, on which he was so passionately bent, and the high enjoyment of living among Orientals.

He was married in the summer of 1773. His wife bore him two children, my sister and myself.

At the Easter fair of the following year, 1774, appeared the first volume of his *Travels*. This gave him occasion to visit the fair in person. But although business might indeed require him to be present at Leipzig, yet it was strictly the desire of making the personal acquaintance of Reiske, which induced him to take this journey. If any scholar of our nation has felt the distress of persecuted excellence, it surely is Reiske ; in whom his contemporaries least of all perceived, that it was the very extent and fulness of his genius which caused his learning here and there to appear incomplete ; and that whatever might seem peevish and unamiable in himself or his writings, was excited by the bitter feeling of being trodden under foot by the tyranny of envious and more successful literary rivals. I say it not without pride, that Lessing and my father alone shewed due honour to this distinguished man while living ; and my father has publicly given his testimony, that no where, not even among the Arabians themselves, had he found a philologist so thoroughly acquainted with their literature.

Notwithstanding the unpleasant experience which he had in regard to his own works, he yet felt it to be his duty to become

* It will be recollected that this was written in 1816.

also the publisher of the works of his friend Forskaal on natural history. This office of friendship occasioned him more loss than any of his literary undertakings; the sale was so incredibly small. The manuscripts could not be printed without being first arranged; nor could my father undertake the task of reducing them to order; as he was a stranger in natural history, and not sufficiently acquainted with the Latin language. He put the business into the hands of a Swedish scholar, and paid him a very considerable sum for his labour. This Swede was a singular man; and among other things prevailed upon my father, by entreaty, to let the preface appear under his name; a compliance which afterwards was a source of great vexation to him. Of the uncommon value of these overlooked and forgotten works I have already spoken.

Already rendered despondent by the important sums which he had lost, or at least had put out of his power for a long time, through his publications, he delayed somewhat longer the publication of the second volume of his *Travels*, which first appeared in 1778. According to his plan, the narrative of his journey was to have been completed in this second volume. He broke off, however, with his arrival at Aleppo. The remainder of his journey, dissertations respecting the Turkish empire and the Mohammedan religion, accounts of Abyssinia which he had collected in Yemen, and also those respecting Soudan which he had gathered from Abderrachman Aga, and finally his astronomical observations, were intended by him to constitute a third volume, which he then expected might follow very soon, but which has never appeared; although he was so often admonished in relation to it, by those who honoured and respected him. The causes which intervened to prevent its being put to press, will appear in the sequel.

My father lived very contentedly at Copenhagen in the bosom of his family and a small circle of friends; but the loss which the removal of Bernstorf occasioned to him, was never again made up. Misunderstandings and disunion troubled afterwards for a time his external tranquillity; and as vexations of a general nature could easily make him discontented with any residence or any station, he began now to long for a removal from the place where, for ten years, he had lived so pleasantly. In addition to this, also, he learned that General Huth had the intention of sending him to Norway, to aid as engineer in the geographical admeasurement of that country. Such a mission

was to him in the highest degree unpleasant; he was unwilling to be separated from his family, and could not take them with him among the wild Norwegian mountains. He sought therefore an opportunity of retiring from the military service, and of obtaining some situation in Holstein in the civil department.

The government willingly acceded to his wish in this respect also; and he received the appointment of *Landschreiber** at Meldorf; an office of which the duties, at that time, were not burdensome.

He removed with his family in the summer of 1778 to this place, where he continued to reside until his death, and which thus became in one sense my native city.

Meldorf, formerly the rich and populous capital of the ancient republic Ditmarsh, is now sunk into decay and desolation; first, through repeated capture, plundering, and conflagration, during the wars of subjugation; and then, by the sufferings of a close siege during the thirty years' war, and by the scarcity of provisions in the general decay under which the region pined from 1628 until the rise in the prices of grain in 1790. Many remains of the good old time, serve mournfully to remind him who is acquainted with its history, of those prosperous days now irretrievably lost. Still and forsaken as the place was, there was at the time of my father's removal thither, no opportunity of social intercourse, such as was directly suited to his character and habits; for alas! he was no philologist, and continued a stranger to the excellent man (Jäger) who is still the ornament of the place, until I afterwards came to be indebted to him for my philological education.

Meanwhile he made all his arrangements as if for life. He built a house, which corresponds to his character in the old fashioned strength and thickness of its walls; he planted also a fruit garden, from whose trees, however, he hardly expected, in his then feeble state of health, ever to gather fruit; but of which he outlived the greater number. In these occupations, and in making himself acquainted with the country, several years passed away, in which he already began to lose sight of the completion of his Travels. Indeed, this work became to him more and more the source of painful feelings, the nearer he was able to estimate the loss which he had sustained from it, and the more conscious he became of the great indifference which prevailed respecting it in Germany.

* A species of clerkship peculiar to the country.—ED.

About the same time, also, he met with another loss, which made him, as the father of a family, still more scrupulous as to the propriety of sacrificing a portion of his still remaining property, in behalf of a thankless undertaking. The stock-mania sometimes seizes upon the considerate and sober-minded but inexperienced man, no less than upon the light-minded and those who have a passion for gaming; just as epidemic pestilences sweep off both the strong and the weak together. During the American war, this rage for stocks prevailed at Copenhagen, and was encouraged and promoted by delusive appearances. My father also was persuaded to purchase some Asiatic stock, and to wait for its still farther advance, when it was already driven to an unreasonable and unfounded height; until at last he lost considerable sums.

Many circumstances seemed to combine, at that time, to disturb his serenity. He himself, as a native of a marsh region, enjoyed good health in the climate of Ditmarsh; but my mother, like all strangers, suffered from fever; and the delicate health of her sensitive frame was by degrees wholly undermined.—My father too, for many years, although indeed less uninterruptedly of late, had occupied himself with the composition and arrangement of his works; this now ceased. For the same object, too, he had read much. But now he was in a place where he saw no work whatever, unless he procured it for himself. The void which arose from all these circumstances, pressed heavily upon his spirits, already uneasy and disquieted; and he felt it so much the more, because this fixed residence in one place, where every day brought with it nothing of novelty, was contrary and hostile to his nature, to those impulses which had led him abroad, and to the habits of a long and multifarious experience. What he wanted, could be made good by no books; and since he came to no explanation with himself as to the source of his feelings, they tormented him in the shape of a gloomy despondency. The direction of his mind was turned exclusively to the historical knowledge of what exists at present on the earth. Even the history of the past was for him a secondary object. In consequence of this peculiarity, astronomy also, his own proper science, had charms for him only on account of the aid which it affords to geography. In building his house, he had arranged a chamber as an observatory; and he made here, and elsewhere in Holstein, observations for determining the geographical position of places. Afterwards, however, he es-

tranged himself more and more from this occupation; and the instruments of his journey were at last preserved only as relics.

It was therefore highly gratifying and advantageous to him, when, a few years after his settlement at Meldorf, Boie also came thither as *Landvogt*.* As editor of the periodical work, *das Deutsche Museum*, the latter stood in very extensive literary relations and connexions, which at that time had a degree of life and vivacity now unknown. He was also very rich in personal acquaintances. Both these circumstances brought to my father also many and various interesting materials for intellectual occupation. There arose between the two men,—and also, when Boie married, between the two families,—a most intimate and daily intercourse, interwoven indeed with the fixed course of life. Through Boie, and in his house, my father became also acquainted with men, who otherwise would never have thought of visiting this remote corner. In this way Voss became his acquaintance and friend.

Another and not less important advantage to my father, which the residence of Boie at Meldorf brought with it, was, that the latter possessed a very valuable and extensive library, which he was constantly increasing through the publication of his *Museum*. The greater part of this library was, indeed, foreign to my father's taste and pursuits, and therefore indifferent to him; still, however, there was much which interested him, and afforded him occupation.

One consequence of this new relation was, that he was induced to commit to paper many essays, to which the circumstances of the times gave occasion, for the *Museum*; and to give up for publication in that journal dissertations, which were lying by him for his own third volume. This last circumstance was, in more than one respect, disadvantageous. It weakened more and more the purpose of giving that volume to the public, and broke up and scattered its contents,—there was now so much of what ought to appear as new and important in it, given away beforehand. My father, too, who never wrote for the press with ease, nor without the fear of committing errors of language or construction, was now rendered so much the more anxious, because Boie,—to whom he submitted his manuscripts for correction, as

* This is also a peculiar title, sometimes given to the chief magistrate of a province or district. Ed.

he had done formerly to a friend in Copenhagen,—as a rhetorician, not only expunged the small spots which were possibly there, but so corrected and altered the manuscripts throughout, that my father now regarded himself more and more decidedly, as wholly incapable of writing. In this he was wrong; for just those essays which no other hand has touched, bear in themselves a dignified elegance, because they exhibit exactly his mode of speaking; and it is only a corrupted taste, at least among us northern Germans, that can take offence at the occasional Low German idioms, which sometimes glimmer through his style, and sometimes stand fully out to view.

In the mean time his children were growing up, and he occupied himself with our education. He instructed us both in geography, and related to us much from history. He taught me English and French, better at any rate than any instructor who could be found in such a place; something also of mathematics; and would have gone much farther in this science, had not, alas! my want of taste and inclination destroyed his pleasure. There was this circumstance, indeed, connected with all his instructions, viz. that he, who from youth up never had an idea, how any one could do otherwise than seize and hold fast all proffered instruction with the utmost joy and perseverance, became indisposed to teach, so soon as he saw us inattentive and indisposed to learn. As too the first instruction which I received in Latin, before I had the good fortune to become the pupil of Jäger, was very imperfect, he helped me in this also, and read with me Caesar's Commentaries, while I was yet a boy. Here too the peculiar turn of his mind shewed itself, in that he drew my attention more to ancient geography than to the history itself. The ancient *Gallia* of D'Anville, for whom he had a most peculiar veneration, always lay before us; and I was required to find every place named, and to specify its position. His instruction was grammatical in no respect whatever. He had acquired the languages, so far as he knew them, by the eye and by total impressions; not by grammatical analysis. It was also his opinion, that no one deserves to learn what he does not mostly acquire for himself; so that the teacher ought to assist only in general, and help the pupil only out of those difficulties, which are to be solved in no other way. These two circumstances were probably the reason, why his attempt to instruct me in Arabic would not succeed, to his great disappointment and my mortification; since he had already too long left off speaking that language to

communicate it to me in that oral manner ; and in no other way could it be taught without the grammar. When I learned it of my own accord, at a later period, and sent him translations, he was highly delighted.

I have a very lively recollection of many stories out of my boyish years, about the system of the universe and about the East ; when he used to take me upon his knee at evening before going to bed, and feed me with such food, instead of children's fables. The history of Mohammed, of the first Caliphs, and especially of Omar and Ali, for whom he felt the profoundest veneration ; that of the conquests and extension of Islamism, of the virtues of the early heroes of the new faith, the history of the Turks,—all these impressed themselves early and in the most pleasing colours on my mind. The historical works which treat of these subjects, were also almost the first books which came into my hands.

I recollect also, about my tenth year, how at Christmas, in order to give the festival still more importance in my eyes, he brought out and read with me the manuscripts, which contained the accounts collected by him respecting Africa. These and his other manuscripts were kept in an ornamented coffer, which was venerated by the children and inmates of the house like a second ark. He had taught me to draw maps ; and encouraged and aided by him, maps of Abyssinia and Soudan were soon sketched.

It was also a most welcome present, when I brought him, on his birth days, geographical accounts of oriental countries, compiled as well as could be expected of a child, or also translations from books of travels. He at first had no other wish, than that I might become his successor as a traveller in the East. But the influence of a very tender and anxious mother upon my physical education, destroyed this plan in its foundation. At her persuasion also, he afterwards gave up the thought which he had still cherished, of partially returning to the original plan. It had always been a favourite idea with him, to take advantage of the distinguished good-will which was felt towards him in England, and of the services which he had rendered to the East India Company in reference to the navigation of the upper part of the Red sea, in order to procure for me, as soon as I was old enough, an appointment in India. In this perhaps he might have been successful. With this idea, the frustration of which was afterwards as pleasing to him as to myself, much of his instruc-

tion was connected. Thus he made use chiefly of English books of instruction, put English works of all kinds into my hands, and very early also regular files of English newspapers;—circumstances which I mention here, not because they have had a decided influence upon my riper life, but because they serve to exhibit his character.

With the utmost indulgence and interest, he was accustomed to fall in with the half intelligent, half childish, suggestions which were made by me. He built with me castles in the air, conversed with me on every thing which the times brought with them, and gave me ideas and ocular demonstration on every topic on which we conversed. Thus in fortification, for example, he aided me to lay out, measure off, and dig out polygons under his own eye, with books and plans at hand.

In the winter of 1788, Herder sent him the small treatise *Persepolis*,* the contents of which interested him exceedingly; and because they interested him so much, they were therefore the more gratefully surprising to him, as the first token, after many years, that he was not wholly forgotten by his countrymen. From this time onwards, however, tokens of acknowledgment became less and less rare, even in Germany.

The war with the Turks, which broke out about this time, excited in him also a lively interest, and gave occasion to several essays. Warmly as he loved the Arabs, and although at bottom, and in accordance with his peculiar disposition, the Arabs of Medina, Bagdad, and Cordova, under the Caliphs, were strictly the people of his heart; just so warmly did he hate the stiff and arrogant Turks,—partly too as the tyrants of his Arabs,—and desired ardently that they might be expelled from the Happy Land† which under them has become a desert. Yet he did not wish the French to have the honour of this conquest; nor did he, during the Egyptian expedition, through his intimate knowledge of what Egypt had been, was, and might become, permit his mind to swerve from his fixed anticipations. From the French, according to his conviction, no ultimate good would result to other nations.

The vicinity of his native place was one of the circumstances, which rendered a residence in Ditmarsh particularly pleasant to him. Of his relatives, his half-brother Bartold Niebuhr, and

* See Herder's Werke, zur Philosophie u. Geschichte, Band I.—Ed.

† Arabia Felix, or Yemen.—Ed.

his sister's son H. W. Schmeelke, were the nearest and dearest. The first, who was several years younger than himself, was a country farmer in good circumstances, and died unmarried long before my father. He was a man of uncommon capacity; and although he only as it were visited the school, and never exerted himself while there, because every thing was so easy to him, yet he had acquired Latin enough, to understand the poets. "What are you reading there, uncle?" said his nephew to him one day, as he found him with the Latin Georgics. "I have got me some bees," he replied, "and I wish to see what Virgil has written about them."* As he once saw my father in his uniform, as an officer of engineers, he placed himself before him, viewed him closely, smiled and said, "Brother, this becomes you very well; but yet you serve, and I am a free man."—Schmeelke, who was for a time burgomaster in Otterndorf, was ever my father's favourite; and even before his departure for Arabia, he had devised to him the greater part of his property, as his brother did not need it. Uncle and nephew visited each other not unfrequently; and in Hadeln my father's heart expanded itself fully. There was no relative so remote, no one connected with any of his youthful acquaintances, whose circumstances he did not know and retain in memory with the most minute accuracy.

The appearance of the long expected *Travels of Bruce*, (1790,) was an important event in our monotonous life. My father never belonged to that class of excessive doubters, who were ready to contend that Bruce had never been in Abyssinia at all. He read the book without prejudice; and his judgment was precisely that which has since been confirmed, without farther revision, by the second Edinburgh edition and by Salt's two journies. In an article inserted in the new *Deutsches Museum*, he shewed that Bruce had taken the pretended determinations of the latitude on the Arabian gulf directly from him; that the conversation with Ali Bey was palpably an invention; and so too the pretended voyage over the Red sea to the region about Bab-el-mandeb, as also a similar one along the coast southward from

* The Low German (Platt Deutsch) of the original is interesting, as approaching much nearer to the English than the corresponding High German. "Ohm, wat list he da?" "Ik heb mi Immen tholegt, un ik wil doch seen, wat Virgilius davon schrift."—So in the other quotation: "Broder, dat steit di wul gut, aver du deenst doch, un ik bin een frien Mann!"—ED.

Cossîr. He further declared, that, along with these gross untruths, other parts of the Travels bore the stamp of entire credibility, and must be believed.*

About the same time he was also led, partly from indignation and partly in sport, to give his views of Witte's dreams respecting the origin of the pyramids and of Persepolis, as being *lusus naturae*, rather than works of art.†

About 1791 he was gratified by a letter from his old friend Dr Russell, who was about to publish a new edition of the Description of Aleppo, and requested with this view a copy of my father's plan of that city. He, of course, did not refuse it; and Dr Russell has much improved it, by adding the most important buildings, correcting the drawings of the principal streets, and omitting the others. Indeed all my father's plans of cities, except that of Cairo, which is as accurate as that of any European city, are not to be regarded as exact, as he himself has remark-

* In a recent work entitled *Lives of celebrated Travellers*, which contains also a biography of Niebuhr, I have regretted to observe some very superficial and flippant remarks on the above statement respecting Bruce. Every one at all acquainted with the subject, knows that this judgment of Niebuhr is in general the correct one; that Mr Bruce, although he usually places facts as the basis of his narrative, is yet very careless and often wide of the truth in regard to the colouring and details; and sometimes has even not hesitated to make a wilful sacrifice of the truth. This last has been shown incontestibly to be the case, by Mr Salt, out of Bruce's own mouth; while the general negligence and high colouring of his manner is well accounted for by Mr Murray, the celebrated geographer, when he remarks, that "no cause can be assigned for that confusion, except the extreme indolence with which Mr Bruce composed his work, about sixteen years after the events which are the subjects of it.—In the latter part of his days, he seems to have viewed the numerous adventures of his active life *as in a dream*, not in their natural state as to time and place, but under the pleasing and arbitrary change of memory melting into imagination." (Bruce's Travels, Edinb. ed. VII. p. 73. Compare Salt's Travels in Abyssinia, Phil. 1816. p. 259 sq.) The remarks of the author of the superficial *Lives* above mentioned, are indeed directed more against Lord Valentia and Mr Salt, than against Niebuhr. He seems not to have been capable of forming a correct estimate of Niebuhr's worth as a *scientific* traveller; his standard of value is *entertainment*, rather than truth and accuracy; and hence, in his view, Bruce bears away the palm from most if not all other travellers. Ed.

† See the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, 1790, No. 223, 224. Ed.

ed, except in respect to the external circuit, the gates, and the principal edifices so far as specified. It was no happy thought,—because it might easily lead to error,—that induced him to insert conjecturally the streets, which there was indeed no time to measure, and which it would not have been advisable even to have attempted to survey.

This renewed correspondence with Dr Russell gave rise to another with Major Rennell, who was preparing a new map of Asia, and requested the communication of his still unpublished travelling charts through Syria and Natolia. These he received at once and without scruple, from a liberality which felt no jealousy. Marsden also testified his respect towards him, by sending him the History of Sumatra.—After the correspondence with Rennell had continued for some time, my father sent him a few of his observations of lunar distances, the examination and sanction of which was to him a matter of so much concern, in order to induce Maskelyne to undertake this labour. But the attempt was unsuccessful.

I forsake here the strict chronological arrangement, in order to speak of his correspondence with two distinguished French scholars, which, if I do not mistake, commenced some years later. The Baron Silvestre De Sacy, in deciphering the Pehlvi inscriptions of Nakshi-Rustam, had become acquainted with the surprising accuracy of my father's delineations; and the latter, who entertained for the author of that philological master-piece the highest respect, felt also grateful to him, because his own labours, which lay dead so long as they were unexplained, were now called into life. Between two persons so indebted to each other, there easily arose a pleasing correspondence. De Sacy was then occupied with a condensed translation of the *Bark el Yemen*, or the History of the Turkish Conquest of Yemen. In this labour he made use of my father's geographical notices in the Description of Arabia, and of his map of the Imam's kingdom; and had found the very unexpected result, that all the places named in that history, with the exception of two villages in Tehama, were accurately given in those works. So far as the map was made out from the journey itself, this is less surprising, than in respect to the far greater number of places which rest merely upon the comparison of different accounts of bearings and distances; here we must acknowledge the critical tact and sagacity which, in the multitude of varying accounts, could so correctly determine which to follow, according to the degree of their internal credibility.

Out of this correspondence there arose in the sequel another, which also was very gratifying to my father, viz. with the learned, active, and sagacious geographer, Barbié du Bocage. He requested and received from my father materials for a map of Natolia; not only the position of places as determined by astronomical observations, but also itineraries which he had written down from the information of the caravan-guides.

In November 1792 my father was brought near to the grave by pleurisy, and recovered only by slow degrees. In consequence of his full habit of body, this fixed and almost sedentary life for so many years, had prepared the way for severe sickness and a long interruption of his health. In the following year he spit blood. He was not positively ill, but without energy, low spirited, out of humour, breathed with difficulty, and walked only with great effort. Another complaint also increased his anxiety. Several years before, there had appeared under his right eye a small excrescence like a wart, which continued to spread slowly but constantly, and was only made worse by all the means employed to remove it. The physicians regarded it with the more solicitude, because they durst not venture upon its extirpation. After many years of anxiety and trouble, a remedy was at length found in 1796, by which it was loosened and removed, roots and all. After this, on the completion of his sixty-sixth year, his health, and with it his frame of mind, took a most happy turn. Circumstances induced him to purchase some marsh lands about an hour's distance from his house, and to undertake the reclamation of them for tillage. It was refreshing to him, thus to return to the employments of his youth; he sketched plans for making these lands productive, prosecuted them with youthful ardor, and promised himself the best success;—planted trees, dug drains and ditches, and so purchased by degrees a large estate. The result disappointed his hopes; a large sum was lost here also. Still, in this case, it is not to be regretted; for not only does much remain in a state of improvement and tillage; but the old age of my father was, without doubt, by this means prolonged and rendered more serene. He took much and active exercise, visited the newly planned farm now on foot and now on horseback, and inspected indefatigably every spot, where any thing was to be done or directions to be given. As the fields were separated by broad ditches, in order to shorten the distances he often made use of a leaping-staff; to the use of which he had been accustomed from childhood. He had now so

renewed his strength, that, with the aid of such a staff, *Klurv-staaken*, he was able in his seventieth year to spring over ditches ten feet wide.

These and similar occupations diverted his attention in a measure from a misfortune, which had previously, and for some years, given him great uneasiness. The engraved plates both of his published works and also for the still unpublished part, had been deposited in the house of a friend at Copenhagen, which was reduced to ashes in the great conflagration of June 1795. All were destroyed; and with these he now lost all courage and inclination to supply the deficient volume.

An opportunity, it is true, presented itself soon after, of making its contents known to the world, if not directly for Germany. In England, where he was so well known, that almost every one who heard my name mentioned, inquired very particularly and cordially after my father; and where his works, at least in Heron's abridgement, were so extensively circulated that I have myself found them in the possession of many country people, and an acquaintance met with them even in the Isle of Mull;—in England, the inquiry was made of me very pressing, whether he would not publish this volume there in the English language? He declined this, however, partly because he regarded the making of a copy to be sent to me for translation, as more difficult than it really was; and partly because, with all his cordiality for England, he regarded it as unjust and improper, not to let the conclusion of his work appear first in the German language and in Denmark, to which it properly belonged, through the ministry which occasioned its existence.—The same proposition was more than once repeated at a later period. First in 1802; and since I foresaw that he now would never prepare a German edition, and because at that time his mind had been entirely tranquillized in regard to his observations for the longitude, I besought him urgently to send me the manuscript, and permit the translation. My purpose was to connect with it a translation of one of the Arabic manuscripts sent home by him, and now in the royal library at Copenhagen, viz. the *History of Zebid*, which contains a complete history of Yemen from the division of the Caliphate down through the middle ages; further, to extract from Forskaal's shamefully neglected works on natural history all which did not relate to botany; and also to compile a general map of Arabia. My father, however, persevered in his refusal; which he afterwards regretted. During

the campaign in East Prussia, the Earl of Donoughmore, at that time Lord Hutchinson, who cherished towards him a great respect, made through me similar propositions to him, and was desirous of arranging the whole business on the most favourable conditions, according to the standard of the relation which exists between authors and publishers in England. But at that time I no longer had the opportunity of making those historical additions to the Description of Arabia; the language had become less familiar; the sending of the manuscript to me was quite hazardous; and the transmission of the translation to England, from the tyrannical prohibition of all intercourse, was dangerous.

In the *Monthly Correspondence* of Baron von Zach, my father found some views and opinions respecting Mayer's method of determining the longitude, which he had little expected, living as he did in a remote corner, where the further developement of this science had remained unknown to him. Agreeably surprised at this circumstance, he made known to Baron von Zach the existence of his own observations, the earliest which had been undertaken in accordance with this system, and offered to communicate them. The readers of the Baron von Zach's Journal know how this offer was received by him and Bürg, and what judgment they pronounced, after his observations had been calculated by the more perfect tables of Bürg. This treasure for the geography of Asia is now preserved in that work.

The consolation not to have laboured in vain and no longer to remain the subject of unjust misapprehension, sweetened the decline of life. He was highly gratified by the distinction conferred upon him in 1802 by the French Institute, in choosing him as one of their foreign members; for although his dislike to the nation had been rendered still stronger by their revolution, by their conquests so full of woe to Germany, and by their now confirmed and tyrannical sovereignty, yet he ever acknowledged that no learned society could be compared in dignity and splendour with the National Institute of that period.

Another grateful occurrence of this period was, that through the favour of the then crown prince, now king of Denmark, an addition was made to his salary, corresponding to the increase in the expense of living which had occurred in Holstein since his first appointment.

From the time when this prince took the direction of the government, my father had ever enjoyed his decided good-will, but

without ever taking advantage of it to obtain any favour for himself. And although the celebrated traveller might perhaps be the first object of this good-will, yet the civil officer deserved it no less. His official duties, which consisted mostly in receiving and keeping the accounts of taxes, was certainly not of an agreeable kind, nor strictly appropriate to a man like him. He discharged them, however, with indefatigable diligence and fidelity. The mildness and indulgence of his conduct towards those from whom taxes were due, often at the hazard of personal loss and sometimes with personal loss to himself, as the increasing burden of the imposts converted even the active and industrious farmer into a tardy paymaster, acquired for him the gratitude of the subjects; while the order and extreme conscientiousness, with which he discharged his official duties, secured to him the praise of the government.

From the time of his appointment till the year 1802, the duties of his office remained nearly the same. But from that period they were augmented, in proportion as the necessities of the finances gave occasion to the levying of new imposts. The first of the increasing multitude was a new tax on land and improvements; for which the old registers had to be thrown aside, and new estimates and registers prepared. In the commission appointed for this purpose in our district, my father, in consequence of his official relations and his personal ardour, was the most active, and indeed almost the only acting member. In order to judge of the magnitude of this duty, one must conceive of a district of 24000 inhabitants, all country people; where the property is all in the hands of the peasantry, and mostly divided up into small farms,—the smaller, the more productive the marshes. My father himself revised all the estimates, heard and decided upon the claims for abatement. He laboured thus, during his seventy-first and seventy-second years, till late in the night; and persevered in this course notwithstanding the failure of his eyesight. The reader will recollect, that his eyes had suffered greatly in consequence of the drawings which he made at Persepolis; they had received a sudden and more fatal injury through an unfortunate imprudence in taking a solar observation, where he had forgotten to put the coloured glass in its place. Egypt also and the desert had, in this respect, left permanent effects behind. But these night labours were incurable. He soon became unable to read; while for writing, he required a very strong light, and even then the lines often ran into each other.

This blindness, in regard to the unceasing progress of which he did not deceive himself, was a source of great affliction to him; especially as it threatened soon to reduce him to the necessity of resigning his office. Providence happily so ordered it, that he was relieved from this necessity.

My mother died in 1807, after many years of asthmatical sufferings, which finally terminated in a tedious dropsy of the chest. Her daughter and widowed sister, who for the last twelve years had again lived with my parents, were now relieved from the exclusive cares required by her sick bed, and were free henceforth to live wholly for the declining years of the hoary-headed man. My sister did not limit herself to this; she took charge of such duties, as he himself could no longer perform. This however was not sufficient; since his eye-sight continued to fail more and more, and what he wrote even with the greatest pains, was almost wholly illegible.

We and all his friends regarded it as one of the most pleasing rewards of his honourable and useful life, that a friend was found, who undertook the business of his office with the affection and devotedness of a son. His present successor, Gloyer, had been led to make the acquaintance of my father by a lively taste for geographical knowledge; to which indeed we are indebted for his very valuable and instructive *Fragments upon the East Indies*, chiefly upon the Indian system of imposts. This direction of mind rendered his intercourse so pleasant to my father, that the latter, finding his new friend was bound by no other duties, proposed to him to become his assistant and a member of his household. Gloyer acceded to his wish; and the government, at my father's request, (September 1810,) officially recognised his friend as his assistant in office. Gloyer now divided the duties with my sister; and I repeat it, the consolation of being able to entrust to such a friend and such a daughter the honour and duty of transacting his official business, was one of the kindest rewards of Providence. My father felt it to be so. But he did not suffer himself to become a stranger to those duties; he continued to retain the thread of them unbroken, long after he became blind; every thing was read and discussed in his presence. In Gloyer's conversation and daily intercourse, many an image of the East which had become indistinct, revived again; and he also read aloud to my father, or repeated to him the contents of new works and books of travels. This was for him, without comparison, the most at-

tractive of all recreations. When I could relate, in my letters to him, something from the mouth of a traveller recently returned from the East, or out of some book of travels which I had received, but which was yet unknown upon the continent, his spirit seemed to revive again from the very bottom of his soul; and he dictated an answer full of the vivid perceptions of his own mind. The more recent notices also of this kind, impressed themselves deeply and distinctly upon his mind until his death, just as in a more youthful memory; and united themselves with the results of his own observation and experience.

To myself the happiness was denied of contributing to cheer his declining age in any other way than by such communications; for which indeed the materials became ever more and more scanty, in consequence of the shutting up of the continent. It was however very gratifying to us both, that my entrance into the Prussian service was connected with various journeys on public business, which afforded me more frequent opportunities of visiting him. Our visits always made him happy; and the filial and affectionate tenderness of my (first) wife, which he received and returned in a manner quite unusual with him, rendered these visits seasons of peculiar felicity.

Among the pleasing enjoyments of his old age, must also be reckoned the intercourse with a family nearly related to us, and which had removed to his place of residence; indeed its members were to him as children and grandchildren. Universally loved and revered, he numbered also many other friends, whose intercourse was very dear to him. But all these sources of cheerfulness to the soul, were so much the more important to him, the more heavily the ills of age continued to press upon his corporeal frame. With a phlegmatic temperament, his person was yet stout and very full-blooded; and occasional blood-letting had now become the more indispensable to him, because his constitution had been for many years habituated to it. Unhappily he took it into his head, that he ought to omit this on account of his great age; and could not be induced by any warnings or representations to give up this idea, until dizziness, apoplectic stupor, and spitting of blood, had brought him into the most imminent danger. These symptoms, which began to shew themselves about the time of my mother's death, returned afterwards, in a greater or less degree, almost every spring and autumn; until in October 1813 he was seized with a violent hemorrhage through the nose; against which, nevertheless, his strong constitution was able to hold out.

With no weariness of life, but yet satiated with life, he often expressed himself during that great year, as ready and desirous to depart and rejoin his wife, if God should call him; yet he would gladly wait and learn how the destiny of the world would be decided, and gladly once more see his absent children.

His wishes were fulfilled. But first he had to experience the visitation of the hostile irruption into Holstein.* But the distress and anxiety which this brought with it, were by no means equal to the heartfelt joy with which he regarded the general deliverance and the triumph of Germany and her allies.—The position of Ditmarsh, at a distance from any great road, and where only light troops could be sent, occasioned more danger of military excesses. Meldorf indeed was actually alarmed in this manner by a detachment of Mecklenburg troops, with which a rapacious commissary, through threats of plunder and conflagration, extorted a contribution. To avoid the occurrence of similar atrocities, General von Clausewitz, then a colonel in the German legion, provided my father with a guard.

One of the tokens of increasing feebleness, and a consequence of the apoplectic symptoms above mentioned, was a weakness in one of his legs, which several times occasioned a misstep or slip. This circumstance, although unpleasant, yet remained without evil consequences; until by an unfortunate fall in the beginning of March 1814 his right leg received an injury, which resulted in permanent lameness. He was never afterwards able to place his foot upon the ground; he could move only with pain by the help of others; he was taken out of bed only in the afternoon and placed in a chair with rollers. He probably cherished for a long time the hope of recovery; but so great was his patience, that even the distrust which must unavoidably have forced itself upon his mind against this hope, could not disturb his saint-like composure and resignation. Gratitude towards Gloyer, who assisted in moving him, and who was unwearied and even inventive in his endeavours to occupy and cheer him, as also towards my sister who devoted herself wholly to him, towards his sister-in-law, and towards every one who showed him kindness, rendered his situation even happy.

Thus we found him in the autumn of 1814; and a more pleasing image could not remain to us, separated from him as

* This refers to the expedition of Bernadotte against the French and Danish corps in Holstein, after the battle of Leipzig in 1813. ED.

we were necessarily again. All his features, with the extinguished eyes, had the expression of the highest weary old age of an extremely strong constitution. One could not behold a more venerable sight. Thus a Cossack, who during the war found his way as an unbidden guest into the chamber where the silver-haired patriarch sat with uncovered head, was so struck with the sight, that he manifested towards him the highest reverence, and treated the house with sincere respect and good-will. The serenity of his temper was unbroken; and he often repeated, how gladly he could now go home, since all that he had wished to live for, was accomplished. Indeed, had his life been spared a few months longer, he would have felt the bitterest grief from the death of his beloved daughter-in-law; an event which none of us at that time anticipated as so very near, though fearful that it must be looked for at a period not far remote.

A numerous and still unbroken family circle were gathered around him; and he himself, except perhaps when some day of particular illness occurred, was full of heartfelt joy over the change of times, and ever ready to converse. We succeeded in drawing from him continued recitals of his travels; which he at this time gave us with peculiar fulness and sprightliness. Thus he once spoke for a long time and much in detail of Persepolis; and described the walls on which the inscriptions and bas-reliefs of which he spoke, were found, just as one would describe a building which he had recently visited. We could not conceal our astonishment. He said to us, that as he lay thus blind upon his bed, the images of all that he had seen in the East were ever present to his soul; and it was therefore no wonder that he should speak of them as of yesterday. In like manner there was vividly reflected to him, in the hours of stillness, the nocturnal view of the deep Asiatic heavens, with their brilliant host of stars, which he had so often contemplated; or else their blue and lofty vault by day; and this was his greatest enjoyment.

Once more, in the beginning of winter, he was seized with a hemorrhage through the nose so violently, that those around him expected his death; but this also he survived. Towards the end of April 1815, the obstruction which he had long suffered in the chest from phlegm, grew much worse. His friendly physician alleviated the difficulty, which, as his family supposed, was more troublesome than dangerous. Towards evening on the 26th of April 1815, he desired some one to read to him, and asked several questions with entire consciousness. He fell again into a slumber, and died without a struggle.

His funeral was attended by a multitude of people from every part of the district. In the memory of the oldest inhabitants, no one had died there so universally lamented. The interment was solemnized with all the honours, by which their veneration and affection could be testified.

He had reached the age of eighty-two years and six weeks. Besides the Danish title of Counsellor of State, and others connected with his office, he was Member of the Academy of Sciences at Göttingen, of the Swedish and Norwegian Societies, and of the Society of Natural History; and was also Foreign Associate of the French National Institute.

In person he was almost under the middle size, very strong and robust, until his fortieth year spare, but afterwards thick-set and corpulent. There is only one engraving of him extant, prefixed to a volume of the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, badly executed from a tolerable portrait out of that earlier epoch. His form and air, the large head, the short neck, his motions, all gave him an entirely oriental appearance. Had one seen him among Arabs from behind, in the oriental costume, especially while walking in conversation and moving his hands, it would have been difficult to distinguish him as an European. This has often occurred to me, when I have turned in the streets to look after Moors from Barbary.

He was in the utmost degree frugal; to which indeed he had been accustomed from his earliest youth. As a countryman, he drank nothing but water and milk. At a later period, and only because he every where followed the customs of those with whom he associated, he drank a very little wine. He had no favourite dishes, except the peasants' food of his native place.

He was, and remained all his life long, a genuine peasant; with all the virtues, and with the lighter faults, of his native condition. It cannot be denied that he was self-willed; it was extremely difficult to draw him off or persuade him from an idea which he had once adopted; he always returned back again to the same. With equal firmness, also, he retained his prejudices for or against persons. But it was this same perseverance which gave him power to fulfil his calling, during the most important season of his life.

His character was without a spot; his morals in the highest degree severe and pure. In all the relations of life he was unassuming and yielding.

His mind was wholly bent on direct perception and observa-

tion. Abstraction and speculation were foreign to his nature. He could conceive of nothing but as concrete. As to books, in respect to the truth of the contents he was without indulgence; the simplest form was to him the most pleasant. With poetry he was unacquainted, excepting Homer in the translation of Voss, Hermann and Dorothea, and the popular songs of the country. He was pleased with the romances of Fielding and Smollet; others he had never read. He was interested in architecture, indifferent towards painting and sculpture, but a lover of music.

He lived only to observe, and to store his mind with the fruits of his observation. A friend of the same age, who made a short journey with him when they were already both old, remarked in silence and loved afterwards to relate, how in the fields and villages he always found something to notice, and always knew how to elicit the information he wanted. In his sixty-eighth year he visited the same friend at his own house, where he had never been before. The morning after his arrival, he caused the door to be unlocked for him at four o'clock; and before breakfast he had walked through and around the whole city, and had so impressed the image of it on his mind, that from his description they could name to him every edifice and every house respecting which he made inquiries.

With this exclusive propensity and direction of mind, he was not uneasy in regard to the things of the invisible world. He advanced towards those unknown regions in the fulness of a pure conscience. He believed in the interpositions of an overruling Providence for himself and his family; because he thought he had evidently experienced them in the course of his life. It is remarkable, that this man, so little under the power of imagination, during the night in which his distant brother, of whose sickness he knew nothing, died, should have waked us in order to tell us that his brother was dead. What it was which thus affected him, whether awake or in a dream, he never told.

As during his travels he had prescribed to himself his duties in their widest extent, so the recollection of those instances never faded from his mind, where he had been compelled to sacrifice his fixed purpose to another's will, or to other hindrances. He cast upon himself on this account reproaches, the injustice of which we could never make him calmly feel; and this self-tormenting spirit increased with his age, in a manner which caused us many melancholy feelings.

Acknowledgments of his merits from scholars acquainted with those subjects, like Reiske, De Sacy, and Rennell, afforded him high gratification ; for empty honours and for vanity he was wholly inaccessible. The patent of nobility offered him by the minister Guldberg he declined. The title which, according to the custom of the Danish army, he bore as an officer of engineers, led one of his relatives to ask him, whether he had been ennobled? "No," he replied, "I would not do such disrespect to my family." He judged that whoever did this, did not regard his descent as sufficiently honourable.

He founded and has left for his posterity a higher nobility. To this day no traveller returns from the East without admiration and gratitude for this teacher and guide, the most distinguished of oriental travellers. None of those who hitherto have followed him, can be compared with him ; and we may well inquire, whether he will ever find a successor who will complete the Description of Arabia and be named along with him ?

APPENDIX.

From the ' *Lebensbeschreibung* ' of J. D. Michaelis. Translated from the German
by the Editor.*

The commencement of the expedition sent at my suggestion

* J. D. MICHAELIS *Lebensbeschreibung von ihm selbst abgefasst, mit Anmerkungen von Hassencamp, Rinteln und Leipz.* 1793. This autobiography was written by Michaelis near the close of his life, more than twenty five years after the events here described. The earliest account which he gave of the origin of the expedition, was in the preface to his hundred 'Questions' prepared for the travellers: *Fragen an eine Gesellschaft gelehrter Männer u. s. w.* Franckf. 1762 ; printed also in French, *ibid.* 1763. As I have deemed it no more than an act of justice to Michaelis, to give in this appendix his own latest statements and explanations, in regard to his connexion with this expedition ; so I also think it right to give below some extracts from his other previous statements, even at the risk of prolixity and partial repetition. I do this, because the reader will perceive, that there are some discrepancies between the accounts of Michaelis and those given in the preceding article ; and it is therefore also proper that he should know, that there are discrepancies in the different statements of Michaelis himself. The extracts alluded to are given in a subsequent note. Under such circumstances the reader will not fail to perceive, that the weight of authority is altogether on the side of Niebuhr. Ed.

to Arabia, at the expense of the king of Denmark, occurred during the seven years' war. The history of it, so far as I was in any way concerned with it, is as follows. I had written to the late Count Bernstorff, that we yet knew very little respecting Arabia Felix, and that much might be gained for science by sending an intelligent traveller thither, especially for geography, natural history, philology, and the interpretation of the Bible; and I ventured to suggest, whether the king of Denmark, who had done so much for the sciences, could not send a learned man thither by way of Tranquebar? Only he must be no missionary nor clergyman. This was a very limited plan, which soon expanded itself under Bernstorff's hands. So far as I recollect, I had to write out a full dissertation; Bernstorff laid it before the king; the king approved of it; and I was to take the direction of the expedition, and propose the traveller. The instructions which the king gave the travellers, and which stand before my 'Questions,' were wholly drawn up by me. The selection of a person for the journey, thus unexpectedly referred to me, was at first difficult; but it was soon known at Copenhagen, that such a commission had been given me; and thus it happened that Von Haven, a native of Copenhagen and a very diligent pupil of mine, proposed himself to me for the journey, and that very urgently. This occasioned me real embarrassment. I could, indeed, scarcely have found any one better qualified than he; for he had already made considerable progress in Arabic, which was so necessary for the journey, and had exercised himself under my guidance in reading manuscripts; he had heard nearly all my courses of lectures, and especially those on the Bible, in which mention was so frequently made of what was properly to be sought for in the East; and scarcely any one could be better prepared than he, to understand the questions which I should propose. Besides, he was a Dane by birth, and had family connexions of some distinction. But I hesitated, from the very first, as to his bodily powers; and it seemed to me, that his physical constitution would not sustain the fatigues and hardships of such a journey. I represented this to him immediately and repeatedly; but he assured me, that he anticipated no danger, and persevered in his purpose, not only with earnestness, but almost with enthusiasm. There was still another peculiar circumstance, which rendered it in a manner impossible for me not to propose him. About

eighteen months before, conceiving himself to have been misused by me, he had made use of abusive language towards me; after a few months he had repented of this, and had voluntarily and very earnestly asked my pardon in writing, and begged permission to attend my lectures again; for he had before threatened, that he would never more attend them. What now would have been said of me, if under these circumstances I had refused his request? I proposed him therefore to Bernstorff; but yet in such a way, as not to leave out of sight my only scruple, in regard to his health. The proposal was immediately approved; and the only further question was, whether any thing more was necessary for his further preparation? The king had also the generosity to send him, if I remember right, a year and a half or two years to Rome, in order that he might there make himself beforehand more fully acquainted with the Arabic, than was possible here at Göttingen.

In the mean time, without any coöperation of mine, the plan of the journey fortunately expanded itself to a much greater extent than I at first had ventured to suggest. I had only said, in general, that natural history and geography ought also to be a principal object of the expedition. The king, who was ready to bear the expense of the whole, directed me, through Bernstorff, to name also a traveller in the department of natural history. Here the choice was made at once, as soon as the letter was opened. I could not find a better man than Forskaal, a Swede by birth, who had studied natural history in his own country, and become acquainted with the Linnaean system; had been my hearer in all my lectures, and consequently understood just what a traveller in the East had to do; had made as much progress in Arabic as Von Haven when he left Göttingen, and perhaps more; learned easily every thing which he undertook; was withal a great doubter, and did not believe on light grounds; and who, besides all these qualifications, was a man of firm health and undaunted courage. But he had already left Göttingen; and it was somewhat difficult to engage him. When I first wrote to him, he was desirous of remaining in his own country; and his father too made objections to this distant journey. I wrote to him again, and represented to him not only the interesting and encouraging prospects which this journey opened for him; but also, that in consequence of what had taken place, he could hardly hope for preferment in his own country. I knew already

so many of the circumstances, that my suggestions made an impression upon him. He accepted the appointment, and that just at the right time.*

I now received anew the commission to select a mathematician. I soon found a skillful young man; but he became undecided again; and preferred to remain in Hanover. Even the minister Münchhausen, who wished to employ him at home, wrote to me, desiring me not to urge him. I gladly left to the service of his own country a man, who would have entered upon such a journey unwillingly. I now requested Professor Kästner to procure some one; and he proposed Niebuhr, the only one who survived the journey, and who has described it in so masterly a manner. Another fortunate circumstance also occurred. I was requested to name the person, to whom the money concerns of the expedition might best be entrusted, and I named Niebuhr; for he had property of his own, was a solid, sober young man, and had already been, while a student, if I recollect right, the guardian of the son of his own former guardian.†

* The following anecdote of Forskaal is also related by Michaelis, *Lebensbeschr.* p. 65. "I learned Swedish of him, and said to him once, that the Swedish *Vriheet* (freedom) was something wholly different from our *Freiheit*; in Sweden no one could utter his opinion aloud, much less print it; and that was what we called slavery. This was under the domination of the so called *Hütte*. [Two parties, under the denomination of *Hütte* and *Mützen*, Hats and Caps, at this time distracted Sweden. Ed.] Our conversation afterwards turned very often upon this point. What I said, fell into so good a soil, that it bore fruit an hundred fold. After his return to Sweden he attempted to maintain the freedom of the press; he wrote and printed, and that too against the dominant party. This made a great noise; and he lost his hopes of obtaining any preferment in Sweden. Indeed it is related, that a person of high standing, having once sharply reprimanded him for his writings, in consequence of his persevering contradiction let fall something about the danger of losing his head. 'True,' replied Forskaal, 'but not now;' exhibiting at the same time his appointment from the Danish government to the Arabian expedition, which he had just received."

† The following extract is from the volume of Questions mentioned in the preceding note, and contains the previous statements of Michaelis respecting the origin of the expedition there referred to. After recounting the motives which led him to wish for such an expedition, he proceeds in the following manner. (*Vorrede* p. 11.) Ed.

"I ventured to mention something of this in a letter to Count Berns-

Shortly before the departure of the expedition, it was decided to send two additional members, a physician, and a draughtsman

torf, and received immediately a request to make out a more complete plan. This was laid before the king, who approved it, and directed that I should propose a proper person to undertake the journey; whom, after some years of preparation at his expense, he would send to Arabia.

"It was not prescribed, of what nation he should be; *but my joy was doubled*, when I found among my pupils a native Dane, who had devoted himself to the study of the oriental languages, not from any duty or ulterior object, but merely from inclination, and who wished to see the East. He knew already what I regarded as the deficiencies in our knowledge, which must be there supplied; and I could propose no one, from whom I expected more than from him. This was Von Haven; whom the king appointed before his departure professor at Copenhagen. He continued here at Göttingen for some time, devoting himself to the oriental languages; but as our still new university was deficient in oriental manuscripts, and he consequently could not make here all the preparation necessary for such a journey, the king sent him for a time to Rome, in order that in the libraries there he might become beforehand more intimately acquainted with the East.

"Hitherto there was still a great deficiency in the proposed expedition; which I indeed perceived, but did not feel the confidence to ask that it might be supplied, at the great expense which would be necessary. A single learned man, who has devoted himself regularly to only one branch of the sciences, cannot possibly accomplish so much as a company of learned men, each of whom follows his own branch. In such a company, the natural historian can aid the philologist, and *vice versa*; and both can assist the mathematician, and be assisted by him. Von Haven had several times spoken to me of this, not long after his appointment; and wished to have one companion at least, who should be acquainted with natural history. I was finally so bold as to make known this wish also to Count Bernstorff; and the bounty of the Danish king showed that I was wrong in not having made it known before. I was directed to select and propose a natural historian and a mathematician; to whom the king proposed also to allow a pension, so as to enable them to make preparation for the journey, and among other things acquire some knowledge of the Arabic language.

"The mathematician appointed for the journey, and who was selected with the help of Professors Mayer and Kästner, is Niebuhr, a native of the territory of Bremen, on whom the king bestowed the rank of a lieutenant of engineers. He exercised himself farther in mathematics under his teachers above mentioned; and especially the

or painter. With the selection of these I had nothing to do, and indeed could not be consulted; for the thing required despatch, and the post to Göttingen was much interrupted in consequence of the war. A painter I could in no case have well procured; partly because I knew nothing of the art, and partly because it did not flourish at all in Göttingen. A physician I might perhaps have obtained. I need only to mention the name of the person to whom my thoughts would have been instantly turned, Hensler, who was then a student at Göttingen. Had he joined the expedition, perhaps some of the deceased travellers would have remained alive; and what discoveries might not have been expected from such a genius!

The first project was to sail by the way of the Cape of Good Hope to Tranquebar; and thence undertake the journey to Arabia. This plan, however, was happily changed. Bernstorff inquired of me, whether I did not think the way might be taken over Egypt and the Red sea. I had not ventured to propose

late Professor Mayer gave him privately the necessary instruction, to enable him to take accurate astronomical observations. The little time which remained to Niebuhr from these most necessary occupations, he devoted to learning the elements of the Arabic language, which were indispensable to him, if he was to give an account of the geography of the countries through which he travelled.

“To select a natural historian *was more difficult, until I finally thought of one*, who required no further preparation for the journey. This was Professor Forskaal, a Swede by birth. He had been in natural history a pupil of Linnaeus. He had afterwards studied the oriental languages at Göttingen, especially the Arabic; and had lived again in Sweden since 1756. He is the same person whose dissertation, under the title *Dubia de principiis Philosophiae recentioris*, has found so many friends and opponents. I cannot deny, that the friendly candour with which in this essay he has contested some of my own positions, about which we had often disputed without coming to any agreement, contributed much to make me wish, that he should become a member of this expedition. I knew in general, that he did not easily yield belief, without being compelled by good reasons, and that he was a lover of the truth; and his dissent from my philosophy was to me a pledge, that out of deference to my opinions and views he would never suppose himself to hear or see any thing in the East, which he did not really hear and see.

“It was entirely accidental, that the three travellers were of three different nations,—a Dane, a German, and a Swede. This circumstance, however, was so appropriate to the impartial bounty of the king of Denmark, that I may term it fortunate.”

this, because it required a much greater expense ; but I stated my preference for it, only with the remark, that it was somewhat more dangerous. It was adopted ; and thus we have received a charming description of other lands, besides Arabia Felix. In another respect also it has been followed by important consequences, and has had a great and unexpected influence ; which the English have known how to improve to good purpose. While Niebuhr was at Bombay, some of the English who were there, as he himself relates, received from him exact accounts of his route across the Red sea. This was examined anew and tried, probably at first with commercial views ; but during the war in which the English were engaged with France and Holland, arising out of the American revolution, they made use of this route to very great advantage, in order to transmit intelligence with rapidity to India. The French also have since learned the same route. The Danes, however, have hitherto derived no advantage from it ; although they strictly deserved more than all the rest.

Several untoward circumstances conspired to hinder, or render difficult, the full accomplishment of all the objects of this Arabian expedition. My questions were forwarded in manuscript by Bernstorff, as soon as I had written them, after the travellers to Egypt. Unfortunately, however, they did not reach them there, although Bernstorff had used the greatest foresight. Niebuhr first received the questions in Bombay, before he returned to Arabia the second time ; and answered them really so far as he could ; yea, more indeed than could have been expected of him. But the greater part of these questions were not strictly intended for him, but for Forskaal and Von Haven ; and they never received them. These too would have understood my questions better, because they had attended my lectures in Hebrew ; and knew too, that they were not to ask information of Jews and rabbins, but of native and full-blooded Arabs. What learned Jews say on many subjects, we know better in Europe already ; and those Asiatic Jews, if they are learned, get it from the European rabbins. Consequently, the utility of my questions was in part lost ; and they may perhaps, at a future day, be still better answered by other travellers.

The death of four of the travellers diminished the fruits of the expedition. Von Haven, respecting whom I had fears from the first, died ; but Forskaal, for whom I had no fears, died also.

The painter also died ; and likewise the physician, who ought to have set a better example.* For these deaths no one is answerable ; but had all the travellers lived to return, how much greater would have been the fruits of the journey ! The loss was rendered still greater, by the circumstance that they kept no full and regular journals, as they were required to do by their instructions ; relying probably upon their memories and the continuance of their lives. Niebuhr alone returned ; and he accomplished much more than could have been expected of him alone.

He returned through Göttingen ; and during his stay here he related to me orally so much, that I saw already, and wrote before hand to Bernstorff, that he had brought back a rich booty from the journey. He would also gladly have left me some of his manuscripts and drawings, to examine at leisure ; but this I declined, and preferred to wait till they were published. There was at that time in Denmark a party opposed to Bernstorff, which endeavoured to cast odium upon this expedition ; and even perverted to this end the return of Niebuhr over Göttingen. They caused it to be inserted in Swedish journals, which were circulated in Denmark, that Niebuhr had returned by way of Göttingen, in order to lay before the Academy of Sciences there a report of his journey. This was certainly no agreeable compliment for Danish scholars ; and I therefore felt obliged to request him, of my own accord, during his stay at Göttingen, not to be too liberal towards us.

* Every reader will probably be struck with the levity and heartlessness of this remark ; but there is only too much reason to suppose, that it is characteristic of Michaelis.—ED.

ART. II. ACCOUNT OF A FAMINE AND PESTILENCE IN EGYPT,
IN THE YEARS 597 AND 598 OF THE HEGIRA, A. D. 1200,
1201.

Written in Arabic by Abd-allatif, an Arabian Physician of Bagdad. Translated
by the Editor.

INTRODUCTION.

At a time when our own country is visited with pestilence, it will not be uninteresting to trace the ravages which have been made by similar divine judgments, in other ages and in other climes. The plague of Athens, so vividly described by Thucydides, recurs spontaneously to the recollection of every reader of the classics; but the horrible famine and pestilence described in the following article, are less known to readers in general, and are more nearly connected with the history and scenes of the Bible. On these grounds, as illustrative of Scripture history, and as displaying the horrors of an oriental famine, I have supposed that this account, written by an eye-witness, would appropriately fall within the scope and plan of this journal.

Abd-allatif, or, as the name is also written, Abdollatiph, was born at Bagdad in the year of the Hegira 557, corresponding to A. D. 1161. After becoming master of all the learning, which the instructors of his native city could impart, in medicine, theology, and jurisprudence, he travelled and resided for many years in Mosul, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Egypt. At Cairo he remained a long time, enjoying the countenance and support of the famous Salah-eddin, or Saladin. After the death of this prince he returned to Jerusalem, and thence to Damascus; where he established himself as a physician and general scholar. He afterwards lived several years at Aleppo and in Asia Minor. Having undertaken the pilgrimage to Mecca, by way of Bagdad, he fell sick in the latter city, and died in the year 629, or A. D. 1231, at the age of seventy years. He was distinguished as a scholar and writer. He composed an extensive work on Egypt, compiled chiefly from other authors; with whose statements, however, he incorporated the results of his own personal observation. This latter portion, viz. the results of his own observation, he afterwards wrote out separately, as a compendium or abridgement of his larger work.

This compendium alone has become known to Europeans

scholars; and that, only in a single manuscript, which was brought from the Levant by the celebrated Pococke. It is now deposited in the Bodleian library at Oxford; and is marked in Uri's Catalogue as No. 794 of Arabic manuscripts. The late Professor White undertook the publication of it, and completed an edition of the text in octavo; but not having satisfied himself, he determined to suppress it. He yielded, however, to the solicitations of Professor Paulus, who was then in England; and placed the whole of the edition at his disposal. By him it was published at Tübingen in 1789, under the title: *Abdollariphi Compendium Memorabilium Aegypti Arabice*. Dr White continued his labours; and published an edition in quarto at Oxford in 1800, with a Latin version and notes, under the title: *Abdollariphi Historiae Aegypti Compendium, Arabice et Latine*. But the most laborious and complete revision of this work and all that appertains to it, is that by De Sacy, in his French version of it: *Relation de l'Egypte, par Abd-allatif*, 4to, Paris 1810; in which the extent and completeness of the notes and investigations leave nothing to be desired. The present article is taken from the second and third chapters of the second book; and is translated chiefly by the help of De Sacy's version. Some anatomical remarks have been omitted, as well as a few passages too horrible to be repeated. For the marginal notes the Editor alone is responsible, except where it is otherwise expressed.

The reader will not fail to be struck with the similarity between the Egyptian *famine* here described, and that recorded in the book of Genesis. Like that, this later one seems also to have extended in some degree into the adjacent countries. That the former was not accompanied by pestilence and by all the horrors here detailed, was doubtless owing to the interposition of Providence in raising up Joseph, and bringing him forward at the critical moment. In thus beholding the frightful evils from which the foresight of Joseph preserved the Egyptian nation, we obtain a broader view and a deeper impression of his merits towards that people; while the truth and exactness of the Scripture history is strikingly illustrated. An illustration of a similar kind will be found in a subsequent note.

In reading this narrative we are also struck with the beneficial change, which the extension of navigation and commerce has wrought in the condition of the human race. About six hundred years ago, Egypt was almost depopulated by famine, and

by the pestilence which followed in its train; the inhabitants were dispersed to other countries; but no help came to them from abroad. At the present day it may safely be said, that such a famine could not occur in any part of the world. Egypt, in such circumstances, would now be flooded with supplies from Europe and America; and so every other country, to which commerce has penetrated. Would that Christians were but as ready and ardent to send the bread of life to the perishing nations! The objects of commercial enterprise, the products of human industry and skill, are found in every clime and among every people; but the word of God, and the preaching of that word,—to how many hundred millions of our race have they never yet been presented!—EDITOR.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMINE IN EGYPT.

*Events of the year 597.**

In this state of things, the year 597 announced itself as a monster, whose fury was about to destroy all the resources of life and all the means of subsistence. There was no longer any hope of an inundation of the Nile;† and in consequence the price of provisions already began to rise. The inhabitants foresaw an inevitable dearth; and the fear of famine excited among them tumultuous movements. The inhabitants of the villages and country withdrew into the principal cities of the provinces; while great numbers emigrated to Syria, to Mauritania,‡ to the Hedjaz and Yemen; where they were dispersed on every side, as formerly the descendants of Saba.§ Vast

* Commencing Oct. 1200.

† It will be recollected that the fertility of Egypt is almost wholly dependent on the annual inundations of the Nile; since very little rain ever falls there.—ED.

‡ *Magreb*, i. e. the West, the countries along the northern coast of Africa.

§ This is a proverbial expression, originating from the dispersion of the Sabeans, through the bursting of the dam near Mareb their capital, by which this city was overwhelmed. Mareb, the *Mariaba* of the Greeks, lies in the district Djof in Yemen, about 70 miles E. N. E. of Saná. In its vicinity there was in ancient times a large reservoir,

multitudes also sought refuge in the cities of Misr* and Cairo; where they experienced a terrible famine and a most frightful mortality. For as soon as the sun had entered the sign of Aries, the air became corrupted; pestilence and a mortal contagion began to shew themselves; and the poor, already pressed by the famine which increased continually, were driven to devour dogs, and the carcasses of animals and men, yea, even the excrements of both. They went farther, and began to feed on young children. It was no rare thing to surprise persons with infants already roasted or boiled. The commandant of the city caused those to be burned alive who committed this crime; as well as those who ate of such food.†

where the waters from six or seven streams were brought together and retained by a lofty dam; so that they sometimes rose to the height of twenty fathoms. The dam hung over the city like a mountain; and was so strong and broad, that houses were built upon it. By means of pipes and channels the water was carried not only to all the houses, but also distributed to the fields for the purposes of irrigation. But in consequence of a powerful flood, or, as others say, through the undermining of the dam by mice, the dam was broken down, and the whole city and all the neighbouring villages with their inhabitants were destroyed. This took place in the first century of our era, and is mentioned in the Koran, Sur. xxxiv. 15, 16. Niebuhr was informed that this reservoir was a long valley between two mountains, closed by a lofty dam; and that it was strictly a day's journey or about 25 miles distant from the city.—A similar calamity occurred in the Val de Bagnes in Switzerland in 1818, by the accidental damming up of the waters of the Dranse.—These Sabeans, inhabitants of Arabia, are doubtless those spoken of in Joel 3: 8. [4: 8. Heb.] and this their country is the *Sheba* of 1 K. 10: 1 sq. Is. 60: 6. Jer. 6: 20. etc. See Rosenmueller Bibl. Geogr. III. 175. Niebuhr Descript. of Arabia, p. 277 Germ. edit.—ED.

* By *Misr* Abd-allatif always understands *Misr-el-atik*, or Fostat, improperly called by Europeans *Old Cairo*. It was the earliest city built by the Arabs in Egypt, and was called by them Fostat. As it increased and became the capital of the country, it took the appellation of *Misr*, which Memphis and all preceding capitals had borne. When Cairo became the capital, and so received the title *Misr*, Fostat was still called *Misr-el-atik*, or *Misr* the old. It lies on the east bank of the Nile, a short distance above Cairo; with which indeed it is almost joined. See Niebuhr's Travels Vol. I. p. 106 sq. and his plan of Cairo and the adjacent places.—ED.

† That this horrid practice was not unknown, and probably not uncommon, as an accompaniment of famine in the East, is apparent

I have myself seen an infant thus roasted, in a basket, which they were carrying to the commandant; and were conducting at the same time a man and woman, who were said to be the father and mother of that infant. The commandant condemned them to be burned alive.

When the the poor first began thus to eat human flesh, the horror and astonishment excited by a course so extraordinary, were so great, that these crimes were the general topic of conversation, and people could not exhaust themselves upon the subject; but afterwards they became so accustomed to it, and even conceived such a taste for this horrible food, that you might find persons, who made their ordinary repasts of it, ate it with relish, and even laid up a provision of it. They invented different modes of preparing this food; and the use of it being once introduced, spread throughout the provinces; so that there was no part of Egypt, where there were not examples of it. It no longer caused the least surprise; the horror which had been felt at first,

not only from a subsequent note, (p. 665 below,) but also from the following recital in 2 Kings 6: 24—30. “And it came to pass after this, that Ben-hadad king of Syria gathered all his host, and went up, and besieged Samaria. And there was a great famine in Samaria; and behold, they besieged it until an ass’s head was sold for fourscore *pieces* of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of dove’s dung for five *pieces* of silver. And as the king of Israel was passing by upon the wall, there cried a woman unto him, saying, Help, my lord, O king. And he said, If the Lord do not help thee, whence shall I help thee? out of the barn-floor, or out of the wine-press? And the king said unto her, What aileth thee? And she answered, This woman said unto me, Give thy son, that we may eat him to-day, and we will eat my son to-morrow. So we boiled my son, and did eat him: and I said unto her on the next day, Give thy son, that we may eat him: and she hath hid her son. And it came to pass, when the king heard the words of the woman, that he rent his clothes; and he passed by upon the wall, and the people looked, and behold, *he had sackcloth within upon his flesh.*”

Besides the general illustrations here presented, we may remark upon this narrative, that the Egyptian commandant seems to have acted with more decision than the Israelitish king; and that the statements of Abd-allatif, in the text above, shew that there is no necessity for understanding the *ass’s head* and *cab of dove’s dung* in any other than a literal sense; as many interpreters have attempted to do. The Hebrew text does not necessarily imply, that these articles were *statedly* sold at such prices; but simply that the famine was so great, that such instances were known to occur.—ED.

subsided entirely ; and every one spoke of it, and heard it spoken of, as an indifferent and ordinary matter.

I saw one day a woman, wounded on the head, whom some of the common people were dragging through a market. They had arrested her, while she was eating of a small infant roasted, which they had seized with her. The people who were in the market paid no regard to this spectacle, but went every one about his own business. I perceived in none of them any sign of astonishment or horror ; a circumstance which caused me much more surprise than the crime itself. This indifference proceeded, in truth, only from the fact, that the sight of these cruelties had already often presented itself to them ; so that they were now among the number of those things to which one is accustomed, and which no longer have power to cause an impression of surprise.

Two days previous, I had seen a child near the age of puberty, which had been found roasted. Two young persons were seized along with it, who confessed that they had killed the child, roasted it, and had already eaten part of it.

It happened one evening, not long after the hour of prayer, which is when the sun has wholly disappeared below the horizon, that a slave was playing with a child newly weaned, belonging to a wealthy private citizen. While the infant was still at his side, a female beggar seized the moment when his eyes were turned from the child, ripped up its belly and began to eat the flesh all raw. Many females have related to me, that persons had thrown themselves upon them in order to snatch from them their infants ; and that they were obliged to employ all their efforts to preserve them from these ravishers.

Seeing one day a woman with a small child, just weaned and very plump, I admired the child, and recommended to her to take good care of it. She related to me, that while she was walking along the banks of the canal, a stout man had thrown himself upon her, and had attempted to snatch her infant away from her ; and that she had found no other way of protecting it, but to throw herself upon the ground and hold it under her, until a cavalier who happened to pass, forced the man to quit her. She added, that the villain watched eagerly the opportunity to seize any limb of the child which protruded from under her, in order to devour it ; and that the child was ill a long time, from the sprains and bruises which it received from the contrary efforts of the ravisher and herself, the one to snatch the child, the other to retain it.

One saw every where the children of the poor, both in the tenderest years and also older, who no longer had any one to take care of them and guard them, but were scattered through all the quarters of the city and even in the narrowest streets, like locusts which have fallen upon the fields. The poor people, men and women, lay in wait for these unfortunate children, carried them off, and devoured them. You could not surprise the guilty persons in this flagrant act, except rarely, and when they were not well on their guard. It was more commonly women who were seized with these proofs of their crime; a circumstance which, in my opinion, arises from the fact, that women have less finesse than men, and cannot fly with so much promptitude and conceal themselves from search. In the course of a few days, thirty women were burnt at Misr; not one of whom did not confess, that she had eaten of several children. I saw such an one brought before the commandant, having an infant roasted suspended from her neck. They gave her more than two hundred lashes, in order to draw from her an admission of her crime, without being able to obtain any reply; one would have said that she had lost all the faculties which characterize human nature. They gave her at last a violent pull in order to lead her away; when she expired on the spot.

When an unfortunate being, convicted of having eaten human flesh, had been thus burned, his carcass was often found devoured the next morning. Indeed these monsters ate of it the more willingly, because, being already roasted, it required no farther preparation.

This rage for devouring one another became so common among the poor, that the greater part of them perished in this way. Some persons of wealth and good standing participated also in this detestable barbarity; and among these, some were reduced to it by want, while others did it from gluttony and to gratify their taste. One person related to us, that he had a friend who was reduced to poverty by the calamities of that year; that this friend invited him to come and dine with him one day, as he had been accustomed to do formerly; that having gone to his house, he found a crowd of persons assembled there, whose exterior bespoke only misery; before them was a fricassee in which there was a great deal of flesh, while they had no bread at all to eat with this ragoût. This gave him some suspicions; and having gone out into the back yard, he saw there a receptacle full of human bones and recent flesh. Seized with affright, he fled with the utmost haste.

Among these villains there were some, who made use of all sorts of snares to inveigle persons, and draw them under false pretexts into their power. This happened to three physicians of my more particular acquaintance. The one informed me, that his father having one day gone out, never returned. Another was invited by a woman, who gave him two pieces of silver, to accompany her to a sick person who was her relative. This woman having conducted him into some very narrow streets, the physician began to be alarmed, and refused to follow her; he even went so far as to reproach her harshly. On this, she ran away, without demanding back her two pieces of silver. The third was requested by a man to accompany him to a sick person residing, as he said, in the broad street. As they went along, this man gave away some small pieces of money in alms, and repeated this passage [of the Koran]: "To-day they shall receive the retribution, and a reward double of the good which they have done; let those who act, act in view of such a recompense."* This was repeated so often, that the physician began to suspect some evil design on his part. Still the good opinion he entertained of the man, prevailed over his inquietude; and besides, the desire of gain led him onward. He therefore suffered himself to be conducted into a large half-ruined mansion. The aspect of the house augmented his fright, and he stopped upon the [interior] steps, while his conductor went before him and caused the door to be opened. His comrade, coming then to meet him, said to him: "After waiting so long, you bring at least some good game?" These words filled the heart of the physician with terror; and he precipitated himself into a stable through a window, which by good fortune he found there. The master of the stable came to him and inquired what had happened to him; but the physician was too well on his guard to tell him, not daring to trust himself to him any farther. The man then said to him: "I know your adventure; the people who inhabit that house, seize persons by surprise and kill them."

The following incident, which was related by the commandant himself, had at that time a great notoriety. A woman came one day to find this officer; she was without a veil,† and seemed to

* Sur. xxxvii. 62. Compare Sur. iv. 39. xxxiv. 37. lvii. 17.

† Abd-allatif remarks this circumstance, because it proves the fright and inquietude of the woman, who dared thus to appear in public and even before the commandant, without a veil.—DE SACY.

be seized with affright. She said that she was a midwife, and had been called professionally to a certain family, where they had presented her some *sikbadj** upon a plate, very well prepared and seasoned with spices; that she observed there was a good deal of meat in it, of a different kind from what was usually employed in making *sikbadj*, which had excited in her an extreme loathing; that having found means of drawing aside a little girl, so as to ask her what that meat was, the child had said: "Such a woman, who was so fat, came to see us, and my father killed her; she is here in this place, cut up into pieces and hung up;" that upon this she had gone into a store-room, and had found there quantities of flesh. The commandant having received her declaration, sent with her persons who surprised the house, and arrested all whom they found in it. The master of the house, however, escaped; and afterwards managed so well, that he obtained his pardon on giving privately thirty pieces of gold.

Were we to recount all the facts of this nature, which we have heard related, or have seen with our own eyes, we should run the risk of being suspected of exaggeration, or taxed with idle babbling. All the facts which we have reported, as having been eye-witnesses of them, have fallen under our eyes without any design on our part, and without our having purposely frequented the places, where such things might be expected to occur. Chance alone has brought us to witness them; indeed, far from searching them out, we have frequently avoided the sight of them, so great was the horror which such a spectacle inspired. Those on the contrary, who frequented the house of the commandant, in order to be present at these tragic scenes, saw examples of them, of every species, during the whole of every day and night.

* I believe *sikbadj* to be a sort of pudding. The word signifies, in general, every kind of preparation of flesh or fish in which there is vinegar.—DE SACY.

That the horrors here detailed are not peculiar to the history of Egypt, but have also occurred in other oriental countries as the concomitants of famine, is seen (in addition to 2 K. 6: 24—30) by the following extract from Elmacin, another Arabian writer: "In the year 334. (A.D. 938,) there was such a famine at Bagdad, that the people devoured putrid carcasses. Several times they found women who had seized children, had roasted one part of them and boiled the other part to make *sikbadj*. These women were put to death and their bodies cast into the Tigris." Hist. Saracen. p. 229. Compare the note (†) on p. 660 above.—ED.

Near the *djami* (mosque) of Ahmed ben-Toulon there was a band of villains who carried off men. A bookseller, an old man of a full habit, and one of those from whom we had bought books, fell into their snares, and escaped with the greatest difficulty, and only at the last gasp.

One of the administrators of the *djami* of Misr fell in like manner into the snares of another band of villains, which harboured at Karafa.* Other persons coming up, he escaped from their nets and fled for his life. But there were also many persons, who having left their families and gone out, never returned home again.

A person whose veracity is well known to me, informed me, that passing through a lone place, he saw there a woman with a swollen and putrid corse before her, from the legs of which she was devouring the flesh; and that having reproached her with the horrid nature of such an action, she had replied to him, that it was the corpse of her husband. Nothing indeed was more common, than to hear those who thus ate human flesh, allege; that it was the body of their son, or husband, or of some other near relative. An old woman was found eating the flesh of a small child; she excused herself by saying that it was her daughter's son, and not the child of another; and that it was better the child should be eaten by her, than by any other person.

Nothing was more common than traits of this nature; and it would be difficult to find, in the whole extent of Egypt, even among those who lived secluded in monasteries, or among the females who pass their lives in their apartments, any one who had not been an eye-witness of similar atrocities. It is also a fact known to every body, that certain persons also ransacked the tombs, in order to draw from them the dead bodies and either devour them or sell the flesh.

This frightful calamity of which we have drawn the picture, extended itself over all Egypt. There was not a single inhabited place, where the practice of eating human flesh did not become extremely common. Syene, Kous, Fayoum, Mahallèh, Alexandria, Damietta, and all the other parts of Egypt, bore witness to these scenes of horror.

A merchant, a friend of mine, in whom I place confidence, having come from Alexandria, related to me a great number of

* Karafa is the place of burial for the inhabitants of Cairo.—DE SACY.

facts of this kind, which had passed there under his eyes. One of the most remarkable was, that he had seen there five heads of children in one kettle, cooked with the most exquisite spices.

But enough of this subject; on which, although I have been perhaps too copious, I yet seem to myself to have been very brief.

I come now to the murders and assassinations which were committed in the different provinces. There was scarcely a great route on which they were not frequent; but it was especially on those of Fayoum and Alexandria, that the number was greatest. On the route of Fayoum there were conductors of barques, who offered a passage on board their barques at a very low rate; and when they were half way, strangled their passengers and drew lots for the spoils. The commandant seized some of these wretches, and put them to the torture; and there were some of them who confessed, under the torture, that their portion of these robberies, independently of that of their comrades, amounted to the value of six thousand pieces of gold.

As to the number of the poor, who perished of famine and exhaustion, God alone can know it. All that we shall say on this point, must be regarded only as a slight sketch, adapted to give some idea of the frightful extent to which this mortality was carried.

One thing of which we can speak as having seen it ourselves at Misr, at Cairo, and in the adjacent places, is the fact, that wherever one turned his steps, there was no place where the feet or the eyes did not encounter either a corpse, or a person in the agonies of death, or even a great number of persons in this calamitous state. At Cairo, in particular, they carried off each day from one hundred to one hundred and fifty dead bodies, in order to bear them to the place where the funeral rites were performed over them. At Misr, the number of the dead was incalculable; they no longer interred them, but merely threw them out of the city; and at last they did not even remove them, but left them in the public places, and among the houses and shops, and even in the interior of their dwellings. You might see here a corpse fallen into shreds; and close by it a cook's or baker's shop, or others of this kind.

As to the suburbs and villages, all the inhabitants of them perished, except a small number, a part of whom quitted their residence to take refuge elsewhere. Indeed the chief cities of the provinces and the large villages, as Kous, Ashmounein,

Mahallèh, and the like, are scarcely to be excepted from what I have here said ; the inhabitants who still remained in them were exceedingly few. A traveller might frequently pass through a large village, without finding in it a single living inhabitant ; he could see the houses open, and the corpses of those who had dwelt in them extended one over against another ; some reduced to putridity, and others still fresh. Very often the furniture of such a house remained, without any one to take possession of it. What I have here said has been related to me by several persons, whose accounts reciprocally confirm each other. One of them said : " We entered a village, and found there no living being, neither upon the earth nor in the air. Having gone into some of the houses, the situation in which the tenants of them presented themselves to our eyes, furnished an exact image of what God has said in the passage of the Koran : *We have harvested and exterminated them all.** We beheld the inhabitants of each house extended dead, the husband, the wife, and the children. Thence we went to another village, where we were told there were formerly four hundred weaver's shops ; and it presented the same spectacle of desolation as the former. We found the weaver dead by the side of his loom, and all his family dead around him. This recalled to me that other text of the Koran : *There was but one single cry, and they all perished.*† We passed again," says the same person, " to another village ; and found things there in the same state ; no living being, and the village full of the dead bodies of its inhabitants. As we had to remain there, in order to sow the fields, we were compelled to hire persons to take away the corpses by which we were surrounded, and throw them into the Nile, at the rate of a piece of silver for every ten bodies. At last," the same person adds, " to the inhabitants of these places succeeded wolves and hyenas, which banqueted upon their corpses."

The following is one of the most striking facts which I have seen. As I was one day, with several other persons, in a place which commanded a view of the Nile, there passed under our eyes in the space of an hour, about ten dead bodies, swollen and bloated, like leathern bottles filled with air. We perceived them accidentally, without having directed our attention to this object, and without embracing in our view the whole breadth of the

* Compare Sura x. 25, which however is not precisely the same.

† Sura xxxvi. 28.

river.* The next day, having entered a barque, we saw upon the canal and every where along its banks the limbs of corpses scattered about, resembling, to use a comparison employed by the poet Amrialkeis, *the roots of bulbous plants which one has pulled from the earth*. I have heard, that a fisherman of the port of Tennis saw, in one single day, four hundred corpses pass near him, which the waters of the river were bearing with them to the sea.

The route from Egypt to Syria, according to the multiplied accounts of a great number of witnesses, was like a vast field sown with human corpses, or rather like a region where the sickle of the reaper has passed. It had become a banqueting-hall for the birds and beasts of prey, which gorged themselves with human flesh; and the dogs which these persons had taken with them in their voluntary banishment, were the first to devour their carcasses.

The inhabitants of the Hauf,† as they retired into Syria for the sake of pasturage, were the first who perished on the route. Long as this route may be, it was strewn with the corpses of the travellers, as with locusts which have been destroyed by fire or frost; and even up to the present moment, they continue still some of them to perish.‡ The emigration has carried them as far as to Mosul, to Bagdad, to the countries of Khorasan, of the Greek empire, of Africa, and of Yemen; and they have been dispersed into every region. Among this throng of emigrants, it has often happened that a mother was separated from her children, and thus abandoned those unfortunate creatures, who were tormented by famine till death terminated their sufferings.

Another horrible crime, which also became very common, was the selling of persons of free condition as slaves. This crime was carried so far by those who had no fear of God,

* The original Arabic word signifies *sea*, which Abd-allatif here applies to the Nile, according to the usage of the inhabitants of Egypt. DE SACY.—The prophet Nahum gives to the Nile the same appellation, c. iii. 8.—ED.

† That part of Lower Egypt which lies on the eastern side of the Nile.

‡ From the concluding paragraph of his work, it appears that Abd-allatif wrote it in the year 600, or A. D. 1203, i. e. about three years after the commencement of the famine.

that they were accustomed to sell a young and handsome girl for a few pieces of silver. I was once offered two young girls near the age of puberty, for one piece of gold. At another time I saw two females, one of them still a girl, whom they were crying off at the price of eleven pieces of silver. A woman also besought me to purchase her own daughter, who was pretty and not yet marriageable, for five pieces of silver. When I represented to her, that this traffic was not permitted: "Very well," replied she, "then take her as a gift." It often happened, that females or youths who had some beauty, presented themselves emulously to persons, and besought those whom they addressed to purchase them or sell them to others. Many people permitted themselves to do this, as if it had been a lawful thing; and some of these slaves were carried away as far as to Irak, to the extremity of Khorasan, and into other countries.

A circumstance assuredly more surprising than all that I have hitherto related, is the fact, that in spite of all this train of plagues, these tokens of the divine displeasure, men continued to adore the idols of their criminal passions without any amendment; and remained plunged in the sea of their pollutions, as if they were sure of being exempted from these general calamities.* Thus they engaged in the traffic of persons of free condition, as if it were a legitimate commerce and an ordinary speculation; they permitted themselves to enjoy without scruple the females, whom misery thus placed in their hands. One person boasted of having violated fifty virgins; another, of having dishonoured sixty; and all for some small pieces of money.

I ought not to omit making mention of the depopulation of the cities and villages, and of the state of abandonment in which the houses and shops remained, without inhabitants. This last trait belongs to the picture which I have undertaken to trace. It will be sufficient to remark, that a town which formerly contained a population of ten thousand souls, appeared no longer to the passer by, but as a vast receptacle of carcasses; sometimes you might find there some isolated persons; sometimes you would see no inhabitant. The greatest part of the city of Misr was depopulated. The houses situated on the canal, in the

* How uniform is the character of the natural man in every age! This same language, in its general import, is at the present day equally applicable to the conduct of very many, under the scourge of God which is now sweeping over the world. Witness the city of Paris.—
ED.

street of the Lake, Maks, Haleb,* and the neighbouring places, were absolutely deserted; although formerly there was not one of these suburbs, which was not itself a city in respect to the number of inhabitants, who then almost trampled one upon another. In Cairo itself, the great mansions or hotels, the dwelling-houses, and the shops, situated in the heart of the city and in the best quarters, are for the most part abandoned and deserted to such a degree, that in the most frequented part of that capital, there is a large hotel containing more than fifty separate lodgings, which have all remained empty except four; and these are occupied by the people who guard the house. The inhabitants of Cairo, even to the present time, use both in their fire-places and ovens no fuel but rafters, doors, and window-shutters.

It is nevertheless a circumstance worthy of remark, that among those persons who hitherto had been unfortunate, there were some who made their fortune during this year. Some amassed wealth by traffic in wheat; others inherited rich successions. Some again became rich, without any one's knowing the origin or cause of their good fortune. Blessed be He who distributes or retains his gifts according to his own good pleasure; and who causes all his creatures to participate in his favours!

Let us speak now of the state of the Nile in this year.† In the month of Ramadan the river began to rise; and its current became stronger and stronger till the 16th of that month. On that day Ibn Abi'lreddad took the measure of its height in the reservoir of the Nilometer; it was two cubits. After that, the waters increased, but in a manner still less sensible than in the preceding year; and the rise continued by slight increments till the 8th of Dhou'lkada, which was the 17th of Mesori.‡ On that day the river rose a digit; and there remained three

* All the places here named must be considered as so many towns or villages, i. e. suburbs, around Misr or Fostat, and between that city and Cairo.—DE SACY.

† The inundations of the Nile are so important to Egypt, that the state of the river is watched with great anxiety, and its increments examined and proclaimed daily by authority. See De Sacy's Note on this passage, p. 403. Niebuhr's *Travels* I. p. 125 sq. Germ. edit. Calmet's *Dict. Art. NILE*.

‡ Corresponding to the 9th or 10th of August.

days without any increase. The inhabitants now no longer doubted that they were still to be delivered up to the horrors of famine, and resigned themselves to absolute destruction. Nevertheless new augmentations, mostly of a cubit, succeeded one another, till the 3d of Dhou'lhiddjèh, or the 6th of the month Tot.* The Nile having on that day attained the height of fifteen cubits and six digits, fell again the same day and immediately diminished; so that some provinces only as it were tasted of the inundation, and scarcely that. One would have said, it was only a phantom of the inundation that had visited them; like those spectres which one seems to behold in a dream, and which vanish immediately.

The flat parts of the country alone profited by the inundation; and the lower provinces, as Garbiyèh and the like, were sufficiently watered. But the villages were wholly depopulated of cultivators and labourers. One might apply to them the text of the Koran: *And in the morning nothing was to be seen, except their empty dwellings.*† The rich owners collected their scattered people from one side and another, and gathered the few labourers who remained to them. Labourers and oxen were so rare, that a good ox was sold for sixty pieces of gold; and one in lower flesh for a little less.

In most of the provinces the inundation abated without having sufficiently watered the plains, and indeed before the proper time; because there was no one to stop the waters and retain them upon the fields.‡ For this reason these portions of Egypt remained uncultivated, although they had participated in the inundation. Many fields also, which had received enough of the inundation, were still left untilled, because their owners were able neither to make the advances of seed, nor furnish the expenses of tillage. Among the lands actually sown, many were devastated by vermin, which devoured the seed; and of the seed itself, which escaped this cause of destruction, very much sent up only feeble shoots which soon perished.

The highest price of wheat this year was five pieces of gold the *ardeb*;§ beans and barley rose to four pieces of gold; and

* Sept. 4, A. D. 1201.

† Sura xlv. 25.

‡ That is, by means of the dikes and flood-gates, etc.

§ The weight of an *ardeb* of wheat at Cairo is 292 lbs French; at Rosetta it is 430 lbs. It should be observed, that the *ardeb* varies much in different places; and even in the same place it varies much according to the different species of grain.—DE SACY.

at Kous and Alexandria, their price rose even to six pieces of gold.

It is from God alone, that we must look for consolation; for He it is, who in his goodness and his bounty, determines on all prosperous events.

*Events of the year 598.**

At the commencement of this year, every thing remained in the same state which we have described in speaking of the preceding year; and no change took place, or rather the evil continued to grow worse, until towards the middle of the year. There perished indeed fewer of the poor; not because the calamities which had swept them away had suffered diminution; but simply because they were now reduced to a comparatively small number.

The custom of eating human flesh became less common; and at last ceased to be spoken of. It was also more rare, that provisions exposed in the markets for sale, were stolen; because such vagabonds had now almost entirely disappeared from the city. The price of grain fell, so that the *ardeb* (of wheat) was sold for three pieces of gold; but this diminution of price arose from the small number of consumers, and not from the abundance of supplies. The city found itself relieved by the pestilence of a considerable part of its population; and every thing within it was reduced in the same proportion. People became accustomed to the dearness of living; and from being compelled to endure famine, they had in some sort contracted the habit of it, as if it were a natural condition.

I have been assured, that there were formerly at Misr nine hundred makers of mats; and that there remained of them only fifteen. One has only to apply the same proportion to the other trades exercised in that city, to the shopkeepers, bakers, grocers, shoemakers, tailors, and other artizans. The number of those who followed these occupations, was reduced in the same proportion as that of the mat-makers, or even in a greater proportion.

There were no fowls at all, with the exception of a very few which were brought from Syria. I have heard of an inhabitant of Egypt, who, being reduced to indigence, had as it

* Commencing Sept. 30, A. D. 1201.

were a suggestion from heaven, to purchase a fowl, which he caused to be brought from Syria, and for which he paid sixty pieces of gold. He sold it again at Cairo, to persons who made it their trade to raise poultry, for eight hundred pieces of gold. When eggs were to be had at all, a single egg sold for a piece of silver; afterwards two, then three, and then four, were sold for the same money; and they sustained themselves at that price. A pullet was sold as high as a hundred pieces of silver; and the price maintained itself a long time at one piece of gold or more.

The ovens were heated with the wood which was taken from the hotels. Those who had ovens purchased a hotel at a low price, and took away all the doors and shutters and beams, which served them for a time to heat their ovens; and when this resource was exhausted, they purchased another hotel. There were some among them, who, listening only to their baseness, entered buildings by night and made their provision of wood, without meeting with any person to oppose their plundering. It often happened that a hotel remained empty, having no one in it but the proprietor, who then, for want of a purchaser, himself removed the joists, doors, and all the furniture, and sold them; and afterwards abandoned the building thus demolished. Those who had rented hotels, did the same thing.

In the street named H  laliy  h, in the greater part of the Great street, among the palaces situated on the canal, in the street of the Muleteers, at Maks, and other neighbouring places, there no longer remained any living soul. One saw only houses in ruins, and the greater part of the inhabitants lying dead in their dwellings. In spite of all this, Cairo is still populous, in comparison with Misr.

As to the villages situated close around Cairo, and also in the provinces, they are no longer any thing but a frightful solitude. One may travel several days in succession, in whatever direction he pleases, without finding a living creature; he will only meet with corpses. The larger cities alone are to be excepted, as Kous, Ikhmim, Mahall  h, Damietta, and Alexandria; where there yet remain inhabitants. But with the exception of these cities and others of like importance, all the rest of the country is depopulated; cities which before contained thousands of inhabitants, are now desolate, or nearly so.

The great city houses, which were intended to be let, are for the most part totally deserted. Their owners can do nothing

more than provide for the security of these edifices. They are either obliged to fasten up the doors, and secure the passages by which persons could get in by scaling the walls; or else they must station hired persons in these houses to guard them. It is scarcely necessary to except from what I have said, the mansions of this kind situated in that part of the city called *Kasabèh*;* some of these are indeed let at a very low price. I know a hotel in one of the most populous quarters, for which the owner formerly received a rent of one hundred and fifty pieces of gold a month, but which now produces only twenty. I know another in a similar situation, which produced sixteen pieces of gold a month, and which now brings only a single piece of gold and a trifle over. One may estimate in the same proportion all the other like houses, of which I omit to speak.

In the space of twenty-two months, from Schowal 596 to Redjeb 598,† the number of the dead [in Cairo] to whom the last duties were paid, whose names were entered in the public registers, and whose bodies were presented at the place appointed for the funeral ceremonies, amounted very nearly to ONE HUNDRED AND ELEVEN THOUSAND! And great as this number is, it is small in comparison with the number of those who perished in their houses, as well as in the remote parts of the city, and at the foot of the walls. The whole together, however, does not even approach the number of those who died at Misr and in the adjacent places. A greater number still were devoured in these two cities.‡ In fine, all this is as nothing, in comparison with the infinite multitude which the mortality has swept away, or who have been devoured in all the cities and provinces, and on all the great routes; especially on that of Syria. I have never met a person coming from another country, who on being interrogated as to the state of the routes, did not reply, that they were strewed with human limbs and skeletons; and I have myself been a witness of the same on all the routes by which I have passed.

A great mortality and violent pestilence appeared still later in Fayoum, in the province Garbiyèh, at Damietta, and at Alexan-

* Formerly the principal market-place of Cairo.

† *Schowal* is the tenth, and *Redjeb* the seventh month, of the Mohammedan year.

‡ It is difficult not to suppose, that there is here a great exaggeration on the part of Abd-allatif.—DE SACY.

dria. It was during the seed time that this plague made its greatest ravages. There was one instance where several labourers perished successively at the same plough. We have been told, that the labourers who sowed the seed, were not the same who had prepared the ground; and that it was others still who gathered the harvest.

We were ourselves present during the time of sowing on one of the principal estates. The proprietor sent out people to do it; afterwards, having received word that they were all dead, he sent others in their place; and the greater part of these last died also. Instances of this sort were often repeated in different districts.

Persons worthy of credit have informed me, that at Alexandria, on a single Friday, the Imam had repeated the funeral prayers over seven hundred persons; that the same estate, in the space of one month, had passed successively to fourteen heirs; and that more than twenty thousand of the inhabitants of that city had quitted it, and withdrawn themselves to Barka and its territory, where they had established themselves and rendered the country flourishing. Barka was once a considerable province; but it had been depopulated in the time of Yazouri by the ill conduct of that unjust minister.* His vexations had caused the inhabitants to abandon their country; and a great portion of them had fixed themselves at Alexandria. The present circumstance was, in some sort, an act of retributive justice rendered by nature.

On Monday, the 26th of Shaban,† very early in the morning, there was a violent earthquake, which inspired people with the greatest terror. Seized with affright, every one leaped from his bed, and uttered cries to God omnipotent. The earthquake continued a long time; the shocks resembled the motion of a sieve, or that which a bird makes in raising and lowering its wings. There were in all three violent shocks, which shook the buildings, made all the doors tremble, and the roofs and joists crack. The buildings which were in a bad condition, or in an elevated place and very high, threatened to fall down. There were some new shocks towards noon of the same day; but they were felt only by a few persons, being very short and feeble. It

* Yazouri was grand kadi and vizier of Egypt in A. D. 1049, and was deposed in A. D. 1058.

† May 20, A. D. 1202.

had been extremely cold during the night, so as to require more covering than ordinarily; to this temperature succeeded during the day an extreme heat, and a violent pestilential wind, which interrupted respiration and was very suffocating.* It is rare in Egypt to experience an earthquake so violent as this.

It was afterwards known from the accounts which reached us successively, that the earthquake was also felt at the same hour in foreign countries, and in cities situated at a great distance. I regard it as quite certain, that a great portion of the earth felt the shock at the same moment; from Kous to Damietta, Alexandria, the maritime coast of Syria, and indeed the whole of Syria in all its length and breadth. Many inhabited places disappeared totally, without the least vestige of them remaining; and an innumerable multitude of persons perished. I know no city in all Syria which suffered less from this earthquake than Jerusalem; which indeed received only slight damage. The ravages occasioned by this event, were much greater in the regions inhabited by the Franks,† than in the countries occupied by Mussulmans.

We have heard that the earthquake was felt as far as Akhlat [in Armenia] and the adjacent countries, as well as in the isle of Cyprus. The rising of the earth and the agitation of the waves presented a spectacle full of horror and not easy to be conceived. The waters seemed to open in various places, and divided themselves into masses like mountains. The ships found themselves aground; and multitudes of fish were thrown out upon the shore.

The following incident is among the most remarkable of all those which we have witnessed. Several persons among those who visited me most assiduously, in order to confer on the subject of medicine, having advanced to the Treatise on Anatomy [of Galen], had difficulty to comprehend me; and I also had difficulty to make myself understood by them; because there is a great difference between a mere verbal description, and an ocular inspection of things. Having therefore learned, that there was at Maks a hill or mound, on which there was accumulated

* The *Simoom*, called by the Turks *Samiel*. The poisonous influence so long attributed to this wind by older writers, has in a great measure disappeared before the researches of modern travellers. See Calmet's Dict. Amer. edit. 1832, art. WINDS.

† Abd-allatif seems to mean here the cities which the Franks then possessed in Syria and Palestine, in opposition to the portions of those provinces occupied by Mussulmans.—DE SACY.

a great quantity of human bones, we went thither, and found a mound of considerable extent, composed of the remains of human bodies. There was more of these, than of earth ; and one might estimate the number of corpses which the eye perceived, at twenty thousand and more. They were distinguished into various classes, according as they had lain a longer or shorter time.* In considering these corpses, we were able to collect more information as to the figure of the bones, their joints and sockets, their respective proportions and positions, than we could ever have procured from books.

We afterwards entered Misr, and beheld the streets and market-places, which formerly were obstructed by the crowds which thronged them. Now, all these places are empty ; one meets in them no living thing, except occasionally some passenger. The solitude which reigns in them, inspires affright in those who traverse them. Besides this, there is scarcely a spot, which is not covered with dead bodies, or strewed with bones.

* The fact here recorded by Abd-allatif, is similar to one mentioned by Ibn-Haukal and by Masoudi. According to these writers, the city of Tennis, [situated on an island in the lake Menzaleh, about twenty-eight miles S. E. of Damietta, and not to be confounded with the ancient Tanis,] was anciently a place of deposit for the dead, where the bodies were piled up in layers one above another ; thus forming mounds of human corpses. The following is the passage of Ibn-Haukal on this subject : " At Tennis there are two large mounds or hills, built of dead bodies piled one above another. These two mounds are called *boutoun*, and seem to have been anterior to Moses and his mission ; for after the time of Moses, the Egyptians conformably to their religion, interred their dead ; and the Christians who succeeded them, also observed the same custom ; while after them the country passed to the Mussulmans. These corpses are covered with wrappers of very coarse rough cloth. The skulls and bones preserve their hardness still in our day."

The mound of corpses described by Abd-Allatif seems to have a great analogy with these immense piles of dead bodies at Tennis. It is singular that the author does not indicate at all, in what manner or by what circumstance a like accumulation of more than twenty thousand corpses regularly piled, had been discovered and exposed to the view of the inhabitants of the adjacent places.—DE SACY.

As connected with the subsequent paragraph, the implication would seem to be, that the pile of bodies at Maks was similar to that afterwards described, and was formed of the corpses of those who had recently died of the pestilence.—ED.

Having come at length to a place called *Ascordja Firaun*, [i. e. the *Basin of Pharaoh*,] we saw all the open places obstructed with corpses and bones; indeed these heaps of corpses were higher than the [adjacent] elevations of the ground; so that they covered them over, and were more than there was earth to bury. As we looked from a more elevated spot, down upon this place named the Basin, and which is indeed a great hollow, we saw there skulls, some white, some black, and others of a deep brown; they were piled up in layers, and in such quantities, that they covered all the other bones. One would have said, that nothing was there but heads without bodies; and it seemed as if one beheld melons, which had been gathered and formed into a pile, like sheaves piled up in the threshing-floor. Some days afterwards, I revisited this spot; the sun had dried up the flesh upon the skulls; they had become white; and I compared them to the eggs of the ostrich gathered into heaps.

When I considered, on one side, the solitude which reigned in the streets and market places of Misr; and, on the other, these plains and these hills so overspread with corpses, I represented to myself a caravan which had quitted the place where it had encamped, and had transported itself to another place. This city, moreover, was not the only one which offered a similar spectacle; towards whatever quarter one might turn his course, he encountered a like picture, and often one still more frightful.

In the month of Dhou'lhiddjeh,* a woman was found at Misr, who had strangled a child in order to devour it. She was seized and drowned. After the time when this detestable custom had passed away, and people had ceased to speak of it and to see examples of it, there was no one found guilty of it, except this one woman.

We come now to speak of the state of the Nile during this year. Ibn-Abi'lradad took the height of the water at Mikiyas the 26th of Ramadan.† It was one cubit and a half; instead of which it had been two cubits the year before. In that same year, 597, the river had begun to increase on that day; in the year 598, the commencement of the increase was deferred till the 25th of Epiphi.‡ In all this interval, the river increased only four digits; so that there was a universal expectation, that there would be no inundation. The despair was general; peo-

* The twelfth month of the Mohammedan year.

† June 18, A. D. 1202.

‡ July 29, A. D. 1202.

ple imagined that something extraordinary had happened to the sources of the Nile, and in the places where it takes its rise. Nevertheless, the river began at length to increase in a more sensible manner; so that at the end of Epiphi, it was three cubits. At that point, the rise stopped for many days; which occasioned extreme affright; because such a suspension was contrary to what ordinarily takes place. Soon after, however, the waters came in great abundance; they increased by very large degrees; and one might have said that mountains of water precipitated themselves one upon another. In the space of ten days, the river rose eight cubits, and three of these at once, without any suspension. On the fourth of Tot, which was the 12th of Dhoulhiddjèh,* the rise of the waters reached its highest point, which was sixteen cubits wanting one digit. After remaining at this point two days, the waters began to decrease slowly, and flowed off by degrees.

Such is the account which I had to give of the circumstances of the horrible scourge, of which I have traced the history. I finish therefore here this chapter, and also the entire work.

Praises to God, the sovereign Master of the universe! May God be propitious to the prince of his envoys, to Mohammed the prophet without letters, and to his holy and venerable descendants!

This book was written by its author, the poor Abd-allatif ben-Yousouf ben-Mohammed Bagdadi, who implores the goodness of the most high God, in the month of Ramadan, in the year 600,† at Cairo.

* Sept. 1, A. D. 1202.

† Commencing Sept. A. D. 1203.

ART. III. ON THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH AND LITERATURE.

By M. Stuart, Prof. of Sac. Lit. in the Theol. Sem. Andover.

The following article originally appeared in the North American Review for April 1826, and is here reprinted with the consent of the Author, and of the Editor of that Journal, without alteration. It has been selected for this work, as embodying a large mass of information, arranged and illustrated in a very lucid manner, together with interesting and able discussions of some important collateral topics. Professor Rosenmueller of Leipsic, without knowing the writer, once expressed to the Editor, in very decided terms, the high value which he set upon this article.—EDITOR.

1. *De Pentateuchi Samaritani Origine, Indole, et Auctoritate, Commentatio Philologico-critica.* Scripsit GULIELMUS GESENIUS, Theol. D. et in Univ. Literar. Fridericianâ Prof. Ord. Halæ, 1815.
2. GULIEL. GESENIUS, Theol. D. et P. P. O. *de Samaritarum Theologidâ ex Fontibus ineditis Commentatio.* Halæ.
3. *Anecdota Orientalia*, edidit et illustravit GULIEL. GESENIUS, Phil. et Theol. D. hujusque in Acad. Fridericianâ Halensi P. P. O. Societatum Asiaticæ Paris. et Philosophicæ Cantab. Socius. *Fasciculus primus, Carmina Samaritana complectens.* Lipsiæ, 1824. [Also entitled] *Carmina Samaritana e Codicibus Londinensibus et Gothanensibus*, edidit et Interpretatione Latinâ cum Commentario illustravit GULIEL. GESENIUS etc. *Cum Tabulâ lapidi inscriptâ.*

THE existence of the Pentateuch, or the five books of Moses, among the Samaritans, written in the peculiar alphabetic character which they employed, and which differed much from the Hebrew square character, was known in very ancient times to such of the Fathers, as were acquainted with the Hebrew language. Origen, in commenting upon Num. xiii. 1, says, καὶ τούτων μνημονεύει Μωϋσῆς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τοῦ Δευτερονομίου, ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν Ἑβραϊκοῦ μετεβάλομεν, i. e. and these things Moses makes mention of in the first part of Deuteronomy, which we have also transferred from the Hebrew copy of the Samaritans. Again, on Num. xxi. 13, he says, καὶ τούτων μέμνηται Μωϋσῆς ἐν Δευτερονομίῳ, ἃ ἐν μόνοις τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν εὑρόμεν i. e. these things Moses mentions in the book of Deuteronomy, which we found only in the Samaritan copy. Je-

rome, in his prologue to the book of Kings, says, *Samaritani etiam Pentateuchum Mosis totidem literis scriptitant, figuris tantum et apicibus discrepantes*. By *totidem literis*, he means as many letters as the Hebrews and Chaldeans used, that is, twenty-two; although the forms of the Samaritan letters differed from those which the Jews employed. Again, in his *Quæstiones in Genesin*, on chap. iv. 8, he says: *Quam ob causam, Samaritanorum Hebræa volumina relegens, inveni etc.*

These, with one or two more references of a similar nature in Origen and Jerome, constitute the evidence which we have that the Samaritan Pentateuch was known, in very ancient times, to such of the Fathers as devoted themselves to the critical study of the Hebrew Scriptures. From the time of Jerome down to the first quarter of the seventeenth century, no traces appear, in the history of criticism and sacred literature, of any knowledge among Christians, whether the Samaritan copy of the law of Moses was still in existence. In the year 1616, Pietro della Valle bought of the Samaritans, at Damascus, a complete copy; which was sent, in 1623, by A. H. de Sancy to the library of the Oratory at Paris. J. Morin briefly described this copy, not long afterwards, in the preface to his edition of the Septuagint, A. D. 1628. Soon after this he published his *Exercitationes Ecclesiasticæ in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum*; in which he extols very highly the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch, preferring it above the common Hebrew text. About the same time, from the copy purchased by della Valle, Morin printed the Samaritan text of the Paris Polyglott, and from this Walton printed the Samaritan text in the London Polyglott with very few corrections.

In the mean time, between the years 1620 and 1630, Archbishop Usher, so distinguished for his zeal in the cause of sacred literature, and for the knowledge of it which he himself acquired, had succeeded by persevering efforts in obtaining six additional copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch from the East, some of which were complete, and others incomplete. Five of these are still in England, deposited in different libraries; and one, which the archbishop presented to Ludovicus de Dieu, appears to have been lost.

In 1621, another copy was sent to Italy, which is now in the Ambrosian library at Milan. About the same time, Peiresc procured three copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch; two of which are in the royal library at Paris, and one in that of Barberini at Rome.

To these copies others have since been added ; so that Kennicott was able to extend the comparison of Samaritan manuscripts, for his critical collection of various readings, to the number of *sixteen*. Most of them, however, were more or less defective, in regard to parts of the Pentateuch.

The external appearance of these manuscripts, in some respects, agrees with that of the synagogue rolls of the Hebrews ; but in many others it differs. All the Samaritan copies in Europe are in the form of books, either folio, quarto, or still smaller ; although the Samaritans in their synagogues make use of rolls, as the Jews also do. The letters in the Samaritan copies are simple, exhibiting nothing like the *literæ majusculæ, minusculæ, inversæ, suspensæ*, etc. of the Hebrews. They are entirely destitute of vowel points, accents, or diacritical signs, such as are found in Hebrew and Chaldee. Each word is separated from the one which follows it, by a point placed between them ; parts of sentences are distinguished by two points ; and periods and paragraphs by short lines, or lines and points. The manuscripts differ, however, in regard to some things of this nature. Words of doubtful construction are sometimes marked by a small line over one of the letters. The margin is empty, unless, as is sometimes the case, the Samaritan or Arabic version is placed by the side of the original text. The whole Pentateuch, like the Jewish copy, is divided into paragraphs, which they call קָצִין, *Kâtsin*. But while the Jews make only fifty-two or fifty-four divisions, (one to be read each Sabbath in the year,) the Samaritans make nine hundred and sixty-six.

The age of some of the Samaritan copies is determined by the date, which accompanies the name of the copyist ; in others it is not. Kennicott has endeavoured to ascertain the date of all the Samaritan manuscripts, which he compared. But he resorts to conjecture in order to effect this ; conjecture supported by no well grounded rules of judging. The Codex Oratorii, used by Morin, he supposes to have been copied in the eleventh century ; while all the others, except one, are conceded to be of more recent origin. One he assigns to the eighth century. On what uncertain grounds the reasoning of Kennicott and De Rossi about the age of Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts rests, need not be told to any one acquainted with the present state of Hebrew literature.

The materials, on which the Samaritan manuscripts are writ-

ten, are either parchment or silk paper. Ordinary paper has been used, in recent times, only to supply some of the defects in them.

The christian world, before Morin published his famous *Exercitationes Ecclesiasticæ in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum*, (1631,) had been accustomed to resort only to the Jewish Hebrew Scriptures, as exhibiting the well authenticated and established text of the Mosaic law. From this remark may be excepted the few, who attached a high value to the Septuagint version, and preferred many of its readings to those, which are found in the Jewish Scriptures. But the publication of Morin soon excited a controversy, which, even at the present hour, has not wholly subsided. As the Samaritan copy of the law in a multitude of places, agreed with the version of the Seventy, Morin maintained that the authority of the Samaritan, particularly when supported by the Septuagint, was paramount to that of the Jewish text. He laboured, moreover, to show, that in a multitude of passages, which in that text as it now stands are obscure and difficult, or unharmonious, the Samaritan offers the better reading; that the Jews have corrupted their Scriptures by negligence, or ignorance, or superstition; and that the safe and only way of purifying them is, to correct them from the Samaritan in connexion with the Septuagint.

The signal was now given for the great contest which ensued. Cappell, in his *Critica Sacra*, followed in the steps of Morin; but De Muis, Hottinger, Stephen Morin, Buxtorf, Fuller, Leusden, A. Pfeiffer, each in separate works published within the seventeenth century, attacked the positions of Morin and Cappell. The principal aim was to overthrow their positions, rather than to examine the subject before them in a critical and thorough manner.

Much less like disputants, and more like impartial critics, did Father Simon, Walton in his *Prolegomena*, and Le Clerc, conduct themselves, relative to the question about the value and authority of the Samaritan Pentateuch. In particular, Simon has thrown out suggestions, which imply for substance the same opinions on many controverted points, that the latest and best critics, after all the discussion which has taken place, have adopted.

But during the latter part of the last century, when the fierceness of controversy seemed to have abated, Houbigant, treading in the steps of J. Morin, renewed it, in the *Prolegomena* to his Bible. With him other controvertists united. Kenni-

cott, in various works, A. S. Aquilino, Lobstein, and Alexander Geddes, have all contended for the equal or superior authority of the Samaritan Codex. Houbigant was answered, in a masterly way, by S. Ravius, in his *Exercitationes Philologicae*, 1761. More recently, Michaelis, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Bauer, and Jahn, have discussed the subject in question with a good degree of moderation and acuteness. But they have all inclined to attach considerable value to many of the Samaritan readings; although most of them consider the Samaritan Pentateuch, on the whole, as of inferior authority, compared with the Hebrew.

Thus the matter stood, when Gesenius entered upon the discussion of it in the treatise which is first named at the head of this article. The great extent of critical and philological knowledge which he had acquired, fitted him in a peculiar manner for the difficult task which he undertook; for difficult it would seem to be, to settle a question that had been so long disputed by the master critics, and still not brought to a termination. What those who best knew the talents of this eminent writer would naturally expect, has, for the most part, been accomplished. He has settled the question, (it would seem forever settled it,) about the authority of the Samaritan Pentateuch compared with that of the Hebrew; or rather, he has shown, as we shall see by and by, the nature of the various readings exhibited by the Samaritan Pentateuch to be such, that we can place no critical reliance at all upon them. They are all, or nearly all, most evidently the effect of design, or of want of grammatical, exegetical, or critical knowledge; or of studious conformity to the Samaritan dialect; or of effort to remove supposed obscurities, or to restore harmony to passages apparently discrepant. On this part of the subject there can be little or no doubt left, hereafter, in the mind of any sober critic.

Gesenius has divided the various readings, which the Samaritan Pentateuch exhibits, into *eight* different classes, for the sake of more orderly and exact description. The first class consists of such as exhibit *corrections merely of a grammatical nature*. For example, in orthography, the *matres lectionis* are supplied; in respect to pronouns, the usual forms are substituted for the unusual ones; the full forms of verbs are substituted for the apocopated forms; the paragogic letters affixed to nouns and participles are omitted, so as to reduce them to usual forms; words of common gender are corrected so as to make the form either masculine or feminine, where the word admits of it, (for example, נער is al-

ways written נערה when it is feminine;) and the infinitive absolute is often reduced to the form of a finite verb.

The second class of various readings consists of *glosses received into the text*. For the most part these exhibit the true sense of the original Hebrew; but they explain the more difficult words by such as seemed to be plainer or more intelligible.

The third class consists of those, in which there is a *substitution of plain modes of expression, in the room of those which seemed difficult or obscure in the Hebrew text*. The fourth, of those in which *the Samaritan copy is corrected from parallel passages, or apparent defects are supplied from them*. The fifth is made up of *additions or repetitions respecting things said and done*; which are drawn from the preceding context, and again recorded so as to make the readings in question. The sixth, of *such corrections as were made to remove what was offensive in respect to sentiment*, that is, which conveyed views, or narrated facts, that were deemed improbable by the correctors. For an example, we refer to the famous genealogies in Genesis v, and xi, in which the Samaritan copy has made many alterations, evidently *designed*. In the antediluvian genealogy, the corrections are so made that no one is exhibited as having begotten his first son, after he is one hundred and fifty years old. Thus the Hebrew text represents Jared as having begotten a son at the age of one hundred and sixty-two years; but the Samaritan takes one hundred years from this. In the postdiluvian genealogy, it follows a different principle of correction. No one is allowed to have begotten a son, until after he was fifty years of age; so that one hundred years are added to all those who are represented by the Hebrew text as having had issue under that age, with the exception of Nahor, to whom fifty years are added. The effects of *design* are most visible in all these corrections; and equally so in the corresponding Septuagint genealogies, we may add, which, while they differ from both the Hebrew and Samaritan, bear the marks of *designed* alteration most evidently impressed upon them. Other examples of a like nature may be found in the Samaritan copy, in Ex. xii. 40. Gen. ii. 2. xxix. 3, 8. Ex. xxiv. 10, 11.

The seventh class of various readings consists of those, in which *the pure Hebrew idiom is exchanged for that of the Samaritan*. This has respect to many cases of orthography; to the forms of pronouns; to some of the forms of verbs, for example, the second person feminine of the praeter tense, which in the

Samaritan has a *Yodh* paragogic; and to the forms of nouns etymologically considered.

The eighth class consists of those passages, *where alterations have been made so as to produce conformity to the Samaritan theology, worship, or mode of interpretation.* For example, where the Hebrew has used a plural verb with the noun אֱלֹהִים *Elohim*, the Samaritan has substituted a verb in the singular number, (Gen. xx. 13. xxxi. 53. xxxv. 7. Ex. xxii. 9.) lest the unity of God should seem to be infringed upon. So in many passages, where anthropomorphism or anthropopathy is resorted to by the sacred writer, in relation to God, the Samaritan has substituted different expressions. In Gen. xlix. 7, where Jacob, when about to die, says of Simeon and Levi: *Cursed be their anger* (אָרַר אֶפְסָם), the Samaritan has altered it to *lovely is their anger* (אֲדִיר אֶפְסָם). In the blessing of Moses, Deut. xxxiii. 12, Benjamin is styled בְּרִיךְ יְהוָה *beloved of Jehovah*, which the Samaritan has altered to יְרֵי יְהוָה *the hand, the hand of Jehovah shall dwell*, etc. In a similar manner, euphemisms are substituted, in various parts of the Pentateuch, for expressions which appeared to the Samaritan critics unseemly or immodest. Finally, in the famous passage in Deut. xxvii. 4, the Samaritan has changed *Ebal* into *Gerizim*, in order to give sanction to the temple which they built, not long after the time of Nehemiah, upon the latter mountain. Kennicott has warmly contested the Hebrew reading here, and defended the Samaritan; but the question was settled against his opinion by Verschuier, in his *Dissertt. Exeget. Philologica*, published in 1773, to the universal satisfaction, we believe, of all biblical critics.

Some of the classes of various readings here described are hardly intelligible, perhaps, to the cursory and general reader; nor will the difference between some of them, (for example, between the second and third class,) be plain to any reader, who does not consult the work of Gesenius, and compare the examples proposed. Under all the classes of various readings, he has produced a multitude of examples, almost to satiety, so as to remove all rational doubt as to the positions which he advances. Never before did the Samaritan Pentateuch undergo such a thorough critical examination; and never, perhaps, in a case that was difficult and had been long contested, was truth made more evident and convincing. Only four various readings in the whole Samaritan Pentateuch, are considered by Gesenius as

preferable perhaps to the Hebrew text. These are the well known passages in Gen. iv. 6. xxii. 13. xlix. 14. and xiv. 14; all of little importance, and all, we are well persuaded, of such a nature, that the probability is quite in favour of the Hebrew text. But this is not the proper place for a discussion of such a subject, and we forbear to pursue it.

The result of Gesenius' labours has been, so far as we know, to ruin the credit of the Samaritan Pentateuch, as an *authentic* source of correcting the Hebrew records; a result of no small importance, considering the thousands of places in which it differs from the Hebrew, and the excessive value which has been set upon it by critics of great note, in different parts of Europe. The biblical student will henceforth know how little dependence he can place on the Samaritan Codex, to help him out in any difficulties of lower criticism; and he will sincerely rejoice too, that the superior purity of the Jewish Pentateuch over that of rival records differing so often from it, is so solidly established.

Of the sixty-four quarto pages, which the dissertation of Gesenius occupies, about forty are employed in exhibiting the classes of various readings which have been described. This is the most important and most satisfactory part of the work. About the merits of this, there can hardly be but one opinion, among all who are conversant with sacred criticism. According to the arrangement of the author, this constitutes the second part of his dissertation.

In the first part, he has discussed the difficult questions, which respect the *origin* and *antiquity* of the Samaritan Pentateuch. Here, also, we discover everywhere the hand of a master in criticism; but we are not prepared, by any means, to accede to all the positions which he has taken. To examine them, however, and to state our reasons for dissent, is by far the most difficult part of the task which we have undertaken. But as the subject is intimately connected with some of the most interesting topics which have lately been agitated in the critical world, we hope that at least one class of our readers will not be displeased to have it laid before them.

It is the opinion of Gesenius, that the Pentateuch did not receive its *present* form, that is, it was not regularly digested and arranged, until the time of the Babylonish captivity. Of course, the Samaritan Pentateuch must have originated still later. He regards that time as the most probable, from which to date the origin of the Samaritan Codex, when Manasseh,

the son in law of Sanballat the Samaritan governor, and brother of the high priest at Jerusalem, went over to the Samaritans, built a temple on mount Gerizim, by the aid of his father in law, and instituted the Mosaic worship there. Many of the peculiar readings of the Samaritan Codex, he thinks, can be accounted for by such a supposition; and at all events, we must suppose that Manasseh carried a copy of the Jewish law along with him.

It must be quite apparent, indeed, that if the Jewish Pentateuch did not receive its present form until the Babylonish exile, the Samaritan Codex must have originated still later; and no time of its origin is more probable, on this ground, than that which Gesenius has assigned to it. But that the Jewish Pentateuch had a much earlier date than is here assigned to it, is what we fully believe. To state all the reasons of this, and to examine all the objections made against this opinion by recent critics, would require a volume, instead of the scanty limits of a review. We shall merely advert therefore, in the first place, to some of the leading reasons why we believe that the Hebrew Pentateuch, with the exception of a very few isolated passages, came from the hand of Moses; next, examine briefly the reasons which are alleged against this; and then endeavour to show why a more ancient date is to be assigned to the Samaritan Pentateuch, than Gesenius gives it.

That the Pentateuch, as to all its essential parts, came from the hand of Moses, appears to be probable from the following considerations.

1. The Pentateuch itself exhibits direct internal evidence, that it was written by Moses.

Thus, in Ex. xvii. 14, after an account of the contest between Israel and Amalek, it is added, *And the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in the book*, (בְּסֵפֶר with the article, not בְּסֵפֶר,) that is, as the meaning seems obviously to be, in the book already begun and in which other things were recorded, in the well known book. So in Ex. xxiv. 4, 7, after the law had been given at Mount Sinai, it is said, that *Moses wrote all the words of the Lord*, and then, that *he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people*. Afterwards, when many more laws had been added, *the Lord said unto Moses, Write thou these words*, Ex. xxxiv. 27. If it be said, All this has respect only to laws or statutes; the answer is easy. In Num. xxxiii. 1, 2, it is said, that *Moses*

wrote the goings out [of the children of Israel] according to their journeys, by the commandment of the Lord. This, it will be recollected, was at the close of their wanderings through the desert, after they had come to the plains of Moab, and were consequently on the very borders of the promised land. The close of the book of Numbers declares, that *these are the commandments and the judgments which the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses*. To what can *these* refer, but to the written contents of the preceding book? Finally, in Deuteronomy, which exhibits a repetition of the most important laws for the Jewish nation, *this law, the words of this law, and the book of this law*, are frequently adverted to. So in Deut. xvii. 18, the future king of the Israelites is enjoined to write out for himself a *copy of this law*, that he may learn to *keep all the words of this law*, verse 19; in chapter xxx. 10, mention is made of the *statutes written in this book of the law*; in xxxi. 11, Moses commands that *this law shall be read before all Israel in their hearing*, that *they may observe to do all the words of this law* verse 12. Particularly worthy of note are the two following passages; Deut. xxviii. 61, where *every plague not written in this book* is threatened, in case the Israelites are disobedient; and Deut. xxxi. 9—13, 19, 22, compared with xxxi. 24—26, from which it appears not only that Moses wrote some things in the preceding book, but that he wrote until *the whole was completed or finished*, and then deposited the book in the side of the ark of the covenant.

It were easy to add other testimony of the like nature, from the Pentateuch itself; but it is superfluous. The fact, that the Pentateuch itself, *as a whole*, claims to be written by Moses, cannot reasonably be doubted, until it can be shown, that it existed, in former days, in numerous distinct volumes, so that a passage in one, which has a reference to its composition by Moses, can be reasonably supposed to relate to nothing farther than the single parcel or small roll, in which such passage is found. But this has never been shown, and never can be. All the evidence before us is of a different nature; inasmuch as it all goes to establish the belief, that the Pentateuch, from time immemorial, has been regarded only as *one* volume.

2. The remaining books of Scripture ascribe the Pentateuch or Jewish law to Moses as its author.

The book of Joshua, although reduced to its *present* form in later times, was undoubtedly composed, in respect to its essential

parts, at a very early period. In this book, frequent references may be found to the *book of the law*. For example, Joshua is commanded *to do according to all which the law of Moses commanded*; and it is enjoined upon him that *this book of the law should not depart out of his mouth*, Josh. i. 7, 8. Joshua, in taking leave of the people of Israel, exhorts them *to do all which is written in the book of the law of Moses*, xxiii. 6; and he recites, on this occasion, many things contained in it. When the same distinguished leader had taken his final farewell of the tribes, he wrote the words of his address *in the book of the law of God*, xxiv. 26. In like manner it is said, Josh. viii. 30 seq. that Joshua built an altar on mount Ebal, *as it is written in the book of the law of Moses*, and that *he read all the words of the law, the blessings and the cursings, according to all that is written in the book of the law*. These references, in a book the substance of which is confessedly of very early date, are of great importance in the investigation of the question, whether the Pentateuch is to be assigned to the time of Moses, or set down, as Gesenius has set it, to the time of the Babylonish exile.

In other historical books, to which the finishing hand was not put until the time of the captivity, but the principal parts of which existed in records of a much older date, the law of Moses is referred to in a similar way. David, on his dying bed, exhorts Solomon, in all things to conduct himself agreeably to what is *written in the law of Moses*, 1 Kings ii. 3. In 2 Kings xiv. 1—6, it is related that Amaziah slew not the children of those, who had murdered his father; and that he spared them according to *that which was written in the book of the law of Moses*; a passage of which is then quoted, from Deut. xxxiv. 16. In 2 Kings xxii. 8, Hilkiyah, the high priest, is represented as having found in the temple a book, which is there called *the book of the law*; in xxiii. 2, *the book of the covenant*; and in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14, *a book of the law of the Lord, given by Moses*. In 2 Kings xxiii. 21—23, Josiah is said to have given orders that the passover should be kept, *as it is written in the book of the covenant*.

In Ezra and Nehemiah frequent references are made to the same book. But as these books were written after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish exile, we will not insist upon their testimony. Gesenius would admit that the Pentateuch was reduced to writing about the commencement of the exile; and therefore he might except to any citations from books writ-

ten after this period and appealing to it, as proof that the Pentateuch was early committed to writing. But there is one circumstance, in the frequent appeals made to the law of Moses in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which is not easily explained on the ground which he takes. This is, that the appeal is everywhere made to the book of the law, as a book which came from the hand of Moses; which was sanctioned by his authority; which was unhesitatingly and universally admitted to be such by the Jews; and which no one therefore would venture to contradict or call in question. How could the whole Jewish nation be made to believe this, if the Pentateuch had been forged only some half a century before? It cannot be contended that there were not many enlightened men among the Jews, at the time of their return from the captivity. To mention Zorobabel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Zechariah, Haggai, and Malachi, is sufficient to prove this; if we say nothing of many others, who might be added to these. Were not these men, too, *honest* as well as enlightened? And if so, how can we suppose them to have palmed the Pentateuch upon the Jewish nation as the work of Moses, when they must have known it not to be so, if it had been composed near, or during, the time of the exile?

In like manner, we might appeal to all the earlier prophets, in confirmation of the idea, that the Pentateuch was, in their day, substantially what it now is. Hosea, Joel, Amos, Micah, and Isaiah, appeal to the precepts of the Mosaic law, and to the facts which are related in it; and they appeal to it as a book of paramount authority, which ought to settle every dispute, and to repress every transgressor. The appeals, moreover, which they make, are not merely to particular statutes comprised in the Pentateuch, but to various matters both historical and preceptive, taken without distinction from *all* the present books of the law of Moses.

To produce instances of all these appeals, would occasion too long delay on this part of our subject. We must be content with referring any who may doubt what is here stated, to Rosenmueller on the Pentateuch, (third edition, 1821, *Prolegomena*, page 11,) where he will find a synoptical view of references by the early prophets to the Pentateuch; or to Jahn's *Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament*, where, in his discussion respecting the age of the Pentateuch, ample references may be found to passages quoted by the different writers, during the ages that followed the time of Moses.

We omit also the very numerous and decisive appeals in the New Testament, to the Pentateuch as the work of Moses ; not because we doubt that they are conclusive in respect to the fact itself, for this all must admit, who regard the writers of the New Testament as under divine guidance in the composition of their works ; but because such an appeal would probably be one, the force of which Gesenius would not admit. In matters of criticism, he regards the apostles and prophets as erring in common with the age in which they lived. Setting aside, then, all that ground of appeal which he would dispute, we have appealed only to those writings which preceded the captivity, or were composed either during this event, or so near it, that the authors must have known whether the Pentateuch was a recent book. We are willing to risk the whole question on the appeals which have been made, if they may be judged of by the same rules, which critics every day apply to the decision of questions that have respect to the Greek or Roman classics, or any other ancient writings.

3. Justice, however, to this important subject, obliges us to add some other considerations in favour of the antiquity of the Pentateuch, which may be called *indirect* testimony.

With a few solitary exceptions, every thing in the Pentateuch conspires to prove its antiquity. Its historical, religious, political, and geographical matter, is such as might be expected in a book of the age which is claimed for it. The Exodus of the Hebrews under Moses as a leader, is a fact that no one doubts ; and the history of this, during forty years of wandering, around the Arabian desert, is such as might be expected. It has been alleged, as a very formidable objection against the authorship of Moses, that the whole of the Pentateuch is in a *fragmentary condition*, exhibiting the formulas appropriate to the beginnings and endings of different compositions by a variety of persons ; that it exhibits a variety of repetitions, both of laws and facts ; and a considerable number of discrepancies, which could not have proceeded from one and the same writer. But this argument is far from convincing us that Moses was not the author. In fact, when thoroughly examined, it serves very much to strengthen us in the opinion that he was. Moses was forty years, at least, in completing the Pentateuch. Nothing can be more improbable, therefore, than the supposition that he did, or could (occupied as he was) sit down and write the whole *continuously*, and agreeably to a plan previously arranged. His work, then, would necessarily contain a great many different compositions, each of

which would very naturally have some formula of commencement and conclusion. Nothing could be more accordant with the condition and circumstances of Moses than this.

Besides, there are most evident marks in the very nature of the composition, that much of it must have been written at the time when the facts, to which allusion is made, took place. For example, in the history of building the tabernacle, Ex. xxv—xxx, we are presented with a draft for the model of it. We must believe this was drawn by the hand of Moses; for chapters xxxi—xl, exhibit a minute record of the accomplishment of this work, which is only a counterpart of the draft. It is perfectly natural, now, to suppose that the draft was first written out by Moses, and then the accomplishment of the work, piece by piece, recorded by himself, or by some one appointed by him to superintend it; and thus came about so long a series of architectural description, and the repetition of it. But who can suppose that a writer, several centuries afterwards, would repeat an account of *such* matters, in this minute way? Or whence could he possibly have derived the knowledge requisite for such a description? Surely tradition could never have preserved minutiae, of such a nature as the compositions in question exhibit; above all, it could not have presented them in the same order and copiousness, and with the same repetitions that are now exhibited in the passages just described.

We ask, further, whether such a census as is contained in Num. i, and ii, also in Num. xxxiv, could have been orally and traditionally preserved? Above all, is it possible that the number and order of the Levitical rites and ordinances could have been kept merely in memory? Could a service, so important as this was deemed by the author of the Pentateuch, be left to mere *oral* tradition for preservation, when the art of writing was already in use? Could a service so complex in its nature, consisting of such a countless number of particulars, and to be performed by so great a multitude of priests, have been left to chance and to ever varying tradition for its regulation? The code for the priests occupies no small part of the Pentateuch; and when we find that the Jewish sacrifices, in all the ages which succeeded Moses, appear to have had, and in fact must have had, some rules, to which appeals about the time and manner of offering them were made; some rules, for the neglect of which priests and people are charged with disobedience, and a wayward spirit; can it be that there was, during all this time,

no code for the priests except what was preserved by mere *oral* report? The thing is altogether improbable.

But when it is averred, that repetitions of the same subject, additions made to laws, and changes made in them, imply that different and discrepant traditionary accounts were, in some later age, thrown together by some anonymous compiler of the Pentateuch, we must avow that a very different conviction arises in our minds, from the knowledge of facts like these. For example, the law respecting the passover is introduced in Ex. xii. 1—28; resumed Ex. xii. 43—51; again in chapter xiii; and once more, with supplements, in Num. ix. 1—14. Would a compiler, after the exile, have scattered these notices of the passover in so many different places? Surely not; he would naturally have embodied all the traditions concerning it in one chapter. But now, every thing wears the exact appearance of having been recorded in the order in which it happened. New exigencies occasioned new ordinances, and these are recorded, as they were made, *pro re natâ*.

In like manner, the code of the priests not having been finished at once in the book of Leviticus, the subject is resumed, and completed, at various times, and on various occasions, as is recorded in the subsequent books of the Pentateuch. So the subject of sin and trespass offerings is again and again resumed, until the whole arrangements are completed. Would not a later compiler have embodied these subjects respectively together?

Besides repeated instances of the kind just alluded to, cases occur, in which statutes made at one time are repealed or modified at another. We refer to such examples, as our readers may find in Ex. xxi. 2—7, compared with Deut. xv. 12—17; Num. iv. 24—33, compared with Num. vii. 1—9; Num. iv. 3, compared with Num. viii. 24; Lev. xvii. 3, 4, compared with Deut. xi. 15; Ex. xxii. 25, compared with Deut. xxiii. 19; Ex. xxii. 16, 17, compared with Deut. xxii. 29; and other like instances. How could a compiler, at the time of the captivity, know any thing of the original laws, in these cases, which had gone into desuetude from the time of Moses?

All these things, to which we have been adverting, so far from strengthening the cause of those who deny the early age of the Pentateuch, serve to show, in our apprehension, that it was written, as it purports to be, by the great Jewish legislator, at different times, *pro re natâ*, and in many different parcels at

first, which were afterwards united. That the union of these might have taken place near the death of Moses, or still later, is altogether possible; nay, considering circumstances by and by to be mentioned, quite probable. That Moses wrote the whole Pentateuch with his own hand, need not be maintained; for what difference can it make with the authenticity of the book, whether he wrote it all with his own hand; or employed an amanuensis to whom he dictated it; or made use of some compositions which were from the pens of others, reviewing them and adapting them to his purpose? All late writers, who have critically examined the book of Genesis, concede the latter, in respect to that book. But by conceding this, neither the value of the book is diminished, nor its authority; nor is the fact at all impugned, that Moses is the author of the Pentateuch. What he may have taken from others, and adapted to his own purpose, and sanctioned with his authority, is to be ascribed to him in every sense (so far as the *authority* of religious truth is concerned) which is worth contending about. Moses is the *voucher* for all that has passed through his hands; and that is sufficient.

4. In all the history of the Jews, throughout the Old Testament, whether it be found in the books which are merely historical, or adverted to in the prophets, there are laws, rules, and prescriptions referred to and implied, a departure from which lays the foundation of reproof; and a compliance with which is matter of commendation. It will be admitted that the laws etc. adverted to, appear to be uniformly the *same*. Now can such a case be well supposed, unless the record of such laws and prescriptions was reduced to writing?

5. Universal tradition, from the earliest ages down to the present hour, among Jews and Christians, ascribes the Pentateuch to Moses. The few critics who have in modern and recent times impugned this, are the only exception to be made to this statement. This argument is the same as that which satisfies us that Homer wrote the *Iliad*; Hesiod, the *Works and Days* ascribed to him; Herodotus, the history which bears his name; and Virgil, the *Æneid*. In our apprehension, there is as little of solid ground to call in question the genuineness of the Pentateuch, as of the heathen writings just mentioned.

We have merely touched on some of the leading topics of argument, in respect to this great subject. We must necessarily pass by a multitude of minor considerations, which might be

added to strengthen what has been said, and hasten to some brief remarks on the arguments which are urged against the antiquity of the Pentateuch.

All the arguments of this kind may be reduced to three classes; namely, those drawn from the diction or language of the Pentateuch; those deduced from the general style and conformation of it; and such as are derived from particular passages, which are said necessarily to imply an age later than that of Moses.

1. In regard to the language of the Pentateuch, it is averred that it is throughout substantially the same with that, which appears in the books composed five hundred or more years later, that is, at or after the time of David; nay, the same as is found one thousand years later, in the books written at the time of the exile. No nation, it is averred, ever preserved a uniformity in a living language, for so long a period. No example of such a nature can be produced. Consequently, the Pentateuch must have been written at a later period.

In respect to this argument, we have to reply, that conceding for the present the statement to be true, respecting the sameness of language in the Pentateuch and later Hebrew writings, yet there are not wanting facts of a similar nature, to shew that this argument has little or no weight. For example, the old Syriac version of the New Testament, called the *Peshito*, made probably in the second century, differs very little in respect to language from the *Chronicon* of Bar Hebræus, written about one thousand years later. The language of the Koran, and of the Arabic just before and after the Koran was written, differs but slightly from that of the Arabic writers from the tenth down to the eighteenth century. So Rosenmueller and Jahn both assert; whom all will allow to be competent judges of this fact. And what is still more in point; Confucius, the celebrated Chinese philosopher, lived and wrote about five hundred and fifty years before Christ. Yet Dr Marshman, his translator, asserts, that there is very little difference between his diction, and that of the Chinese writers of the present day. One Chinese commentary which Dr Marshman consulted, was written one thousand and five hundred years after the work of Confucius; and another, still later; and yet he tells us that he found no difference between the commentaries and the original, in respect to style and diction, excepting that the original was more concise. Here then is a period of more than two thousand years, in

which language has been preserved uniform. Such facts, in connection with the well known aversion to changes among the oriental nations; and the consideration that the Hebrews were altogether a secluded people, having no commerce, and but little intercourse with foreigners, having no schools in philosophy, and making no advances in the arts and sciences, so as to create the necessity of introducing new words into their language—such facts would deprive the argument in question of all its power to convince, even if the assertion on which it is grounded were true.

But in this case, (as in many others, where the attractions of novelty have led men to make hasty and ungrounded conclusions,) the fact, upon examination, turns out to be altogether untrue. After it had been asserted, and repeated by the *neological* class of critics, in every part of the continent of Europe, the late Professor Jahn of Vienna undertook the investigation of it, by betaking himself to his Hebrew concordance, and looking the whole store of Hebrew words through and through, to find where and by whom they were employed. The result of this gigantic labour has been published, since his death, in two essays, printed in Bengel's *Archiv für die Theologie*, vols. ii. and iii. Two more essays in defence of the antiquity of the Pentateuch, the author had planned; but death interrupted his most valuable labours.

This writer has collected from the Pentateuch more than two hundred words, which are either not used at all in the other books; or are not used in the same sense; or have not the same form; or, if employed at all, are employed but in few instances, principally by the poets, who prefer the older diction. It would be out of place to give examples here, and we can only refer our readers to the work itself for ample satisfaction. To the class of words already named, the author has added a second class, still larger, of words frequently used in the later writings, and but seldom or not at all used in the Pentateuch. From the class of words so unexpectedly large, that are found to be peculiar to the Pentateuch, are excluded by Jahn, all proper names of persons, countries, cities, and nations; the names of various diseases and their symptoms, referred to in the Pentateuch; of defects in men, priests, and offerings in regard to ceremonial purity; the parts of offerings; and the objects in the three kingdoms of nature. Besides these, the multiplied instances of peculiar phraseology are excluded. If all these had been *included*,

he asserts it would have made the catalogue of peculiarities four or five times as large as he has now made it. Of this we doubt not. But enough is already done to put the question forever at rest, about the uniformity of the language of the Pentateuch and that of the later books. The labour of Jahn is one of those triumphant efforts, which patient and long continued investigation sometimes makes, to overthrow theories which the love of novelty, reasoning *a priori*, or superficial investigation, ventures upon. Gesenius himself has not, in the work which we are reviewing, ventured on the argument against the early date of the Pentateuch, drawn from its language; but in an earlier work, his *History of the Hebrew Language*, he has appealed to this very argument as his main support; although his *Lexicon* itself, which points out the earlier and later usage of words among the Hebrews, sufficiently contradicts it.

It is gratifying to find that Rosenmueller, who, in the early editions of his *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, appeared as a strenuous advocate for its later origin, has, in the *Prolegomena* to his third edition, attacked, and in our judgment overturned, the opinions, which in younger days he had broached. This shows a fairness of mind, which is promising, in respect to this learned critic. For the conviction which led him to do this, he is plainly indebted to Jahn; as any one may satisfy himself, who will take the pains to compare the essays of Jahn with what he has written.

2. We hasten to the second source of objections against the antiquity of the Pentateuch, drawn from the general style and conformation of it.

Much that has been alleged here, we have already anticipated, under our third head of arguments in favour of the position, that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch. All the various introductions and conclusions of different pieces in the Mosaic books, all the repetitions and minor discrepancies, so much insisted on as proof of later compilation, we consider a presumptive evidence in favour of its composition by Moses; inasmuch as they accord very exactly with the real circumstances in which he was placed, when he wrote the books that are ascribed to him.

In regard to the allegations made, that there is a great diversity of style in the Pentateuch; above all, that the book of Deuteronomy is exceedingly diverse from the three other books, and betrays a later and a different hand; and consequently the

whole can never be ascribed to Moses as the author ; we confess ourselves not to be much moved by allegations of this nature. De Wette, Vater, Gesenius, and other critics aver indeed, that the style of Deuteronomy is widely different from that of the other Mosaic books ; but Eichhorn, Eckermann, Herder, and many others of those who are called the most liberal critics, aver that the same style is every where to be met with in the last book of Moses, as in the others. *De gustibus non disputandum.* We may add, *A gustibus non argumentandum.* The subjective feelings of men, in regard to matters of this kind, are exceedingly liable to be guided by their previous intellectual views. Such is actually the fact, in regard to a multitude of cases, which every one at all conversant with the history of literature and criticism knows. Most abundantly satisfied we are, that the mere judgment of a modern occidental man, depending on his taste and fine perception of oriental and Hebrew niceties of style, is not to come in competition with *facts*, such as have already been adduced.

One amusing instance of criticism of this sort we will stop to relate ; as it may serve to aid what we are endeavouring to enforce in respect to our subject. Every tyro in criticism knows something of the celebrated Wolf, at Berlin ; and that he published very long and learned *Prolegomena* upon Homer, in which he laboured to show, that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are, to an extent even unknown, spurious productions. The whole classical world has been obscured, by the smoke and dust which he has raised. The same Wolf, in his edition of some of Cicero's orations, says, (p. 4 and 7 of the Introduction to the Oration for Marcellus,) '*Quatuor orationibus Ciceronianum nomen detraxi. . . . Adeo mihi in oratione pro Marcello certa et perspicua videbantur inesse indicia νοθείας, et mirificus error, per tot sæcula propagatus, plane et evidentè convinci posse.*' Just so De Wette and Vater speak respecting the Pentateuch. But Weiske, in his *Commentarius perpetuus et plenus in Orationem pro Marcello*, p. 5 seq. has taken the very same grounds, which Wolf has rested upon in order to impeach the genuineness of this oration, and applied them to prove that Wolf did not write the criticism which he has published ; and with complete effect.

How much now can be made of such confident judgments, formed merely by subjective taste ? Above all, can they be relied on, when they overturn the established and uniform opinion of all preceding ages ?

In our apprehension, there is a difference between the style of Deuteronomy and of the preceding books, like to that existing between the style of John's epistles and of his gospel. Old age is diffuse and affectionate. Both these traits are strongly marked in Deuteronomy, and in John's epistles. The case is different with the preceding books of the Pentateuch, and with the gospel of John. More than this cannot well be proved. Jahn has shown, that with the exception of a small portion at the end of the book, Deuteronomy has all the archaisms and peculiarities of the Mosaic writings.

3. The third class of objections it would take a moderate volume to discuss *seriatim*. We shall therefore choose only two or three topics, which exhibit a principle of reasoning that may be applied to all the particular cases.

The principal objections adduced by Gesenius, in the work which we are reviewing, against the antiquity of the Pentateuch, are founded on the principle, that many passages in it, particularly in the book of Deuteronomy, betray an exact knowledge of facts that happened in later ages. The argument is this: Moses could not have a definite knowledge of such facts, and consequently Moses did not write the passages in question, but some person who lived after the events described had taken place, or when they were apparently about to take place. He appeals for proof of this to Gen. xlix, as containing a graphic account of the fate and fortune of the twelve tribes; to Gen. xlviii. 8, seq. which exhibits similar matter, as also does Deut. xxxiii. 1. He appeals to the threatenings in Lev. xxvi, which, he says, are obviously such as the prophets were accustomed to utter in later ages, just before the events threatened took place. The same objection he makes to Deut. xxxiii. The dispersion of the Jews, threatened in Deut. iv. 27, 28, and xxviii. 25, 36, seq. he thinks must have been written after the event had commenced; and the law respecting false prophets, in Deut. xiii. 1, and xviii. 20, must have been occasioned by the existence of them, which was long after the time of Moses.

All this, it is easy to perceive, turns on one single point; namely, whether Moses could and did possess a prophetic spirit, or the power of predicting events that were future. We believe that it is possible for the God who made men, to endow them with such a spirit. On the testimony of Jesus and his apostles, (not to mention other reasons which we have,) we believe in the

fact that Moses did possess this spirit. Now as it is plainly impossible to prove that he did not possess it, much more so that he could not possess it, any argument, built on the assumption that a knowledge of future events supernaturally communicated is an impossibility, can never be a valid argument against the early existence of a book which implies such a knowledge in the author. The question, whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch or not, is simply a *historical* one; and it cannot therefore depend on a philosophical maxim, which is founded on mere *à priori* principles of reasoning. The same argument which Gesenius here uses to disprove the antiquity of the Pentateuch, would disprove the existence of real prediction in any part of the Scriptures. We hesitate not to avow, that we can never be convinced by an argument which extends so far as this.

In the same strain of argument, our author alleges that Ex. xv. 13, 17, alludes to Jerusalem as a stated place of worship, and therefore the song in this chapter must have been composed after the events to which it alludes had taken place. This, if the nature of the argument were valid, depends on an interpretation of the passage which we regard as quite unnecessary, and in fact indefensible.

Such is the substance of the objections alledged by Gesenius against the antiquity of the Hebrew Pentateuch, and which go to prove, as he declares, that it must have been composed later at least than the time of Solomon.

Others have drawn out at great length all the particular passages, which necessarily imply, as they allege, a late composition of the books in question. For example; there are several passages where the ancient name of a town is mentioned, and then a later name is added. As an instance; in Gen. xiv. 7, the name Bela occurs, after which it is added, 'the same is Zoar.' So Gen. xiv. 7, 17. xxiii. 19. xxxv. 19. xlviii. 7. Deut. iv. 48. There are some passages, too, where a more modern name occurs simply; as Hebron, in Gen. xiii. 18, compare Josh. xiv. 15. xv. 13. So Dan, in Gen. xiv. 14. Deut. xxxiv. 1, compare Josh. xix. 47. Judg. xviii. 29.

We very readily concede the point, that a few glosses of this nature, explanatory of more ancient geography, were added to the Pentateuch by later writers, in order to make it more intelligible to the men of their times. But the fact, that these glosses stand so in relief, as it respects the original text, that a critic cannot well hesitate where they begin and where they end, is so

far from being a proof that the whole books of Moses were composed in a later age, that it is manifestly a proof to the contrary. How could a late writer scarcely ever betray the age in which he lived? How could it be, that he should introduce no foreign terms into his work but such as are Egyptian, in the midst of all the intercourse which the later ages had with the nations of the north and the east? Questions difficult to be answered; and which have never been answered to our satisfaction, by any who oppose the antiquity of the Pentateuch.

We conclude this protracted part of our discussion, by a few remarks on the usual method of treating this subject.

The advocates for the antiquity of the Pentateuch have not unfrequently made such extravagant claims for the genuineness of every part of it, even the minutest, that they have unwarily contributed, in no small degree, to aid the assaults of their opponents. Will any man believe, for example, that Moses wrote the account of his own death and burial, which is placed at the end of the Pentateuch? May it not be conceded as probable, that the long genealogy of the kings of Edom, in Gen. xxxvi, was completed by some later hand? And when 'the man Moses' is described as 'meek beyond all others,' may not some other hand than his own have added this? Such high claims, which can never be rendered valid, nor shown to be reasonable, only serve to expose a good cause to the assaults of those who oppugn it. If they can triumph over one and another argument, which want of acquaintance with the subject, or superstition, or excessive views about the kind of perfection attached to the Scriptures have led men to use; they are very prone to carry an analogy forward, and extend it to all the arguments which are employed for the purpose of defence. The time has come, indeed, when men must know with what sort of arms they are contending. Every principle, in this age of free inquiry, will be probed to the very bottom; and if it will not abide the trial, it will be cast away. Sooner or later, it must come to this. We profess to be among those who believe, that the sooner this takes place, the better for the cause of truth, of the Scriptures, and the interests of true religion in the world.

If we have succeeded in showing that the Hebrew Pentateuch, as to all its essential parts, came from the hand of Moses, we have of course prepared the way to shew the possibility, that the Samaritan Pentateuch may be older than the time of the Babylonish exile.

We must limit ourselves to the leading topics of argument ; which we shall aim to state simply, without particular reference to all that has been written in regard to this subject.

It is important, in order to prepare the mind for a proper view of this topic, to take a brief survey of the condition and circumstances of the ten tribes, from whom the Samaritans originated, or whom, we may perhaps more properly say, they succeeded.

In the year 975 before Christ, ten tribes, under Jeroboam, revolted from the dominion of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, and erected a separate principality. This continued, with some intervals of anarchy and confusion, for the space of two hundred and fifty-three years ; when the country was invaded by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, and all the people of wealth, influence, and consideration, were deported to the provinces of Halah and Habor by the river Gozan, and to the cities of the Medes, 2 K. xvii. 6. The succession of kings from Jeroboam downwards, may be exhibited to view in a short compass.

	A. C.		A. C.
Jeroboam	975	Jeroboam II. . . .	825
Nadab	954	(Interregnum) . . .	784
Baasha	952	Zachariah	773
Elah	930	Shallum	773
Omri	929	Menahem	773
Ahab	918	Pekahiah	761
Ahaziah	897	Pekah	759
Joram	896	(Interregnum) . . .	740
Jehu	884	Hoshea	731
Jehoahaz	856	(Captivity)	722
Jehoash	840		

Most of these kings were more or less devoted to idolatry, or at least to *moscholatry*, that is, the worship of the golden calves set up by Jeroboam at Dan and Bethel, towns near the two extremities of his kingdom. This was, no doubt, like the worship that was practised in Egypt of the god Apis ; for Jeroboam had lived in Egypt, previously to his becoming a king, 1 K. xii. 2. It would seem, however, that the design of Jeroboam was rather to worship Jehovah, under the symbol of the calves, than absolutely to proscribe all the religious worship due to him. It was Ahab, who first introduced the worship of foreign idols in a manner fully heathen, 2 K. xvi. 30—33. He persecuted and destroyed the prophets of the true God, and oppressed and ter-

rified all who worshipped him. This did many of the succeeding kings, in a greater or less degree; but none, with the zeal and bitterness of Ahab, who was instigated by a heathenish wife, both bigoted and blood-thirsty. But during the reign of all the Israelitish kings, there were more or less true prophets and worshippers of the true God among the ten tribes. This is a very interesting fact; and it has a bearing so important on the subject of the present discussion, that some delay is proper, in order to establish it.

In the time of Jeroboam, the first king of Israel, we find the prophet Ahijah exercising his office among the ten tribes. Under Nadab, Jehu the son of Hanani was prophet; under Ahab, Elijah and Micaiah the son of Imlah; under Ahaziah, Elijah, Elisha, and Micaiah; under Joram, Elisha; under Jehu, Elisha and another prophet sent by him to anoint Jehu. In the time of Elijah and Elisha, there was a school of the prophets also at Bethel, 2 K. ii. 3. Jehoahaz king of Israel sought the Lord, in the time of Elisha, and was promised victory over the Syrians his enemies; as did also Joash, his successor. Jeroboam the Second not only obtained a victory over the Syrians, according to the prediction of Josiah the son of Amittai, but extended his conquests, so as to recover the dominions that had been lost under Jehu and Jehoahaz. Under the reign of Jeroboam the Second, Hosea and Amos, prophets whose works are a part of our Scripture canon, lived among the ten tribes, and prophesied concerning them. During the short and interrupted reigns which followed, there may have been, and probably were, prophets of the Lord among the ten tribes, although we have no express account of them. It is plainly intimated, however, in 2 K. xvii. 13, that God did not cease to warn Israel, as well as Judah, by prophets and seers, down to the time of their captivity.

On the supposition now that the law of Moses was already in existence, (as we have seen it probably was,) during all the period in which the ten tribes had a separate national standing, and that so many true prophets lived among them, and were commissioned to instruct and reprove them; can it be rationally supposed, that these prophets had no copy of the Pentateuch, no standard to which they made the appeal in all cases of command and reproof? Were Elijah, and Elisha, and Hosea, and Amos, unacquainted with the law of Moses? Read the works of the two latter prophets, and see if the appeal to the

Pentateuch is not too often made, for any one reasonably to doubt of its existence, and of their acquaintance with it, in its present form.

But this is not all. The people among the ten tribes were never all of them devoted to idol worship. In the time of Asa king of Judah, about nine hundred and forty-one years before Christ, a great reformation was effected, and the worship of God renewed with zeal, among the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. With the devout worshippers from these tribes, great numbers out of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and Simeon, that is, out of the ten tribes, were associated, 2 Chron. xiv. 8, seq. Under Ahab, the most zealous and oppressive of all the idolatrous kings of Israel, when even Elijah the prophet thought that he alone was left, of all the nation, who worshipped the true God, the divine response informed him that seven thousand remained in Israel, who had not bowed the knee to Baal, 1 K. xix. 10, 18.

Hezekiah king of Judah wrote letters of invitation to Ephraim and Manasseh, to come and keep the passover with him and his people, 2 Chron. xxx. 1; and although most of the people among these tribes derided the proposal, yet not a few of them accepted the invitation, 2 Chron. xxx. 11. Josiah carried reform still further; for he went through the land of Israel, and destroyed all their idols and altars, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 6, seq. That he did this with the approbation of very many among the ten tribes, may be inferred from the fact, that no war appears to have taken place in consequence of this proceeding.

Such are the numerous and unquestionable evidences, that the worship of the true God was kept up, in some form more or less perfect, among the ten tribes, during the whole of their existence as a separate nation. Now could this have been done without some rule; some uniform basis or support; some paramount authority to which the prophets all made an appeal, in order to enforce their reproofs, and sanction their precepts? To say the least, such would be a case extremely rare of occurrence; indeed, a case altogether improbable.

The ten tribes, then, were in possession of the law of Moses. Such is the conclusion to which facts like these necessarily bring us.

Besides, how happens it that the Samaritans, descended from them, have never possessed or acknowledged any other of the Old Testament Scriptures, except the Pentateuch? Must it not

have been for the reason, that when they received the Pentateuch, it was then the only part of the Hebrew Scriptures which was in common circulation among the Jews? If so, then they must have very early been in possession of it; for the writings of David and Solomon were already in existence, and if the ten tribes came in possession of the Pentateuch after these writings began to circulate, why did they not receive these Scriptures as well as the other?

Gesenius has adverted to this argument, in the work before us, p. 4. His reply is, that the writings of David, Solomon, and the prophets who succeeded them, every where acknowledge Jerusalem and the temple there, as the seat and only proper place of sacred solemnities. This the ten tribes, of course, would not acknowledge; and therefore they rejected all the books, that is, the works of David, Solomon, etc. which contained such acknowledgments.

But even if this be allowed, the reply is insufficient. The books of Joshua and Judges contain nothing of any such references to the preëminence of Jerusalem, and to the worship established there; nothing of the preëminence of the tribe of Judah; in short, nothing which would interfere with the peculiar views of the ten tribes about the place of worship. Now as these books, for substance, are confessedly of early composition, why should the Pentateuch be received among the ten tribes, or the Samaritans, and these be rejected, unless the reception of the Pentateuch among them took place at a time which preceded the circulation of the books in question among the Hebrews in general? The reason alleged by Gesenius proves too much; for if it be valid, then we might confidently expect to find the books of Joshua and Judges included in the canon of the Samaritans. The reason for rejecting particular books from the canon, which he assigns, does not apply to the books in question.

Besides, there is somewhat of *ὑστερον πρότερον* in the argument which the learned critic adduces. Where does he find, in the history of the ten tribes, any dispute about the place of worship? Surely it cannot be forgotten, that the question about mount Gerizim arose years after the return from the Babylonish exile. Jeroboam, indeed, established the worship of the golden calves at Dan and Bethel, the two extremities of his kingdom; but where does it appear, that the ten tribes attached any peculiar notions of value to these places, so that Jerusalem and Zion would have excited particular jealousy in their minds?

The jealousies between the ten tribes and the two tribes, were of a civil and political, rather than of a religious cast. Who does not know that Judah and Benjamin, with their kings, fell into idolatry almost as often as the Israelites? Solomon began it, near the close of his life, 1 K. xi. 7, seq. Rehoboam his successor followed his example, 2 Chron. xii. 1, 14; as did Jehoram, 2 Chron. xxi. 6; Ahaziah, 2 Chron. xxii. 3; Ahaz, 2 Chron. xxviii. 6; Manasseh, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 2; Jehoiakim, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5; Jehoiachin, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9; and Zedekiah, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 12. It was not, then, because the ten tribes were wholly devoted to idol worship (we have already seen this was not the case) and Judah wholly devoted to the worship of the true God, that enmity existed between them. They often harmonized in their objects of worship. The early enmity between these rival kingdoms, was plainly of a *civil*, not of a religious nature; a circumstance that seems to have been almost wholly overlooked, as yet, among critics who have assailed, or who have defended, the antiquity of the Samaritan Pentateuch. If we are correct, religious sympathies among the ten tribes are not to be adduced as an argument on which reliance can be placed, either in respect to the reception or rejection of any part of the Hebrew Scriptures. Two of their prophets, Hosea and Amos, are among the number of our canonical writers. Yet the Samaritans do not acknowledge them, and the Jews do acknowledge them. This only serves to show how much farther the argument, drawn from the religious sympathies of these two parties in very ancient times, has been carried, than can be justified by the facts which are before us. It was the occurrence that took place after the return of the Jews from their exile, and which is related in Ezra iv, that first gave rise to high religious antipathy between the Jews and the Samaritans; which was, however, exceedingly aggravated, when the Samaritans erected a rival temple on mount Gerizim, and claimed that place as the proper scriptural one, for the celebration of their religious solemnities.

Gesenius asks, How could Jeroboam possibly venture on idol worship at Dan and Bethel, and how could he have dared to dispossess the Levites of their rights, in case the Pentateuch had been in the hands of his people, which so plainly and directly forbids all this? But this proves too much also. Let us put it to the test. How could the Jews, during the very process of legislation at mount Sinai, and after the ten commandments had been published, make the golden calf and

worship it? How could Solomon, and Ahaz, and Manasseh, and other Jewish kings, practise idol worship, when the same commands were extant among them in writing, as Gesenius himself would allow? So plain is it, that we never can argue from the practice of a corrupt and wicked people, to prove the non-existence of a law among them forbidding their evil deeds. Might we not now prove, by the same process of argument, that the gospel does not at all exist in Christian lands?

The Pentateuch then may have existed, and it is altogether probable in our view, that it did exist in writing, among the ten tribes. Let us follow its history down among the Samaritans.

After the deportation of the principal men among the ten tribes into a foreign land, by Shalmaneser king of Assyria, 2 K. xvii, many heathen from the provinces of the Assyrian empire were sent, in their room, into the land of Israel, 2 K. xvii. 24. These served not Jehovah; and he visited them with the ravages of lions. Terrified by this, they applied to the king of Assyria for counsel; who sent them a priest (one that had been carried away as a captive from Samaria) to 'teach them how they should fear Jehovah,' 2 K. xvii. 28. At the same time, they still continued their idol worship; merely counting Jehovah as one of the gods to whom they paid their devotions, 2 K. xvii. 32, seq.

It was at this period, that the name of *Samaritans* appears to have been given to this mixed people, composed of heathen and the lower classes of the ten tribes not carried away by Shalmaneser. This name first occurs in 2 K. xvii. 29, and is derived from Samaria, the customary place of royal residence for the Israelitish kings. Omri, the father of Ahab, first built the city of Samaria, on a parcel of ground which he purchased of Shemer (שֶׁמֶר), and surnamed it after the original owner, שֶׁמֶרֹן *Shomerōn*, that is Samaria.

We hear nothing more of the Samaritans, for one hundred and eighty-seven years after this, when the Jews, returned from their exile, began to rebuild their temple. On this occasion, the Samaritans offered to assist them, alleging that they sought God in the same manner as the Jews, and were accustomed to sacrifice to him, from the time that the king of Assyria had brought them into the land. The Jews, however, rejected their proposal, Ezra iv. 3, 4. Embittered by this, the Samaritans sought in various ways to hinder the building of the temple; and did in fact, for a long time, delay the completion of it.

In the time of Nehemiah, about four hundred and eight years before Christ, Manasseh, a son of the high priest Jojada at Jerusalem, married a daughter of Sanballat the governor of Samaria, and was, on this account, exiled by his brother Jaddus, who was high priest at the time of this occurrence. Manasseh went over to his father in law, carrying along with him a party of Jews, who had married foreign wives, and had thus become obnoxious among their countrymen at home. Sanballat took advantage of this occurrence, and built a temple for his son in law, on mount Gerizim; which became an object of jealousy and bitter hatred, on the part of the Jews. About two hundred years afterwards, this temple was destroyed by John Hyrcanus, Josephus' Antiq. xiii. 18. The place, however, remained sacred in the view of the Samaritans, even down to the time of our Saviour, John iv. 19, seq.

The Samaritans are frequently mentioned in the works of the Christian Fathers; but we know little of the particulars of their history, since they ceased to be a nation. As a religious sect, they exist to the present hour, and Sichem is, and has always been, their central point. There they have preserved a copy of the Mosaic law; and also a supposititious book of Joshua, so mutilated as scarcely to bear a perceptible relation to the true one.

From this brief view of the Samaritans, it appears highly probable that they have ever continued to possess copies of the Pentateuch, even from the time of Jeroboam; and that it is not without some good reason that critics, such as Eichhorn and others, have argued for the great antiquity of the Hebrew Pentateuch, from the antiquity of the Samaritan copy of it.

We have dwelt so long on the question respecting the antiquity of the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuch, because it is a very important one in regard to the literature of our sacred books; not to say almost an essential one, in respect to the authenticity of the five books of Moses. It is a question, too, which has deeply agitated critics on the continent of Europe, and which has been contested with great ability and learning, and not a little excitement of feeling. Hobbes, in his *Leviathan*, was the first in modern times, we believe, who ventured to assail the genuineness of the Pentateuch, maintaining that these books are called *the books of Moses*, because they have respect to him, and not because he was the author of them. After him, Peyrerius, Spinoza, Simon, Le Clerc in early life, Hasse, Fulda, Nachtigall, Bertholdt, and Volney, in various ways, called in question

or denied the genuineness of the Pentateuch. But the most potent adversaries who have contended against it, are Vater, De Wette, and Gesenius, of whom the two latter are still living. The two former have gone into the subject at great length, (De Wette in his *Beiträge* etc. and Vater in his Commentary on the Pentateuch,) and collected together every thing of importance that has been urged on this subject, and presented it in its strongest light. Vater has, on the whole, treated the subject with more discrimination and fulness, than any of the numerous opponents, who have in recent times risen up against the genuineness of the Pentateuch.

On the other hand, critics (liberal and orthodox so called) have united their efforts in defence of its genuineness. Michaelis, Jahn, Stäudlin, Eichhorn, Eckermann, Kelle, Rosenmüller, and others, have repelled the attacks which have been made. In particular, the last efforts of Jahn, to which a reference has already been made, have produced, we believe, a kind of cessation of hostilities, and an apparent doubt in the minds of assailants, whether the attack is to be renewed.

We have some other considerations, of a nature deeply interesting to sacred criticism, with respect to the Samaritan Pentateuch, which we cannot persuade ourselves to pass over in silence. All who are conversant with the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch, must know, that although, considered in a general point of view, it is a good version of the Hebrew, yet in very many cases it departs from the exactness of the original text. In regard to these departures, there is one circumstance of a very interesting nature; which is, that in more than a thousand cases of them, the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch are harmonious, both differing from the Hebrew, and agreeing in their differences. In most of these cases, the discrepancies with the original Hebrew are peculiar to the Samaritan and Septuagint Codices alone, the ancient versions being only now and then accordant with them. The departures from the Hebrew, in the Septuagint and Samaritan, are thus classified by Gesenius, in the work which we are reviewing.

1. Those which are mere glosses or conjectural emendations of difficult passages. For example, Gen. ii. 2, 24. xiv. 19. xv. 21. xvii. 14. etc.

2. Very minute changes, not affecting the sense, and depending on the omission, transposition, or permutation of letters, etc. For example, *Vav* prefix is added, in the Samaritan, to the text about two hundred times, where it is not found in the Hebrew

copy, and removed about one hundred times, where it is found in the Hebrew; in nearly all of which cases, it is closely followed by the Septuagint.

On the other hand, 3. The Septuagint agrees with the Hebrew, in cases like No. 2, in almost a thousand instances, where the Samaritan differs from both. For example, Gen. xvii. 17. xxi. 2, 4. xxiv. 55. xli. 32, etc. 4. Both the Samaritan and Septuagint sometimes depart from the Hebrew, in labouring to remove difficulties; but they pursue different courses, in order to accomplish this. For example, Gen. xxvii. 40. Ex. xxiv. 10, 11, and the genealogies in Gen. v. and xi. 5. The Septuagint accords with the Hebrew, and differs from the Samaritan, in all those daring interpolations, mentioned under the eighth class of various readings, in the former part of this review. 6. The Septuagint differs from the Hebrew and Samaritan both, in a few cases of minor importance, depending on transposition and permutation of letters etc. or the introduction of parallel passages.

Castell has displayed all these discrepancies, in the sixth volume of Walton's Polyglott, p. 19 seq. In regard to most of the cases, in which the Septuagint and Samaritan agree when they differ from the Hebrew, it is perfectly plain that this could not have been the result of any concerted regular plan of alteration, such as we see in the Samaritan and Septuagint, in respect to the chronologies in Gen. v, and xi. Most of the discrepancies in question are entirely of an immaterial nature, not at all affecting the sentiment of the sacred text.

Such are the *facts*. But a more difficult question remains. How are these facts to be accounted for? A question that leads to some considerations, which, to hinder any one from taking alarm, demand a good degree of acquaintance with the business of criticism.

Three ways have been proposed, to account for such a surprising accordance of the Septuagint and Samaritan, in so great a number of cases, against the Hebrew.

1. *The Seventy translated from a Samaritan Codex.* So L. de Dieu, Selden, Hottinger, Hassencamp, Eichhorn, and others. But this is altogether improbable. The mortal hatred, which existed between the Jews and Samaritans in Palestine, at the time when the version of the Seventy was made, extended in the same manner to the Jews and Samaritans in Egypt. Josephus tells us, that in the time of the Ptolemies, (therefore at

or near the time when the Septuagint version was made,) the Jews and Samaritans disputed violently before the Egyptian king; and that the Samaritans, who were worsted in the dispute, were condemned to death, Antiq. xiii. 6. But Hassencamp and others labour to show, that many of the departures in the Septuagint from the Hebrew text can more easily be accounted for, by the supposition that they used a manuscript written in the Samaritan character; inasmuch as the similar letters in this character might easily lead them into the mistakes which they have made in their version, while the Hebrew square character, which has different similar letters, would not thus mislead them. It is unnecessary now to relate what former critics have replied, in answer to these and all such arguments depending on the forms of Hebrew letters. Since Hassencamp and Eichhorn defended the above position, and since Gesenius replied to them in the essay before us, Kopp has published his *Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit*, which contains an essay on Shemitish palæography, that bids fair to end all disputes about the ancient forms of Hebrew letters. Instead of tracing back the square character to Ezra, and to Chaldea, as nearly all the writers before him, not excepting Gesenius himself, had done, he has shown by matter of fact, by appeal to actually existing monuments, that the square character had no existence until many years, probably two or three centuries, after the Christian era commenced; and that it was, like the altered forms in most other alphabets, a gradual work of time, of calligraphy, or tachygraphy. He has exhibited the gradual formation of it, from the earliest monuments found on the bricks at Babylon, down through the Phœnician, the old Hebrew and Samaritan inscriptions enstamped on the Maccabæan coins, and the older and more recent Palmyrene or Syriac characters, to the modern Hebrew. The reasoning employed by him, and the facts exhibited, are so convincing, that Gesenius himself, in the last edition of his Hebrew Grammar, has yielded the point, and concedes that the square character of the Hebrew is descended from the Palmyrene, that is, such characters as are found in the inscriptions upon some of the ruins at Palmyra.

All argument from this source, then, is fairly put out of question, by the masterly performance of Kopp, to which we have just adverted.

As the Septuagint is well known, and universally acknowledged, to be a version made by Jews, for their own use at

Alexandria, there cannot be even a remote probability, that this version was made from a copy in the hands of Samaritans, whom they abhorred as the perverters of the Jewish religion.

II. *The Septuagint has been interpolated from the Samaritan Codex ; or the Samaritan from the Septuagint.*

Not the first ; for the Jews certainly never loved the Samaritans sufficiently well, to alter their Greek Scriptures from the Samaritan Codex, so as to make them at the same time discrepant from their Hebrew Codex.

Not the second ; for the Samaritans would have been as averse to mending their own Codex from a Jewish Greek translation, as the Jews would have been to translate from the Samaritan codex. Besides, the greatest part of the discrepancies between the Samaritan and the Hebrew, are of such a nature as never could have proceeded from any design ; inasmuch as they make no change at all in the sense of the passages where they are found. Although, then, critics of no less name than Grotius, Usher, and Ravius, have patronised this opinion, it is too improbable to meet with approbation.

III. Another supposition, in order to account for the agreement of the Septuagint and Samaritan, and their departures from the Hebrew text, has been made by Gesenius, in the essay before us. This is, *that both the Samaritan and Septuagint flowed from a common recension of the Hebrew Scriptures ; one older of course than either, and differing in many places from the recension of the Masorites now in common use.*

This is certainly a very ingenious supposition ; and one which we cannot well avoid admitting as quite probable. It will account for the differences, and for the agreements, of the Septuagint and Samaritan. On the supposition that two different recensions had long been in circulation among the Jews, the one of which was substantially what the Samaritan now is, with the exception of a few more recent and designed alterations of the text, and the other substantially what our Masoretic Codex now is ; then the Seventy, using the former, would of course accord, in a multitude of cases, with the peculiar readings of it, as they have now done. If we suppose now, that the ancient copy from which the present Samaritan is descended, and that from which the Septuagint was translated, were of the same genus, so to speak, or of the same class, and yet were of different species under that genus, and had early been divided off, and subjected to alterations in transcribing ; then we may have a plausible reason, why the

Septuagint, agreeing with the Samaritan in so many places, should differ from it in so many others. Add to this, that the Samaritan and Septuagint each, in the course of being transcribed for several centuries, would receive more or less changes, that might increase the discrepancies between them.

This seems to be the only probable way, in which the actual state of the Samaritan and Septuagint texts, compared with each other, and with the Hebrew, can be critically accounted for. Admitting this, therefore, with Gesenius, to be a highly probable account of this matter, we should say further, that the admission of it requires a different view of the antiquity of the Samaritan Codex, from that which he has taken. If the Pentateuch was first reduced to writing about the time of the Babylonish exile, then there remains not sufficient time for the numerous changes to have taken place, by which the various recensions in question should come to differ so much from each other. Gesenius fixes upon the time, when Manasseh the son of the high priest at Jerusalem went over to the Samaritans and built a temple on Gerizim, as the most probable date for the origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch. This time, he seems to admit, was during the life of Darius Codomannus (as Josephus states, *Antiq.* xi. 7 § 2, 3, 4, 6,) and of Alexander the Great, that is, near three hundred and thirty years before Christ. Now the version of the Septuagint was made about two hundred and eighty years before Christ, so that only half a century, according to him, elapsed between the two events in question; a time not sufficient to produce much change in manuscripts. Even if we go back to the beginning of the exile, as the time when the Hebrew Codex of the Pentateuch first originated, (about five hundred and eighty-eight years before Christ,) we shall find it to be only two hundred and fifty-eight years from that period down to the time when the Samaritan copy, according to Gesenius, was probably made. If we suppose, with Prideaux and Jahn, that the apostasy of Manasseh took place a century earlier, (a supposition, which Jahn has nearly demonstrated to be true, *Archæol. Theil* ii. § 63,) then only one hundred and fifty years are left for all the changes in question to have taken place, by which the Samaritan Codex is made so often to differ from the Hebrew. In any way of calculation, the origin of the Pentateuch must be placed higher than Gesenius has placed it; for the history of manuscripts will not justify the supposition, that changes so numerous, and undesigned, (as he admits most of them to be,)

could have taken place in so short a period ; or that the various recensions of the Hebrew text could have differed so much, in so short a time, by the ordinary process of copying for circulation.

But we are aware, that we are now treading on sacred ground. If our suggestions are well founded, then must it follow, that in the time of Ezra, and previously to his time, there existed recensions of the Jewish Scriptures, which differed, in some respects, very considerably from each other. From this conclusion many will spontaneously revolt. All, who have not made sacred criticism a study, will be agitated with some unnecessary and ill grounded fears. For ourselves, we are fully convinced, first, that the position can be rendered highly probable ; and next, that it is no more dangerous than many other positions, which all enlightened critics of the present day admit.

It is probable ; because as we have already endeavoured to show, the actual state of the Septuagint and Samaritan Codices renders it necessary to admit the position. Moreover, the Jews have, from the most ancient times, uniformly held a tradition, that Ezra with his associates, whom they style the great Synagogue, restored the law and the prophets, that is, renewed and corrected the copies of them, which had become erroneous during the captivity. Certainly there is nothing at all improbable in this tradition. The corrected copies were the originals, probably, of our present Masoretic recension, which has in every age been in the keeping and under the inspection of the most learned Jews. The Samaritan copy, and that from which the Septuagint was translated, most probably belonged to the recension in common use among the Jews, and which, having been often copied and by unskilful hands, had come to differ in very many places from the corrected recension of Ezra.

How far back some of the errors in this common recension may be dated, it is difficult to say ; but in all probability more or less of them must be traced even to the very first copies taken from the original autographs. Such we know to have been the case, as is now universally admitted, in respect to the early copies of the New Testament. Is the Old Testament under a more watchful and efficient providence than the New ? Or has it ever been so ? Nothing but the belief of a miraculous aid, imparted to every copyist of the Hebrew Scriptures, can stand in the way of admitting the fact as we have stated it ; and with such a belief, after several hundred thousand different

readings have been actually selected from the manuscripts of the Old Testament, it would not be worth our while to expostulate.

In justice, however, to this subject, and to allay the fears of well meaning men, who are not experienced in matters of criticism, and therefore often exposed to be agitated with groundless fears, we must say a few words with respect to the danger of the position that has been now discussed.

A great part of it is evidently imaginary. For out of some eight hundred thousand various readings, some seven hundred and ninety-nine thousand are of just about as much importance to the sense of the Hebrew Scriptures, as the question in English orthography is, whether the word *honour* shall be spelled with *u* or without it. Of the remainder, some change the sense of particular passages or expressions; or omit particular words and phrases; or insert them; but not one doctrine of religion is changed; not one precept is taken away; not one important fact is altered, by the whole of the various readings collectively taken. This is clearly the case, in respect to the various readings which are found in the Samaritan and Septuagint, if we except the very few cases of alterations in them, which plainly are the result of design, and which belong to more modern times. There is no ground then to fear for the safety of the Scriptures, on account of any legitimate criticism to which the text may be subjected. The common law has a maxim, which is the result of common sense, and must ever be approved by it; which is, *De minimis non curat lex*. Another maxim too it has, equally applicable to the subject before us, namely, *Qui hæret in literâ, hæret in cortice*. All those, who suppose that the Scripture depends on a word or a letter so essentially, that it is not Scripture if either be changed or omitted, must, if they will be consistent, abandon the whole Bible, in which many changes of this kind, it is past all question, have actually taken place. The critic wonders not that so many have taken place, but that no more have been experienced.

It is sometimes said, that ‘he who knows nothing, fears nothing.’ We believe this is occasionally true. But we apprehend the proverb would have come much nearer to a true statement of what usually happens, if it had been thus: ‘He who knows nothing fears every thing.’ In innumerable cases do we see this verified. It is quite applicable to the subject of various readings in the Scriptures. The first attempt to compare manuscripts and collect these readings, was denounced as something

horribly profane and dangerous. Yet the comparison went on. Next, it was admitted to be right in respect to the New Testament, but very wrong in regard to the Old ; every word, and letter, and vowel point, and accent of which, Buxtorf roundly asserted, are identically the same, all the world over. More than eight hundred thousand various readings actually collected have dissipated this illusion, and taught how groundless the fears of those were, who were altogether inexperienced in the criticism of the sacred text. Do Christians love and honour the Bible or its contents less now, than before the age of criticism ? Let the present attitude of the Christian world answer this question.

Jerome, long ago, had shrewdness enough to say, that ‘the Scripture was not the shell, but the nut ;’ by which he meant, that the *sentiment* of the Bible is the word of God, while the costume, that is, the words in which this sentiment is conveyed, is of minor importance.

So the apostles and so the Saviour thought ; for they have, in a multitude of cases, (indeed, in almost all the appeals recorded in the New Testament,) appealed to the authority of the Old Testament, by quoting the Septuagint version of it ; a version incomparably more incorrect, and differing from the original Hebrew in innumerable more places, than the very worst version made in any modern times. But, *de minimis non curat lex* ; a truly noble maxim ; yet one which superstition or ignorance knows not well how either to use or to estimate.

There is, then, no more danger, in supposing that very early there were different recensions of the Hebrew Scriptures, than in supposing, that there are different ones of the Scriptures of the New Testament ; which all now admit, for it is not a matter of opinion and judgment, but of *fact*. The Bible, spreading through the whole earth, and becoming the rule of life and salvation to all nations, is, at least, as important now, as it was when only one small nation admitted its claims. It is surely no more an objection, then, against the watchful care of Providence over the church and the records of its holy religion, to admit that divers recensions of the Scriptures existed at an early age, than to admit that they now exist.

Thus much for the danger of the principle, which we have admitted. We will now add, that if those who cherish any apprehensions of the kind which we have endeavored to remove, will faithfully examine the Hebrew Scriptures as they now

stand, they will find discrepancies in the recensions of the same compositions, which stand inserted in different places of the sacred records. Let them compare, for example, 2 Sam. xxii, and Ps. xviii; Ps. xiv, and Ps. liii; Ps. cv, and 1 Chron. xvi. 7, seq. If this do not satisfy them, we will point them to some more appalling comparisons, which they may make by reading Ezra ii, in connexion with Neh. vii. 6, seq. It were very easy to extend the same kind of comparisons to a multitude of places in the books of Kings and Chronicles, where the result would be the same. Those who have examined such matters, never can doubt how they stand; it is only those who have *not* examined them, that pronounce a judgment which has its foundation only in their own theological views, or depends on reasoning *à priori*. Facts cannot be denied; nor can facts be theorized away.

In the end, which is the safer way, in respect to the interests of truth and religion? to assume positions on mere doctrinal grounds, and established only by reasoning *à priori*, which will be overthrown by the careful examination of facts; or to examine facts first, and then to make out positions that are not liable to be overthrown? The first method may wear the appearance of zeal and deep concern for the honour of the Bible; but zeal without knowledge is not very auspicious to the best interests of the truth. The fact is, too, that in many cases of such zeal, it amounts to very little more than a cloak to cover ignorance of a matter which men have not studied, and which it gives them pain to see that others have. How prone men are to regard that as worthless, which they do not possess, or to decry it, and to make it obnoxious, need not be proved, after all the facts which lie before the world relative to such matters.

For our part, we believe that truth needs no concealment; and that at the present day, it admits none. The Bible has nothing to fear from examination. It has ever been illustrated and confirmed by it. We doubt not it will be still more so. But all pious fraud, all 'expurgatory indexes,' all suppression of facts and truths of any kind, only prove injurious, at last, to the cause, which they are designed to aid. This is a sufficient reason for abjuring them forever; not to insist on the disingenuousness, which is implied in every artifice of this nature.

The fact, that various readings are found, not only in different classes of manuscripts, which have come down to us through different channels, but in cases where the same original docu-

ments are inserted in different places of the same class of manuscripts, is proved beyond contradiction. The first, by the actual comparison of manuscripts; the second, by a comparison of such parts of Scriptures as we have last alluded to above. Such a comparison may be extended very much farther, indeed to a great portion of the books of Chronicles, by reading them in connexion with the parallel passages in the books of Kings, and other parts of the Old Testament. Jahn's Hebrew Bible is not only the best, but the only work, which will enable one to do this without any trouble; as he has disposed of the whole books of the Chronicles in the way of harmony with other parts of Scripture. One thorough perusal and study of this, will effectually cure any sober man of all extravagant positions and theories about the letters and apexes of the Bible, and probably of all extravagant notions about *verbal* inspiration. Those who have never examined, are the only persons to be confident in such *minima* as these; those who have, pass by them in silence.

But we are diverging from our way, and hasten to return. We have only one topic more, respecting the Samaritan Pentateuch, which remains briefly to be touched.

It will be understood, of course, by every scholar who knows any thing of the Samaritan Pentateuch, that it is not in the later Samaritan dialect, but in the proper Hebrew tongue; like the Pentateuch in our Hebrew Bibles, except that it is written in the old Hebrew character, which the Samaritans have always retained, with only slight variations. Of this document, and this only, have we hitherto spoken, whenever the Samaritan Pentateuch has been named. But we come now to state, that there is a translation of the Hebrew Samaritan Pentateuch into the proper Samaritan dialect, which is a medium between the Hebrew and the Aramæan languages. This version is very ancient; having been made at least before the time of Origen, and not improbably near the commencement of the Christian era. It is very literal, and close to the original; and what is very remarkable, is almost exactly the counterpart of the original Hebrew Samaritan Codex, as it now exists, with all its various readings. This shows, in a degree really surprising, how very carefully and accurately the Hebrew Pentateuch has been copied and preserved by the Samaritans, from the ancient times in which their version was made. This is its greatest value to us; although it is of importance as one of the best means of becoming acquainted with the Samaritan dialect, which has so few remains, and has been so long extinct as a spoken language.

Besides this version of so ancient a date, there is also a version made by Abusaid, in the eleventh or twelfth century, into the Samaritan Arabic dialect, that is, the Arabic as spoken by the Samaritans. The translator appears to have been a man of talents; and he has often hit, in a very happy manner, upon the best way of expressing the real sentiment of the original text in difficult passages.

There are also a few scattered remains of an ancient Greek version, made from the Samaritan Pentateuch, some of which have been collected together by Morin, Hottinger, and Montfaucon; but they are too scanty to be of much critical value.

It is easy to perceive, from what has already been said respecting the important scriptural documents extant among the Samaritans, that their language and history ought to be a matter of deep interest among biblical and oriental critics. It has in fact been occasionally so, at different periods, since the Samaritan Pentateuch was first brought to Europe. Among the older critics, Hottinger, Morin, Cellarius, Reland, Basnage, Castell, and Mill, distinguished themselves by cultivating an acquaintance with these subjects; and they have left behind them various monuments of their progress in the knowledge of them. Among the more recent critics, Schnurrer, Bruns, De Sacy, Winer, and Gesenius, stand most distinguished for this sort of knowledge. The last, in a particular manner, has carried his researches far beyond any of his predecessors. In the year 1820, this celebrated critic made a visit to England, and examined the Samaritan manuscripts deposited in the library at Oxford. Castell, long ago, in his *Heptaglott Lexicon*, had mentioned some Samaritan documents, which have often been referred to by the name of *Liturgia Damascena*, from which he gave some extracts in his *Annotationes Samariticæ*. These documents lay in the obscurity in which Castell left them, until Gesenius, on examining them, found them to be *hymns* of a religious nature. A minute examination enabled him to discover, that they were composed in an *alphabetical* way; and this led to an arrangement of their several parts, which were before in a confused, chaotic state. From this discovery proceeded the second and third publications, which are named at the head of this article.

The first of these two is a discourse delivered during the solemnities of Christmas, before the university at Halle. It consists of a brief account of the state and sources of Samaritan literature, and an exposition of the theological opinions of the

Samaritans, as deduced from the hymns in question. It appears that they are strenuous monotheists; that they have high ideas of the pure and spiritual nature of God; that they believe the world was created from nothing; that angels are emanations from the divinity; that the Mosaic law is of immediate divine origin; that the institution of the sabbath and of circumcision is of high and holy obligation; and finally, that the pious, after the rest of the grave, will be raised to a happy and glorious immortality. Nothing certain appears in the hymns, respecting the Messiah. Their views in former times with regard to him, are sufficiently plain, from what is said in John iv, respecting this subject. Their recent views are disclosed by their correspondence with some of the literati of Europe. They expect a Messiah, who will restore the Mosaic worship, and with it their temple on mount Gerizim. He is also to make their nation very happy; and then to die and be buried with Joseph, that is, among the tribe of Ephraim. But when this will take place, they do not undertake to determine.

The *Anecdota Orientalia* (No. 3.) exhibits a number of the hymns above described, in the original Samaritan, accompanied by an Arabic version. This was doubtless made after the Samaritan had begun to be disused, and the Arabic to prevail. To these Gesenius has added a Latin version of his own, with copious notes, which are filled with illustrations drawn from oriental sources and from comparison with biblical and other writers. To the whole is appended a short glossary, comprising those Samaritan words not to be found in any of the usual lexicons. A plate, at the close, exhibits the forms of the Samaritan letters, in different documents.

This is truly a most welcome present to the lovers and cultivators of oriental literature. A new source is now opened, which enables us further to pursue the study of the dialects kindred with the Hebrew; and easy means are furnished for doing it. Such are the triumphs which unremitted industry and persevering ardor achieve; while the timid and the indolent are yawning over what their fathers wrote, in their easy chairs by a comfortable fireside, unconcerned whether the Samaritans and their language are brought out and exposed to light, or remain covered with darkness.

There is nothing in the Samaritan hymns, which absolutely determines their age. The probability is, that they were composed as early as the eighth or ninth century.

We give an extract from Gesenius' Latin translation of the first hymn, that our readers may see the kind of composition and sentiment which these Samaritan relics exhibit.

Non est Deus nisi unus.
Creator mundi,
Quis estimabit magnitudinem tuam?
Fecisti eum magnifice,
Intra sex dies.

In lege tuâ magna et vera
Legimus sapimusque.
In quovis illorum dierum
Magnificâsti creaturas.

Magnificatæ sapientiâ tuâ
Nunciant excellentiam tuam,
Revelantque divinum tuum imperium
Non esse, nisi ad magnificandum te.

Creâsti sine defatigatione
Opera tua excelsa;
Adduxisti ea e nihil
Intra sex dies.

Creâsti ea perfecta,
Non est in unico eorum defectus,
Conspiciendam præbuiisti perfectionem eorum,
Quia tu es dominus perfectionis.

Et quievisti citra defatigationem
Die septimo,
Et fecisti eum coronam
Sex diebus.

Vocâsti eum sanctum
Eumque fecisti caput
Tempus omni conventui [sacro],
Principem omnis sanctitatis.

Fecisti eum fœdus
Te inter et cultores tuos,
Docuisti custodiam ejus
Custodire custodientes eum.

Felices qui sabbatum celebrant,
Quique digni sunt benedictione ejus;
Umbra ejus sancta eos respirare facit,
Ab omni labore et defatigatione, etc.

We are encouraged to hope that other oriental specimens of a similar nature will follow. The next number is to exhibit the *Book of Enoch*, in the Ethiopian language; which Gesenius believes to be the same book as that from which Jude, in his epistle, and all the early Christian Fathers, quoted. Whether this be the fact or not, we shall welcome the publication of the book; or of any other book, from which the language, the sentiment, or the literature of the Scriptures, can receive illustration.

ART. IV. IMPORTANCE OF STUDYING THE BIBLE IN CONNEXION WITH THE CLASSICS.

By C. E. Stowe, Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages and Literature in Dartmouth College.

CONSIDERABLE interest has of late been excited in the question, whether the study of the English Bible ought not to be included in every system of elementary education; and it is a question of no less importance, whether the thorough literary investigation of the Scriptures in their original languages, ought not to be combined with the study of the Greek and Roman classics, and made an essential part of every system of liberal education. The Germans, those universal masters in learning, have long since decided this question in the affirmative. In all their preparatory schools and universities, biblical and classical literature are considered equally essential to a complete course of study; the history of Moses is read in connexion with that of Herodotus; the genius of Isaiah excites as much admiration as that of Homer; and the philosophy of Paul is the object of as eager a learned curiosity, as the philosophy of Plato or Aristotle.

I need not here undertake to defend the study of the classics. This matter has been warmly debated, within a few years past; and the result of the discussion is an almost universal conviction, among those capable of judging, that, though classical learning may have been at some periods overrated and made too exclusively the object of attention, yet it is and must always be an essential part of a complete education. Some of the grounds on which this conviction is founded, will be adverted to as we

proceed ; and it will be shown, that but few reasons can be given for the study of the classics, which will not apply with at least equal force to the critical study of the Scriptures.

It is universally acknowledged, that, in point of literary merit, some of the sacred writers are not inferior to the most illustrious classics. They certainly have several excellencies peculiar to themselves. The influence which they have exerted and are still exerting upon civilized man, is even greater than that of the classics, and, accordingly, in a historical view, they must be regarded as of more consequence. And if religion, as the most important element in civil society, is worthy of so much attention, that even the obsolete superstitions of pagan antiquity are matters of liberal science ; surely the study of that religion to which modern times are indebted for most of their refinement, and which is now influencing all the forms of modern society, is worthy of a place in a course of liberal instruction.

I suppose it is the object of education to perfect the mind ; to give to all the intellectual and moral powers their complete development ; to place the man on such ground that he can exercise entire control over all his faculties, and bring them to bear with most effect on the various purposes for which they were designed. That which is derived, partaking of the nature of its origin, approaches the perfection of its nature, as it approximates towards a perfect assimilation to its original source. The human mind is derived from God, and partakes of His nature ; and it is brought towards the perfection of its nature as it is brought towards a likeness to God, its original Author. It is, then, the proper object of education, to bring the soul to a likeness to God ; to impress upon imperfect man, both intellectually and morally, the perfect image of his Creator.

If such be the object of education, what means are most likely to accomplish it ? If God has ever made a revelation of Himself to man, surely one of the best means of accomplishing the object of education, one of the best means of bringing the mind to a conformity with its Author, must be a diligent study of this revelation, and a faithful application of its principles to all the intellectual and moral powers. This conclusion is perfectly natural ; and as matter of fact, men in all ages have generally reasoned in this manner. Every nation which has had sacred books, believed to be revelations from the Divinity, has always made the study of those books an essential part of elementary and liberal education, and often indeed to comprise the whole

of it. Thus the Hindoo youth is taught to study the Vedas, and the Mohammedan to read the Koran; thus the Hebrews were carefully instructed in the books of the law, and thus too, till the prevalence of popery and infidelity, were Christians accustomed to study the Bible; and if the professed Christian will now exclude revelation from his system of instruction, he must do it in opposition to the deductions of reason and the common consent of mankind.

It is freely acknowledged, that it is not the object of the Bible to teach the sciences or the arts, but that the truths which it contains are principally truths of a moral and religious kind; and that it is the great and leading purpose of its instructions to teach man what God is, and what duties he requires of his rational creatures. One may become an accomplished mathematician or an able chemist without studying the Bible; and one may become well acquainted with all the truths of revelation, and still have but an imperfect knowledge of mathematics or chemistry. This however forms no objection to the principle which has been stated; for it is not the object of education, any more than it is of the Bible, to teach the details of science or the rules of art. These are only means to an end. The end is the forming and disciplining of the mind, the acquiring a control over all its powers, and a capacity to apply them with the best effect; and the principles of any science or art are but the means of accomplishing this end, in regard to some one particular sphere of human effort. In short, it is the object of education to form and discipline the mind, to give to it the right shape and the power of useful action; and this too is the object of the Bible. The purpose of the Bible, as a religious manual, could not be answered without training the understanding to a right discipline, and furnishing it with the most valuable materials of thought; for the affections can be moved only through the medium of the intellect, and the heart cannot be made right while the understanding is distorted. The design of God to bring men to an acquaintance with their own intellectual as well as moral powers, and to teach them how to make the best use of their minds, is every where manifest on the sacred pages. The fact, therefore, that the Bible does not teach any of the physical sciences or arts, and that the truths it contains are principally of a moral and religious nature, forms no objection to the principle, that it ought to be made an essential part of the elementary and liberal course of instruction in Christian lands.

Can any sincere believer in the reality of revelation imagine, that we are able to devise better means for training the mind to a right course of discipline, than those which God himself has made use of for this purpose? If the Creator has taken into His own hands the education of the human family, and carried His system into practice by means of a succession of inspired men, through a period of more than six thousand years; can we suppose that this system is after all so faulty, as to be entirely unworthy a place in our common schemes of instruction? Nothing, surely, need be said to show that such conclusions are altogether, and most palpably, inconsistent with any profession of belief in the divine origin of the Bible.

The general principle, however, that the study of the Bible ought to make an essential part of education in Christian countries, though strictly correct, is not to be taken in the gross, and applied to practice without discrimination or thought. Like all general principles, it is subject to limitations and restrictions, which necessarily arise out of the nature of the case. Because all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is designed for the intellectual and moral improvement of men; it does not follow, that the Bible, as to its form, is one complete systematic whole, having the varieties supposed by critics to be essential to a finished work of taste; nor that every part of it is equally well adapted to people in every different stage of civilization and intellectual development, under the influence of every different age and climate and mode of life; nor that all its writers were men of perfect character; nor that it exhibits none of the principles and practices of wicked men, and contains no examples of vice too gross and horrid to be made the subjects of familiar thought by all classes of learners. All these circumstances are essential to its perfection as a faithful picture of the human heart and human life, and to its purpose as an unerring guide through all the intricacies of a world of temptation. The Bible is designed to meet the wants of man, in general, from the lowest to the highest scale of refinement and moral delicacy, from the earliest to the latest periods of the world, in every diversity of climate and laws and customs. There must be, then, various sorts of instruction suited to the endless variety of character in the learners; some things which were highly useful in one age may become obsolete in another; some modes of instruction which touch the heart's core in one climate, among one people, may be scarcely intelligible to another; and some illustrations

and warnings which exactly meet the necessities of one age, may not be equally well adapted to another. He who supposes that every passage of the Bible must be equally suitable for every individual of the human race under all circumstances, is as wise as he who should suppose that every medicine is equally suitable for every disease in every age and constitution, and that a mixture of all the different medicines in the world must be a sure remedy against all sorts of sickness. The Bible is a book addressed entirely to the common sense of mankind, and is to be used according to the dictates of common sense; but there is surely a great difference between making a proper use of the Bible in education, and rejecting it altogether.

I have ventured to say so much upon the peculiar and authoritative claims of the Scriptures, because, since the prevalence of the philosophy of sensualism and infidelity, which preceded the first revolution in France, they have, as if by tacit consent, been excluded from most of our institutions of public instruction. I trust it may be made to appear that this exclusion is as illiberal and unphilosophical in a scientific view, as it is irreligious and unchristian in its moral aspect. Placing the Scriptures and the ancient classics on the same ground, and leaving the matter of religious authority entirely out of the account, it cannot be difficult to show that the study of both, and of each in connexion with the other, is essential to a finished education.

I. By the study of the Scriptures in connexion with the classics, and by this study only, the student is introduced to a complete history of the human mind, in its cultivated state, from the earliest dawnings of its powers in the infancy of the world, to the full vigour of its manhood; and in the two great and only characteristic developments which it has yet made, the oriental and occidental.

The study of languages is not the mere learning of the arbitrary sounds and figures, by which different nations have found it convenient to express their thoughts. This is only the preliminary means to the great end in view; it is but a narrow and dark entrance to the spacious and resplendent edifice we wish to explore, and to which there is no other way of access. The proper study of languages, including as it must the study of literature, is in reality the study of the history of the human mind, exhibiting its various developments and its gradual progress, and showing the intricate and winding path by which it has es-

escaped from one error after another, in its slow and interrupted advancement towards the perfection of its nature. Every language is a faithful representation of the peculiar features of the intellectual condition, in which it was rooted and matured. So entirely reciprocal is the influence of opinion on language, and of language on opinion, that each step in the intellectual advancement of a people may be clearly traced in the corresponding changes of speech; for every improved mode of thought gives rise to, and is itself in turn retained by, an improved mode of expression. Considered, then, as matter of education, of intellectual training, there cannot be a study more important to the mind itself, or more directly subservient to its improvement, than the study of languages; for this study presents a series of pictures, which are accurate delineations of mind in all its different stages, from infancy to manhood, and from barbarism to refinement; or rather, language is itself a magic mirror, which forever retains every image which has once been reflected from it, and holds in eternal freshness and distinctness every form and feature of the soul, which it has once bodied forth to sense.

Accordingly, there appear to be two classes of languages, the knowledge of which must be considered essential to a complete course of study. In the first place, the study of those languages which were perfected in a state of mental refinement superior to our own, is essential, in order to guide us to the same elevation; and secondly, the study of languages which were perfected in those stages of intellectual progress through which mind has already passed in order to reach its present position, is essential, as matter of history, that we may be able to trace the different steps of advancement and gather useful hints for further progress. Perhaps some may be ready to deny that there are now any languages which properly belong to the first class mentioned; but surely all will acknowledge, that the Greek and Latin did belong to this class in respect to our European ancestors, at the time of the revival of learning, and that it was by the study of these masters that our teachers were taught, and mind raised to its present elevation. If so, then those languages, even in respect to us, belong to the second class mentioned, and the study of them is still essential, as matter of history, in regard to our own intellectual progress; and probably impartial and thorough investigation would convince all, that, though in many respects we have now gone in advance of the Greeks and Romans, yet in some points of intellectual culture we are still behind them,

and are not entirely beyond the reach of instruction from classical antiquity. It is true, that we know more of the powers of steam, of the art of multiplying books, and generally, of the facts in mechanical and natural science, than the ancients did; but it may still be doubted, whether we are equal to the ancients in many of those arts which address themselves to the imagination, or in the sciences comprehended under the general name of *Æsthetics*.

Waiving this consideration, however, and allowing to the ancients no superiority over the moderns, it is certain that the acquisition of every original cultivated language opens to the mind an entirely new field of vision, and gives to it an integral view of human nature different from any which it has before witnessed. In this sense the sagacious Charles V of Germany was perfectly correct in his accustomed saying, that "so many languages as a man learns, so many times is he a man." No languages have ever been more highly cultivated, or represent a more highly cultivated state of mind, than the Greek and Roman, particularly the former. The idiom of each is original, and each represents a distinct stage of intellectual progress; and these stages are precisely those which the western world has passed through, in order to reach its present position. It is, therefore, only by an acquaintance with the Greek and Latin languages and literature, that we can trace the steps of our own progress, or learn accurately our present intellectual standing. Add to this the well-known fact, that these languages are much more perfect in their structure, far more flexible and more easily susceptible of application to all the nicer shades and turns of human thought and feeling, than any modern tongues, (the Arabic and German being probably the only living languages that can bear even a remote comparison with them in this particular,) and it is easily seen how entirely indispensable they are to any thing that deserves the name of liberal education.

The Greek language represents the youthfulness of the human intellect, in all its simplicity and life and vigorous freshness; the Latin, its sobered transition from youth to manhood. In order to complete the picture, we now need only find some accurate delineation of the infancy of cultivated humanity; and this we may find in its full perfection, all glowing with life and beauty, in the language and literature of the ancient Hebrews, and find it there only. In the earliest writings which compose our Scriptures, we see the very first operations of the human soul,

exhibiting the strength of manhood in connexion with the simplicity and lively feeling of infancy. All the subjects of thought have the freshness of recent origin ; the objects of nature, the realities of the spiritual world, are clothed with all the charms of novelty ; and the full soul pours forth its emotions in the simplest forms of speech, neither shackled by the fear of criticism, nor flattened by the tameness of imitation. There is an excitement, a sublimity, a transparency, which can belong only to a new being, and is worn away as the forms of society become more complex, and the modes of thought more studied. The early Hebrew literature brings us up to the point from which the Greek takes its commencement ; and the triumphal songs of the great Hebrew lawgiver and his successors, and the charming historical sketches scattered through the Old Testament, should be well understood, before the student is really prepared to enter on the study of Homer or Herodotus, with a reasonable prospect of deriving from these writers all the advantages which they are capable of affording.

In another respect is the study of the Bible essential to a complete view of the history of mind. The civilization and refinement of the eastern world is perhaps as perfect in its kind as that of the western, but it is very different in its nature. Philosophy and poetry, the sciences and arts, the refinements of social life and the institutions of civil society, have employed as many and as able minds in the East as in the West ; but there has been a wide and characteristic difference in the results. These two, the oriental and the occidental, are the only essentially distinct developments of cultivated mind, which have yet been made. Whether any of the recently civilized nations are to have a mode of thought and action, languages and literature, as distinct from both these as these are from each other, it remains for time to show. As yet, cultivated human intellect has flowed in but these two divergent channels ; and he who would know of what man is capable, must explore them both, and trace each to its original source. The Old Testament is the most ancient and purest fountain of orientalism ; Homer stands on the point of transition between the East and West ; and the complete occidental development is found in the succeeding writers of Greece and Rome. The original language of the Old Testament is one of the oldest and most perfect of all the oriental tongues ; the study of it leads the learner to remark at once the striking difference, the almost complete contrariety,

between the eastern and western mind as manifested in the structure and formation of speech ; and a knowledge of this dialect gives one ready access to the Arabic, the Syriac, and the other languages of the East, which contain the most valuable literature. Education cannot be complete, if confined to the language and literature of the West ; the student contemplates but half his subject, and sees human nature in only one of its aspects. His notions of the nature of language and of the nature of mind, must be limited and partial ; and his judgment of the actual progress of mankind in improvement, extremely imperfect. How many distinguished men might be mentioned, who, in consequence of the prejudices of a partial education, have regarded the whole eastern world, the real mother of all the religion and civilization of the West, as one almost entire intellectual blank ; who have considered the western development as the only one of which cultivated man is capable, and the literature of Greece and Rome as the only ancient literature which can reward the labour of the cultivator ! With what a smile of incredulous astonishment, do they hear of the inexhaustible treasures of poetry and science and philosophy and history, preserved in the ancient dialects of Arabia and Persia and Hindostan ! Are such men deservedly regarded as cultivated and liberalized by letters, and enriched by all the wealth of the human intellect ? or are they not still, however learned in some respects, under the influence of illiberal prejudices, which owe their power to pure ignorance ? The delightful and masterly sketches of Sir William Jones, and the deep researches of Von Hammer, have at length awakened the attention of the prejudiced West to the intellectual mines of the East ; and these mines are richer than all that was ever fabled of Golconda and Eldorado, in the estimation of him who regards the human soul as a more interesting object of study, than the most rare combinations of mere matter. The unrivalled poems of Homer and Milton attest the superiority of minds, which are thoroughly acquainted with both the oriental and occidental element, and know how to combine them with skill and effect.

Having thus far contended for the study of the Bible in connexion with the classics, on the ground of the literary benefits resulting from such a course, I would now endeavour to exhibit the subject on the still higher ground of morality, trusting that this argument will be regarded as of at least equal importance with the former.

II. By the study of the Scriptures in connexion with the classics, and by this study only, the student may reap all the advantages of classical learning, and be guarded against its dangers.

The moral tone of classic antiquity does not harmonize with the religion of Christ; and but few heathen writers attained a spiritual elevation above their contemporaries, sufficient to make them safe guides for christian youth. Occasionally we see gleams of a purer religious light, but they serve only to make the surrounding darkness appear the more dreadful. Plato, Xenophon, and Plutarch, among the Greeks, Cicero, Seneca, and Tacitus, among the Romans, and some others, have left several treatises of a high moral character; still the spirit which generally pervades even their writings, is essentially the spirit of paganism, and not the spirit of true religion. How should it be otherwise? and how can these writers be made the exclusive objects of study and admiration, without transfusing their own spirit in some degree to their admirers? We apprehend no danger of a direct conversion from Christianity to heathenism, from the worship of Jehovah to the worship of Jupiter. The ancients had too little faith in their own religion to make proselytes; and the details of Greek and Roman mythology are too glaringly absurd, too grossly sensual, to excite any other feelings than those of aversion and disgust. The danger lies altogether in another quarter; it is the danger of insensibly imbibing a heathenish spirit, by an exclusive attachment to heathen literature. May not the selfish pride, which led Greeks and Romans to denominate all other people barbarians; may not that ferocious passion for military glory, which deified the most brutal disturbers of human peace, and the most cruel destroyers of human happiness, provided they did mischief for the sake of renown; may not eager lust and haughty revenge and domineering ambition and blind worldliness,—all find their way to the youthful heart, when they come recommended by the charms of imagination and the beauties of diction? Is it not a fact that this spirit has been breathed into the literature of modern times, and that in the history, the poetry, and the philosophy of christian nations, there is more of the narrow pride and blood-thirsty patriotism and sensual worldliness of paganism, than of the deep humility and universal good-will and pure spirituality of the gospel? In paganism, the material every where predominates over the spiritual, and the intellectual always takes precedence of the moral; in

the Bible it is, as it ought to be, just the reverse. But which, in this respect, has had most influence over modern literature? and why should the heathen element have so decidedly the preponderance in christian literature, unless it be for the obvious and very sufficient reason, that it has this decided preponderance in christian education? The consequence is perfectly natural, and indeed necessary; and until a different course of early instruction is adopted, a different result cannot be expected. It is true, that this spirit is at present not so often imbibed directly from the classics themselves, as from those modern writers, who have made the classics their models in morals as well as in style. Men are naturally prone to overlook the spiritual in the eager pursuit of the physical, and to forget the moral in the pride of the intellectual; and this wrong bias is but too much encouraged by the whole spirit of classic antiquity. The study of the Bible gives to the mind a right direction in this important particular, elevates and ennobles it by fixing its contemplations on that which is spiritual and eternal, and brings it to its perfection by cultivating the moral powers along with the intellectual. The Bible teaches man that he is united with the whole human race by the ties of brotherhood; that true glory consists in adding to the happiness and not to the misery of his fellow men; and that the governing of one's own passions is a more noble object of ambition, than the tyrannizing over thousands of trembling slaves.

Even the political freedom of Greece and Rome, was far from being founded on a correct understanding of the rights of man. In general, it was merely the freedom of a proud aristocracy to trample upon the poor, and hold foreigners in cruel bondage. The civil liberty of pagan antiquity was not inconsistent with the most merciless oppression of the lower orders of the people, when this could be ventured upon with impunity, nor with the most revolting and brutalizing forms of slavery. The pagan appears to have had no idea of the rights of men, as men; but only of the rights of his own republic to preserve its freedom, and, if possible to bring all others in subjection to itself. But the idea of the right of even an individual state to be free, was no inconsiderable advance upon the absolute despotism of the East; and the freedom of the classical ages, imperfect as it was, has not failed to exert a very beneficial influence on the governments of the western world. There is in antiquity, however, no example of a free representative

government, founded on the principle of equal rights, till the idea was first suggested by the institutions of Moses, and fully realized in the primitive organization of the christian church. Even while the Hebrews were under the monarchy of their native sovereigns, the limitations of the royal power were such, that the meanest subjects enjoyed far more liberty, than was ever afforded in the boasted aristocratic republics of ancient Greece. It is well known, that the spirit of freedom, which is now diffusing itself through the old world and rendering despotism every where insecure, owes its origin to the founders of our own free institutions ; and it is equally well known, though not proclaimed with equal loudness and frequency, that our ancestors derived their notions of civil government and equal rights directly from the Bible. If, then, we would teach our young men to correct the partial and unjust notions of civil right which prevailed in pagan republics, or to understand the principles on which our own institutions rest, or to sympathize with all that is really valuable in the spirit of freedom that is now abroad in the world, we must, in all our plans of education, connect the thorough study of the Bible with the study of the great masters of classical antiquity.

It is true that the proud, selfish, and worldly spirit of paganism, is the spirit of the natural man, who delights in self-exaltation, even at the expense of the happiness and the blood of his fellow-men. Still, though man is corrupted, his moral nature is not destroyed, and though he may love power, and bloodshed and sensuality, there is enough of the divine image in his soul, to impel him to feel the superiority of the humble and self-denying and spiritual character of the Bible, when it is fairly presented to his understanding. His moral taste will be improved, and his moral feelings corrected, by a diligent study of the Scriptures, even though he should not give himself up to the controlling influence of scriptural sentiment. Compare the stern morality of the skeptical Franklin, whose Puritan parents gave him a strictly scriptural education, with the licentiousness of the French philosophers, who in early life enjoyed no such advantages ; or the moral influence of the poetry of Milton, who studied the Bible with as much diligence and ardour as he studied Homer or Virgil, with that of Dryden or Pope, who made the classics their exclusive models.

III. Some may be ready to ask : ‘ If there is confessedly so much danger in the classics, why give them any attention ? why not exclude them entirely from our halls of education ? ’ Simply

because, as has been partly shewn already, a knowledge of the ancients lies at the foundation of all proper mental culture, and there is nothing, and can be nothing, to supply their place. The evil may be easily avoided, the good cannot be dispensed with. It is through the classics, that mind has arrived at its present elevation ; and in order to retain our intellectual position, classical learning must live and flourish. Should the time ever come when the study of the ancients shall be neglected, the general standard of mental excellence will be rapidly retrograde. In every community where this study is unknown or undervalued, literary effort is characterized by a rawness and viciousness of taste, which at once betrays a defective education. It is not those alone who read the classics with fluency, that derive benefit from them ; but all who have once studied them themselves, or who are familiarly conversant with those who do study them, even though the words of the languages may fade away entirely from their minds, generally acquire a maturity of judgment and taste, that strongly characterizes their intellectual efforts. Edmund Burke, in a letter to Parr, justly and happily remarks, that this sort of erudition “diffuses its influence over the society at large ; it is enjoyed where it is not directly bestowed ; and those feel its operations who do not know to what they owe the advantage they possess.”

These assertions are not made groundlessly or at random. They are fully sustained by uniform experience, and are necessary deductions from the very nature of the case. Not to repeat what we have before observed, respecting the importance of the Greek and Latin as the representatives of a most highly cultivated state of mind, as the teachers of those who taught us, as our direct intellectual progenitors ; it is certain that these two ancient languages, considered simply as to their mechanical structure, (particularly the Greek, with the copiousness, flexibility, majesty, and harmony of its periods, with its wonderful power of compounding words and adapting epithets to the precise nature of the subject to be described,) are incomparably more beautiful and perfect than any of the modern tongues of Europe. The study of such languages cannot fail to refine and adorn the mind, and increase the student's power over his native idiom ; especially as the living languages of Europe are by etymology so intimately connected with the Greek and Latin, and the English owes to them its refinement and copiousness. The circumstances under which those ancient languages came

to maturity ; the simplicity and liveliness and youthful vigour of the classical writers ; their fresh and keen perception of the objects of nature and the character of man ; their unrivalled power of making words the exact images, the living pictures of thought ; the fact that they have stood the test of every possible mode of trial, and that their languages are fixed and unchangeable ; give to these writers, as models of expression and style, a value to which no others can lay claim. They are justly held to be a sort of common standard of literary excellence, approved by the concurrent voice of ages, by which the merit of other performances is to be estimated. In ancient times, when the objects of pursuit were comparatively few, when the materials of writing were scarce, and the process slow and difficult, the whole force of the mind was much more exclusively directed to condensation and finish of style, to brevity and neatness of expression, than it is at present ; when the eager pursuit of the natural sciences and the mechanical arts and the improvements of life, has diverted intellectual effort into so many thousand different channels ; and the ease and cheapness with which printed pages are multiplied, have brought before the literary public all sorts of mediocrity, with the consequent verbosity, affectation, and unnatural striving after effect. Since the ancients, then, lived under circumstances so much more favourable to the cultivation of style, both in thought and expression ; since they devoted so much more attention to it, and since their languages were so much better adapted to this sort of excellence ; is it any thing strange that they should excel the moderns in this particular ? And to whom shall we go for instruction on any subject, if not to those who understand that subject best ?

It will not be understood that I refer to the pursuit of the natural sciences and the arts of life, or to the ease and cheapness with which books and the means of information are multiplied, as in themselves evils. On the contrary, they are the principal causes of the allowed superiority of the moderns over the ancients in most respects ; but it is no new doctrine, that that which is the cause of a great general good, may at the same time be the occasion of a particular isolated evil. The very means which have enabled us to gain ground of the ancients in almost every thing else, may have occasioned a loss in respect to language, in respect to the condensation and arrangement and illustration of thought, the comprehensiveness and force and elegance of expression. There may be, and doubtless are, some

as good writers among the moderns, as ever existed among the ancients ; but are there not proportionably many more poor and careless ones ? and has not excellence of this sort, in the aggregate, deteriorated ? And even in regard to the best of modern writers, are the languages in which they write so perfect, or their conceptions and illustrations, on the whole, as fresh and original, as those of the ancients ? It would be strange, indeed, if the first reapers should not find a richer harvest than the gleaners ; if the lenders should not be more independent than the borrowers ; if the imitated should not be more original than the imitators. It is a fact obvious to all, that in the great mass of modern writings, there is a diffuseness and verbiage, a negligence and slovenliness, a confusion and interminableness, that were entirely unknown to the ancients, so far as we can judge from the literary remains which have descended to us. This must have an effect upon the public mind in general ; and if we may form any estimate from the character of political harangues and theological disquisitions and popular essays, it is an evil that is rather increasing than diminishing. This is an age of detail, and of words, and of endless talking. It is just such an age as ought to be disciplined and corrected by the lively, imaginative, sententious, simple spirit of antiquity.

Farther, the study of the classics affords the requisite mental discipline, and at the same time furnishes, while it exercises, the mind. The purposes of education are accomplished, by teaching the mind how to use its own powers and apply them skilfully to every emergency as it arises ; and many of the studies in which we engage with ardour, are acknowledged to be valuable, chiefly on account of the intellectual exertion, which they demand. In the study of the classics, all the different powers are called into active exercise ; the faculties of memory and reasoning, of imagination and taste, are put in requisition in every sentence that is read ; and generally, the sentence itself exhibits an admirable model of the very sort of effort, which is required for understanding it. What kind of training can be more improving than this, in which precept and example and practice are combined in one and the same intellectual process ? It is a kind of discipline peculiarly adapted to the youthful mind, because it exercises and strengthens all its powers, without, like studies more abstruse, overtaxing and disgusting them. And while this discipline is acquired, the mind is at the same time stored with the most important and interesting facts, with the most varied

and delightful knowledge. Poetry and history and philosophy, in their most beautiful and perfect forms, present themselves to the youthful soul, and pour all their riches into its bosom, while it is learning the use of its own powers. If mental training, then, be an object of so much importance, that the mind may be chained to the most barren and repulsive pursuits in order to acquire it; why should it not be obtained by classical study, which at the same time affords rich additional treasures? Why should we always be compelled to make our toilsome way over the rough, bare rock, when we can reach the same point by a verdant path, overhung with trees refreshing us with the most wholesome and delicious fruit, and cheering us with the songs of the most melodious birds? I would not have the severer studies excluded from a course of education; they are essential to the complete training of the mind, and nothing else can supply their place; but neither would I have the abstract sciences exclude the languages and the study of literature, which are equally good for discipline, and infinitely better for furniture.

Most of the foregoing remarks may also be applied, with equal truth, to the study of the Bible. That is a storehouse of the most important and various knowledge; it is capable of disciplining all the faculties of the soul; while the severe simplicity and masculine grandeur of the style in which most of its books are written, render it peculiarly valuable as a model of expression. Its pathos is the pathos of the full soul; its ornament is the beautiful simplicity of nature; its charm is more in the thought than in the diction. So striking is this peculiarity in the style of Scripture, that its beauties remain unconcealed, though not entirely unobscured, by the distance of time and place, the difference of climate and habits and modes of life, which render so many allusions and tropes almost unintelligible, and by the rubbish of imperfect translation, which destroys the delicacy of expression, and annihilates the beauties of mere language. This fact may be well illustrated, by comparing the most perfect translation of the classics with the poorest version of the Scriptures, and observing the comparative loss sustained, and beauty preserved, by each. The beauties of the heathen classics, like their religion, sometimes lose all their charms when transferred to a foreign soil; while the beauties of the sacred classics, are generally as universal and unfading as their God. Art, even the most exquisite, is transient and mutable; nature, in all her simplicity, is everlasting and unchangeable.

The statements and reasonings, upon which we have ventured, we think are fully sustained by facts. The times in which men have most valued and most diligently studied the classics in connexion with the sacred writings, have been the times in which literature has exhibited its highest character and borne its richest fruits. The seventeenth century will always be distinguished in the annals of Great Britain, as the most glorious period of its literature; and that was the time when the study of the classics and of the Bible was in the greatest vigour; that was the time of such scholars as Usher and Cudworth, Selden and Milton. So the sublime genius of Dante was nurtured and matured by the study of the Bible, in connexion with the great spirits of Greece and Rome. Germany is now distinguished above all the other nations of modern Europe, for the freshness and originality and exuberance of its native literature; and no less for the ardour and success with which the study of the Scriptures and of the classics is prosecuted.

It seems due to the subject, to add a few remarks in regard to the mode in which the study I have been recommending ought to be conducted, in order to derive from it the benefits which it is capable of yielding. It is a fact highly discreditable to our scholarship, that the study of the ancients excites comparatively little interest in the mass of our students, and is generally entirely discontinued, so soon as the student emerges into active life. One grand cause of this distaste to ancient lore, I apprehend, is to be found in the very defective mode in which the ancient languages are taught in most of our public institutions. Generally there is not sufficient time devoted to preparation for college, and the time thus spent is not always judiciously employed. The object in preparation should be, to acquire an acquaintance with grammatical forms, so familiar, that the student may know at sight the design of every inflection, even though he should be ignorant of the meaning of the word. Then, in the succeeding part of his course, he will be able to read for the thought, without being engrossed and embarrassed with unknown grammatical forms. After entering college, the student, on our present system, finds himself for the most part still confined to the repulsive and school-boy task of reading extracts—mere meagre extracts. He has no opportunity to become familiar with any one writer, or learn to read any one book with facility. He seldom learns to read for the thought, but is kept continually upon words; he scarcely knows that it is possible

even to read a Greek or Latin author without the dictionary and grammar, or for the sake of learning any thing but how to construe and parse a few disconnected sentences. He is doing the same thing that he was doing at the academy, he is conscious of no progress, he is able to read no author, he has followed out no one train of thought, he has no connected view of any work. A man can never become familiar with a language, till he becomes accustomed to read for the thought; and he will never feel sufficiently interested to read for the thought, while he is confined to disconnected extracts from various writers, and is permitted to become familiar with no one author, and to have a complete knowledge of no one treatise. What degree of interest in English literature would the foreign student acquire, whose reading should be confined to the *English Reader* and *American Preceptor*? Extracts are for those who are learning grammatical forms, and not for those who are learning language in the higher sense. No one will feel interested to study the peculiar force and bearing of each word as it is arranged in a sentence, till he has become sufficiently interested in his author, to feel that it is worth his while to labour for the sake of ascertaining his author's exact meaning.

The classics will never be generally appreciated, nor the study of them generally advantageous, till students are made familiar with grammatical forms before they enter college; and afterwards are taught to read and understand whole treatises, instead of construing and parsing disjointed extracts. For a college course of Greek, I would propose something like the following; always taking it for granted, that the student is well grounded in grammar before entering. During the first year, let him study the *Odyssey* of Homer; let him be taught to observe the delightful pictures of ancient life and manners which it presents; let the antiquities, the various allusions and mythological stories, be appropriately illustrated. In a few months he will become sufficiently familiar with the style and course of thought, to be able to read for the thoughts, and for the pleasure and instruction which reading affords. He will become acquainted with at least one Greek author, and have a complete idea of one Greek book; and this is more than is now generally gained by the whole four years' course. Knowing that he can now read one book without being a slave to his lexicon and grammar, he will feel as if he might read another; he will see that it is possible for a Greek writer to be good for

something else, besides a school-boy's task in construing and parsing. I do not mean that the lexicon and grammar are to be thrown aside; but I am sure that no one has thoroughly learned a language, till he has become in a good measure independent of these helps, till his own mind is his best lexicon and grammar; and this power can be acquired, in the first instance, only by the continuous study of some one good author. In the second year, let him in the same manner read Herodotus; and let the reading of Herodotus be, not the mere study of Greek words, but let it be a course of study in ancient history. In a short time, he will become familiar with the style of Herodotus, and will read his history with ease and pleasure, and as he would read a well written history in his own language, for the sake of the information and entertainment which the history affords. Every Greek scholar will see why I select these two writers for the commencement of the college course. They are the most ancient and simple, the most lively and entertaining of the Greek writers, and their works (the *Odyssey* more than the *Iliad*) are peculiarly calculated to interest and improve the youthful mind. For the third year, I would propose Xenophon's *Memorabilia* of Socrates, which gives a full and delightful account of that philosopher's opinions and reasonings on all the most important topics of morality and natural religion; and the *Phaedo* of Plato, that most finished and enchanting dialogue, in which Socrates is introduced discoursing on the nature and immortality of the soul. By this course, four of the most distinguished writers, two of the most important dialects, the manners, antiquities, and history, the moral philosophy, and natural theology of the ancient Greeks, in their most engaging forms, may be made familiar to the student; while, on the present plan, he reads just enough of a variety of writers, to be wearied and perplexed by them all, without obtaining a complete or satisfactory idea of any.

To connect the study of the Bible with this course, the student should already be familiar with Hebrew grammar, and have read some of the earlier and easier portions of *Genesis*. This, if rightly taught, is to the young an easy acquisition; because the language is so perfectly simple and regular in its structure. The only difficulty is at the very outset, on account of the pure orientalisms of the Hebrew being in many respects so contrary to our occidental notions of language. Then, with the study of Homer, should be connected some of the oldest poetry of the

Hebrew Scriptures, as for example the most simple songs in the Pentateuch, the ninetieth and some other of the Psalms; with Herodotus, the historical writings of Moses and the other Hebrew annalists; and with Xenophon and Plato, the discourses of our Lord in the Gospels of Matthew and John, and one of the more elaborate epistles of Paul, for example, that to the Romans. The comparison should be carefully carried through in every instance; and thus the superiority of the Bible will be clearly manifested.

On this plan, we might engage in the business of teaching the ancient languages with some hope of success and usefulness; an interest might be excited in the classics in the highest degree auspicious to the cause of sound learning; and the Word of God would, at the same time, be exerting its holy and heavenly influence on the intellect and the heart.

ART. V. ON THE EXODUS OF THE ISRAELITES OUT OF EGYPT,
AND THEIR WANDERINGS IN THE DESERT.

By the Editor.

[WITH A MAP.]

IT will be the chief object of the present article, to trace the march and wanderings of the children of Israel, from the time of their miraculous passage through the Red sea, until their arrival on the borders of Moab and the confines of the promised land. This is a subject which has long been discussed by commentators, without arriving at any satisfactory results; inasmuch as the whole tract of country south of Palestine, which the Israelites necessarily traversed, has remained until recently a *terra incognita* to modern geographers. Within the last few years, however, the researches of several travellers have torn away the veil of darkness which so long rested on those regions; and it would therefore seem desirable to apply the results of their researches to the illustration of that part of Holy Writ, which is more particularly connected with these districts. I am not aware that this has yet been attempted by any one; certainly

not in the English language; and I therefore hope that the following pages may prove acceptable to the reader, at least as a first essay to elucidate an interesting and difficult topic, and one which may hereafter be extended or modified by the suggestions of other minds, and the aid of wider and more exact geographical investigations.¹

As a preliminary step, it will not be improper to take a brief survey of that part of Egypt in which the Israelites probably resided, in order to obtain a more definite idea and clearer view of their breaking up, and of their march before arriving at the Red sea; because all this must necessarily have a direct bearing on the question, At what place was the passage of the Red sea effected? We can here only touch upon all these points; since the necessity of a fuller consideration of them has been superseded, by the very ample discussions of Professor Stuart in the second part of his *Course of Hebrew Study*.² Indeed, the present article must properly be regarded, only as a *continuation* of the discussions of that writer.

I. *Land of Goshen.*

In regard to the situation of the land of Goshen, the views of modern writers would appear to have become in a good degree definitely fixed. It was most probably the tract lying eastward of the Pelusian arm of the Nile, towards Arabia, i. e. between that arm on the one side, and the Red sea and the borders of Palestine on the other. Commentators, however, have been greatly divided in respect to the situation of Goshen. Cellarius, Shaw, and others, suppose it to be the region around Heliopolis, not far from the modern Cairo; Bryant places it in the Saïtic nome or province;³ while Jablonsky strangely endeavours to fix

¹ The substance of this article, (as well as the accompanying map,) will also be found in the forthcoming American edition of Calmet's Dictionary, as revised by the Editor of this work, under the articles EXODUS, ELATH, CANAAN, GOSHEN, etc. The information there given has been here moulded into a different and more connected form and order; while, at the same time, this article may serve as a specimen of the additions made by the Editor to that work. This edition of Calmet, it is hoped, may prove an acceptable as well as valuable present, not only to the biblical student, but also to every attentive reader of the Bible.

² Excursus I—IV. p. 153—198.

³ Obs. on the Plagues of Egypt.

it near Heracleopolis in Middle Egypt, on the western bank of the Nile!⁴ But most modern interpreters and travellers coincide in the view above given, that it was the part of Egypt eastward of the Delta; so Michaelis, Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Niebuhr, and also the deputation of French engineers sent by Bonaparte to explore this country, and especially the route of the ancient canal, while the French had possession of Egypt in 1799. In accordance, also, with this view, Professor Stuart has treated of the subject.⁵ The reasons on which this opinion is founded, may be briefly stated as follows.

I. The notices contained in Scripture itself.—(1.) From Exod. xiii. 17, and 1 Chron. vii. 21, it appears that the land of Goshen was adjacent to the land of the Philistines, or at least nearer to it than the other parts of Egypt.—(2.) In Gen. xlv. 29, Joseph, it is said, *went up* from Egypt to meet his father on his arrival in Goshen,—a mode of expression which is always used in respect to those who go from Egypt towards Palestine; while those who go from Palestine to Egypt are always said to *go down*.—(3.) According to Gen. xlv. 10, Goshen was not far from (was *near* to) the royal residence of the kings of Egypt at that time, which according to Josephus was Memphis, but according to Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43, was Zoan or Tanis, on the second branch of the Nile, and within the Delta. In either case, the reference supports our view of the situation of Goshen.—(4) The Israelites set off from Rameses, Ex. xii. 37, the metropolis of Goshen, and probably near the centre of the province, and reached the Red sea in three days; or perhaps in *two*, if Etham lay at its northern extremity, in the edge of the desert. This would have been impossible, had they come from the vicinity of the Nile.—(5.) The probable sites of the cities built in Goshen by the Israelites, as Rameses and Pithom, are found in this region.

II. With the above notices agree also those existing in the ancient translators of the Scriptures, and in other writers.—(1.) The Seventy, who made their version in Egypt, and who are consequently of great authority in every thing relative to that country, give the Hebrew name in Gen. xlv. 10, by Γεσέν Ἀραβίας, *Goshen of Arabia*, manifestly signifying that Goshen

⁴ In his eight Dissertations on the Land of Goshen, Opera, ed. Te Water, Vol. II.

⁵ Course of Heb. Study, Vol. II. Excurs. II. p. 158.

was on the east of the Nile. Indeed the name of Arabia was sometimes applied to all that part of Egypt and Ethiopia which lies between the Nile and the Red sea; and especially the so called *Arabian nome* (νόμος Ἀραβίας) was in the tract which we assign to Goshen.⁶ In another place, Gen. xlv. 28, for the Hebrew reading *land of Goshen*, they put καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν εἰς γῆν Ῥαμεσσή, to *Heroöpolis in the land of Rameses*; from which we may gather that the city of Heroöpolis was reckoned to Goshen, and that the whole country was sometimes called Rameses, after its capital.—(2.) Josephus evidently reckons Heliopolis to Goshen;⁷ following probably the Septuagint version of Ex. i. 11, where, in enumerating the cities built by the Israelites, in addition to Rameses and Pithom, they mention also *On, which is Heliopolis*. On our hypothesis, this city might have been in quite the south-western corner of Goshen. In confirmation of this, we may also remark, that according to Niebuhr,* there exist large mounds of ruins about eight or nine miles N. E. of Heliopolis, which are still called *Tel el Ihûd*, Hills of the Jews, or *Turbet el Ihûd*, Graves of the Jews. It is however very possible, that these ruins are to be referred back only to the time of the temple of Onias, in the reign of the Ptolemies.—(3.) The authority of Saadiah, the Arabic translator, is here very great, as he was himself an Egyptian, *Fijumensis*; he always, for Goshen, puts *Sedir*. This was the name of a fortress and of the region around it, in the Egyptian province Sharkiyeh, in which also was the nome Tarabia,⁸ (the *Arabian nome* of Ptolemy,) as is shewn by De Sacy and also by Quatremère.⁹ In accordance with this view is also the testimony of Makrizi, the celebrated Arabian writer, who describes the land of Goshen as being the country around Bilbeis, and extending to the land of the Amalekites.¹⁰

⁶ Ptolem. Geogr. IV. 5. Plin. V. 9.

⁷ Antiq. II. 7. 6.

* See Niebuhr's Reisebeschr. I. p. 100, 213.

⁸ So called in the Coptic manuscripts; see Champollion's *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, II. p. 75. Quatremère's *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, I. p. 62.

⁹ De Sacy *Mémoire sur la Version Arabe des Livres de Moïse à l'usage des Samaritains*, p. 71 sq. Quatremère, l. c.

¹⁰ De Sacy *ibid.* p. 73. Quatremère *ib.* p. 53. For all these references, see also Rosenmueller's *Bibl. Geograph.* III. p. 246 sq.—The different views respecting the situation of Goshen have been collected by Bellermand, in his *Handb. der bibl. Lit.* IV. p. 191 sq.

With the above hypothesis, agrees well also the general character of this district. It is in general not susceptible of tillage, because it lies for the most part beyond the reach of the inundations of the Nile; but it is so much the more adapted to the uses of nomadic shepherds, such as were Jacob and his sons, and was consequently for them *the best of the land*; Gen. xlvii. 6, 11. So true was this, that even in later times, after the conquest of Egypt by the Mohammedans, the region around Bilbeis (the land of Goshen) was assigned to the Arabian *nomadic* tribes, who had taken part in the conquest, as their appropriate portion.¹¹

This tract of country in general, or isthmus, is described by M. Rozière, a member of the French deputation above-mentioned, as a vast plain, but little elevated above the sea; now and then having a rolling surface; interspersed also with hills, in general small, steep on one side, and gradual on the other. It is every where intersected by valleys, (wadys,) wide, but not deep, apparently made by the Nile and the rains. In these, particularly during the rainy season, there is abundance of grass, bushes, and other vegetation, on which the camels that cross the deserts in caravans, are fed. In general, the whole plain is covered with more or less of vegetation, excepting those parts where drift-sands compose the principal part of the soil, or where there are salt lagoons, near which the whole soil is covered or mixed with saline excrescences.

In February, 1827, the Rev. Mr Smith, American missionary, passed with a caravan direct from Bilbeis to El Arish, on the borders of Palestine, across the desert, and of course through the northern part of the district of Goshen. From Bilbeis they travelled the first day over an immense plain of coarse sand, almost entirely destitute of vegetation. "Afterwards," he observes, "the desert became uneven and hilly, and presented a great variety of surface and prospect. As we advanced, the fine movable sand increased, forming little hillocks around the shrubs, and covering the tops of the highest hills with immense drifts, formed and shaped in the same manner as banks of snow. Several species of evergreen shrubs, resembling our whortleberry bush, find sustenance in the sand of the desert, and are scattered in some places more, and in others less thickly, over the whole of it. Of *grass* I saw none, except a little in a very few places, growing in bogs, as if in swamps. It is on the shrubs just men-

¹¹ Quatremère, Mem. I. p. 60.

tioned, that the Bedouins pasture their flocks. Of these we saw none until the fifth day; after that, many, which were always composed of goats and sheep together, and attended by females."¹²

A very striking feature of this region of country, or Goshen, is the great valley of *Saba Byar*, i. e. seven wells, through which passed the ancient canal that united the Nile with the Red sea. This canal was found by the French engineers to be still in a state of preservation in many parts of it. The first section of it begins near the head of the Red sea, just north of Suez, so called, and runs up through a low wady to the so called Bitter lakes, about thirteen and a half miles. The second section consists of the basin of these lakes, which runs in a north-westerly direction about twenty seven miles, and the bottom of which is from twenty to fifty-four feet lower than the high-water mark of the Red sea. The third section of the canal runs from Serapeum, at the head of these lakes westward, through the above-mentioned wady *Saba Byar*, about thirty-nine miles, to Abasseh, at the western end of the wady, where it joins the valley of the Nile. The fourth and last section runs from Abasseh to Bubastis, (Pi Beseth, Ezek. xxx. 17,) which was on the Pelusiac, or eastern branch of the Nile, about twelve miles from Abasseh. The whole valley of *Saba Byar*, from Abasseh to Serapeum, is subject to be overflowed by the Nile, when fully swelled. In 1800, while the French were there, the Nile not only flowed into the valley, but broke through a great dyke near the middle of it, and penetrated almost to the Bitter lakes. The water on this occasion, in some parts of the valley, was from twenty to thirty feet deep. The soil is consequently covered by the rich deposit of the Nile, and is of the same character as that of the rest of Egypt near the Nile, though not so deep. Sweet water is every where found in it on digging a few feet. The canal ran along the northern side of this valley, upon the hill or ascent which bounds it on that side.¹³

A similar, but more extensive, valley still farther to the south and west, is mentioned by Mr. Smith on his route from Bilbeis to El Arish. Soon after leaving Bilbeis, they struck off to the right into the desert. Afterwards, he says, "We passed one

¹² Stuart's Course of Heb. Study, II. p. 165.

¹³ Description de l' Egypte, (by the French deputation,) Tom. VIII. p. 111 sq.

tract of land, the features of which were so distinctly marked as to excite considerable curiosity. It was a sort of valley, a little lower than the surrounding country, into which we descended, about ten and a half hours [some thirty-five miles] from Bilbeis. It extends north-west and south-east, descending towards the Nile, and narrowing in this direction. We were told that the Nile occasionally flows up this valley to the spot where we crossed it. Towards the south-east, it gradually ascends, and widens into an immense plain, the limits of which, in that direction, we could not discern. From this plain, the eastern extremity of Suez mountain, [Attaka or Ettaga,] which now for the first time showed itself, bore south by east. The soil of this tract was a dark mould. I do not doubt that water might be found in any part of it, by digging a few feet. Indeed, after travelling upon it four and a half hours, [about fourteen or fifteen miles,] we came to a well only twelve or fifteen feet deep, but sufficiently copious to water the [two hundred] camels and fill the water skins of the whole caravan, and containing the only sweet water that we found in the desert, all the other wells being brackish. It is called *Abu Suair*. Having seen how extensively artificial irrigation is practised in Egypt, I was easily persuaded that this whole tract might once have been under the highest state of cultivation.”¹⁴

Valleys or wadys like these would furnish to the Israelites an abundance of fertile soil to live upon, with the opportunity of pasturing their flocks in the surrounding deserts. That this was, therefore, the *best of the land* of Egypt for the Hebrews, is manifest; that it was so also for the Bedouin tribes who helped the Mohammedans to conquer Egypt, has been mentioned above; and that at a still later period it was regarded as one of the wealthiest portions of Egypt, is apparent from a circumstance mentioned in De Sacy's translation of Abdollatiph's Description of Egypt. Appended to that work is a valuation of the Egyptian provinces, made in A. D. 1376, for the purposes of taxation. The province Sharkiyeh (Goshen) is there said to contain 380 towns and villages, and is valued at 1,411,875 *dinars*; a valuation higher than that of any of the other provinces (except one) either of Lower or Upper Egypt.¹⁵

As cities of Goshen, are mentioned Pithom and Rameses;

¹⁴ Stuart, l. c. p. 166.

¹⁵ De Sacy, Relat. d'Egypte par Abd-allatif, p. 593 sq.

the former, doubtless the *Patoumos* of the Greeks, on the canal, near the western embouchure of the wady Saba Byar;¹⁶ and the latter situated probably about the middle of that valley, at Abou-keyshid, a place where ruins are still found. This is the opinion of M. Rozière and Du Bois Aymé, and also of lord Valentia;¹⁷ it is adopted and confirmed by Champollion;¹⁸ and is followed by Rosenmüller and Professor Stuart. This, as we have seen above, (II. 1,) is doubtless the Rameses, from which the Israelites are said in Ex. xii. 37, to have set out upon their journey. If thus located, Rameses lay on the borders of the great canal; or, if this were not yet in existence, it lay in the great valley or wady, up which the waters of the Nile flowed, so as sometimes nearly to meet those of the Bitter lakes, which anciently were doubtless connected with the Red Sea. It would thus have been not far from forty miles distant from Suez.¹⁹

Such then would seem to have been the situation and general character of the land of Goshen; and such the location of its principal cities.

II. *Route of the Israelites towards the Red Sea.*

We turn now to consider the departure of the Israelites out of the land of Goshen, and their route towards the Red sea.

We are told in Ex. xii. 37, and Num. xxxiii. 3, that the children of Israel departed from Rameses "on the fifteenth day of the first month, on the morrow after the passover." It is therefore not improbable, that in expectation of the permission of Pharaoh to depart, so often foretold by Jehovah, the Israelites had already congregated at Rameses, during the continuance of the previous plagues. This probability is strengthened by the fact, that Pharaoh had already several times given this permission; although he had ever retracted it after the ceasing of each plague. Before the last great plague, too, the Israelites were

¹⁶ Champollion, *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, II. p. 58.

¹⁷ Mod. Traveller in Arabia, Amer. edit. p. 185.

¹⁸ *Egypte sous le Pharaons*, II. 88 sq.—Strabo speaks of Heroöpolis in the following manner, XVI. 4. 2. Ἀπὸ Ἡρώων πόλεως, ἣ τις ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ Νεῖλῳ μυχὸς τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου. Pliny also mentions it as the chief city of a nome of the like name, *Hist. Nat.* V. 9. The Egyptian name was *Aouari*, according to Champollion, l. c.

¹⁹ Stuart, l. c. p. 173. Mod. Traveller in Arabia, p. 185 Amer. edit.

directed to borrow of their neighbours jewels of gold and silver, Ex. xi. 2, 3; in order to be ready to depart at a moment's warning. It would therefore seem reasonable to suppose, that the people were already collected at Rameses as a rendezvous, waiting the signal of departure from their leader, like the great Hadj caravans of modern days; that they celebrated there the passover on its first institution, on the night *of*, i. e. according to the Jewish mode of reckoning, the night *preceding*, the fourteenth day of the first month; that Moses and Aaron, being called by Pharaoh soon after midnight, and dismissed by him from the capital immediately, were able to reach Rameses so as to have the Israelites break up from thence on the morning of the fifteenth day. This would allow Moses nearly or quite thirty hours in which to reach Rameses, viz. the remainder of the fourteenth night, the whole of the fourteenth day, and the whole of the fifteenth night,—a time amply sufficient for this purpose, since even caravans often pass between Cairo and Suez, a distance of nearly 100 miles, in about the same number of hours.—This supposition permits us to understand Num. xxxiii. 3, in its full and literal sense; nor do I well see how any other can be assigned to it.

From Rameses (Heroöpolis), Moses had before him the choice of two routes to Palestine; the direct one along the coast of the Mediterranean to El Arish, and the more circuitous one by the head of the Red sea and the desert of mount Sinai. The Lord directed the latter; Ex. xiii. 17, 18. This would appear to have been a known and travelled way, by which passed doubtless the commerce that must have subsisted between Egypt and Arabia, and leading probably around the present head of the Red sea, at the same, or nearly the same point, where the caravans now pass. The first day's march was to Succoth, a Hebrew word signifying *booths*, being probably nothing more than a usual place of encampment. The second day brought them to Etham, "in the edge of the desert," Ex. xiii. 20. Num. xxxiii. 5. We know that the encampments of caravans in every age are regulated by the situation of watering-places; and if we may suppose that these watering-places have remained the same from remote ages, then we may well coincide with Niebuhr and others, who have found Etham in the modern Adjeroud. This is now a fort or castle, which in Niebuhr's time was in ruins, but has been repaired by the present pasha of Egypt,²⁰ who keeps a

²⁰ Niebuhr's Reisebeschr. I. p. 216. Burckhardt's Travels in Syria etc. p. 454.

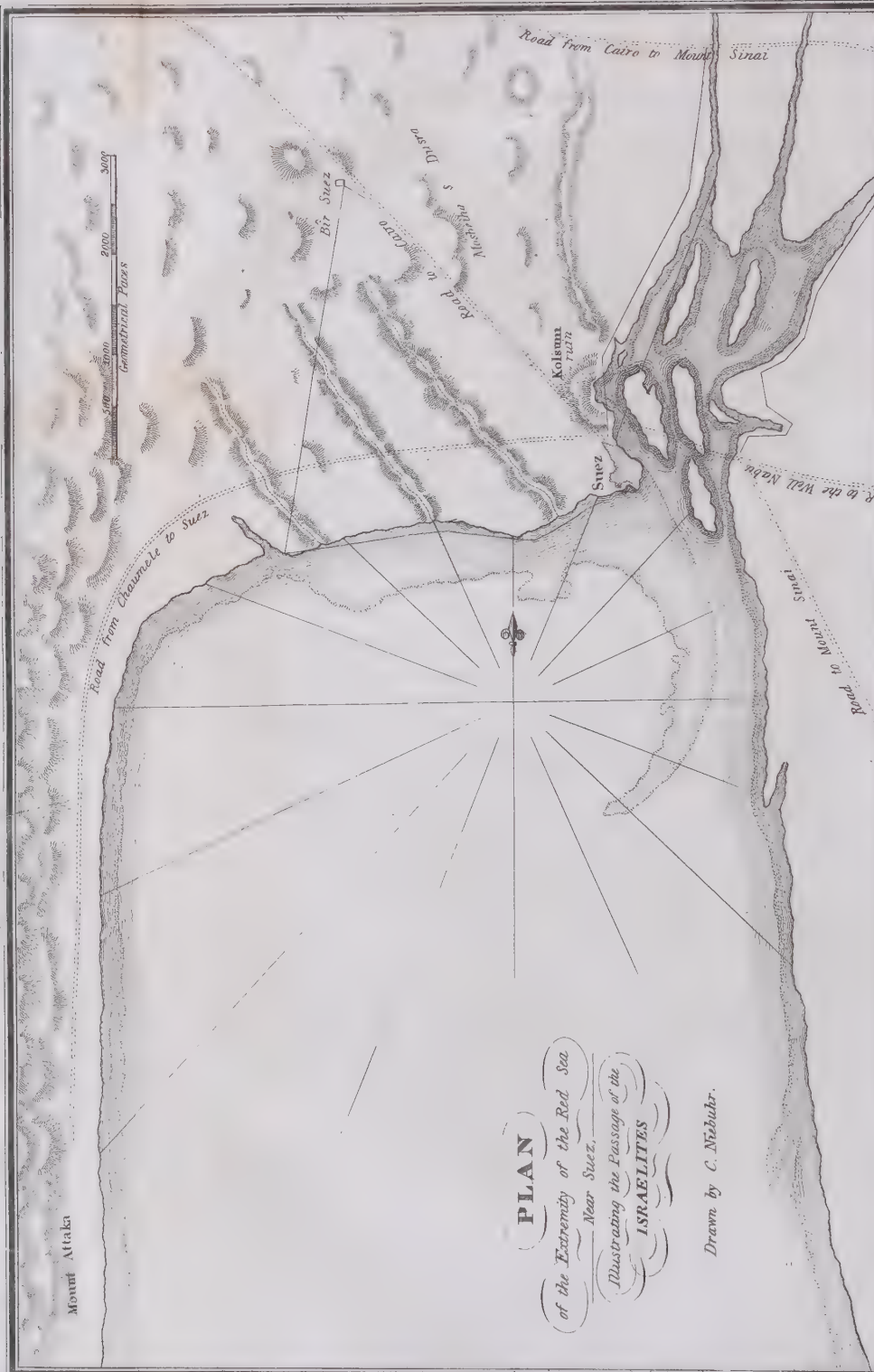
garrison there. In it is a well two hundred and fifty feet deep, the wheels of which are put in motion only to fill the great tank before the time of the great annual Hadj caravan ; during the rest of the year the building which encloses the well, is kept shut up and locked. Burckhardt was once detained there for two days ; and the only water to be had was that of the tank, which was then saline, putrid, and of a yellow green colour.²¹ The garrison are usually supplied with water from the well Emshash, about two miles farther west. Adjeroud lies about twelve miles N. W. of Suez, and is literally in the "edge of the desert," being the first place where the caravans from Cairo find water.

Had now the Israelites pursued the usual route from Adjeroud or Etham, they would have taken a course due east, and passed around the head of the gulf, where the Hadj caravan now passes. Admitting, as we must, that the sea was then higher than it now is, and extended further up ; still, the nature of the ground is such, that there must have been an easy ford at that point, which is now dry. Of this we shall speak again in the sequel. Instead of taking this route, the Lord directed the Israelites to *turn off* from the direct and usual way, (not *turn back*,) and take a position which brought the gulf directly in front of them. It is worthy of remark, that Niebuhr here uses the very same language. "The caravans," he says, "which go from Cairo to Mount Sinai or Mecca, pass on from Adjeroud eastward round the extreme point of the Red sea ; we however *turned off* here, and travelled in a more southern direction nearly S. E. three hours (about nine miles) to *Bir Suez*."

This Bir Suez, or Well of Suez, is about three miles from the city. There is here a copious spring enclosed by a massive building, whence the water is drawn up by wheels turned by oxen, and emptied into a large stone tank on the outside of the building. In Niebuhr's time, it was drawn up by hand. The water is brackish, but serves for drinking.²² If now we may suppose, that this was a watering-place 3400 years ago, and even then perhaps defended by a tower, it would correspond entirely to Migdol, between which and the sea the Israelites next encamped. It is so assumed by Niebuhr, and he is followed by most critics ; although it must be, of course, a matter of conjecture. Pi-hahiroth is most probably an Egyptian word, signify-

²¹ Burckhardt, *ibid.* p. 628.

²² Burckhardt, *ibid.* p. 465. Niebuhr's *Reisebeschr.* I. p. 217.



Mount Ataka

Road from Chamaile to Suez

Bir Suez

Road to Kolsom

Road from Cairo to Mount Sinai

Kolsom

Suez

Road to the Wall Naba

Road to Mount Sinai

Scale
0 50 100
Miles
0 100
Fathoms
Geometrical Lines

PLAN

of the Extremity of the Red Sea
Near Suez.

Illustrating the Passage of the
ISRAELITES

Drawn by C. Niebuhr.

ing a place of sedge; the other, or Hebrew signification, *mouth of the caves*, being less probable, as there is no trace of caverns in the whole region. Of Baal-zephon there is no trace remaining; unless we suppose it to have been the ancient *Clysm* or *Arsinoë*, called afterwards *Kolsum* by the Arabs, which lay just north of the present site of Suez.²³

We have thus far traced the probable route of the Israelites from Rameses to the Red Sea near Suez; a distance of about forty miles in three days. A greater distance than this they could not well be expected to travel in that time, since their numbers were "six hundred thousand men on foot, besides children, and a mixed multitude, and flocks and herds, even very much cattle," Ex. xii. 37, 38. In this interval, Pharaoh had pursued them with his cavalry and chariots, xiv. 9, from the vicinity of the Nile, a distance of at least one hundred miles, and overtook them here on the borders of the sea. In this position the Egyptians might well say that the Israelites were "entangled in the land, the desert hath shut them in;" for they now had the sea in front, the mountains of Attaka on their right, the desert in their rear, while the way by which they had come was occupied by the Egyptian army. It was only a miracle which could rescue them from impending destruction.—We find also in all these circumstances, a confirmation of the opinion, that Rameses was not Heliopolis (near Cairo), nor any place in the vicinity of the Nile; since it would have been impossible for such a company to have travelled the distance of one hundred miles in three days.

III. *Passage of the Red Sea.*

All the foregoing premises lead irresistibly to the conclusion, that the Israelites passed through the Red sea at, or in the vicinity of, the modern city of Suez.

The traveller, in going from Adjeroud to Suez, sees this city while yet distant from it, lying apparently at the eastern part of the *broad* northern end of the gulf, which here presents a coast of five or six miles in length, running nearly east and west. But at the N. E. angle of the gulf, and still east of the city,

²³ Niebuhr's *Reisebeschr.* I. 218. Quatremère's *Mem. sur l'Égypte* I. 162. *Description de l'Égypte*, (par la Commission,) XI. 306, 366. Edrisii *Africa*, ed. Hartmann, p. 448 sq.

is an inlet or arm of the sea which extends farther north, and which formerly doubtless communicated with the Bitter lakes. This part of the gulf, which thus flows up by Suez, seems, at first, in comparison with the rest of the gulf, to have only the breadth of a river, and to be almost too small for the scene of a miracle so celebrated. But when it is remembered that this arm, directly opposite the city, is almost three quarters of a mile broad, and that further north it is much broader; and when we call to mind also that the gulf has evidently retired from its ancient limits; this difficulty vanishes.²⁴ That the sea has thus retired, is stated by Niebuhr, and by Du Bois Aymé and other travellers.²⁵ The proofs of the fact it is not necessary here to adduce; except to remark, that the ancient Clysma or Kolsum, the ruins of which are now to be seen about three quarters of a mile to the northward of Suez, appears to have been once the head of navigation, and to have been abandoned on account of the retreating of the waters, or perhaps the filling up of the sea by sand. At the present day, the tide rises here about six feet;²⁶ and during the ebb, the arm of the sea over against Suez is daily forded. Niebuhr forded it on his return from Mount Sinai; he and his companion on dromedaries, and their Arabs on foot; and the water came hardly up to the knees of the latter.²⁷ Ehrenberg remarks, upon his map, that the sea is here daily forded at the time of ebb; and that the place is still called *Dorb el Yahudi*, the Jews' passage.

The circumstances then of the miraculous passage, were these. Hemmed in as they were on all sides, the Israelites began to despair of escape, and to murmur against Moses, Ex. xiv. 11, 12. Jehovah now directed Moses to stretch out his rod over the sea; "and the Lord caused the sea to flow (*go*, יַחַד) by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry, and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry (ground); and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left," Ex. xiv. 21, 22. It would follow, that the Israelites, who were probably all night upon the alert, entered on the passage towards morn-

²⁴ Niebuhr's Beschreib. von Arabien, p. 410.

²⁵ Niebuhr, *ibid.* p. 403, 404. Description de l'Egypte, Tom. VIII. p. 114 sq. Tom. XI. p. 371 sq. Tom. XVIII. p. 341 sq.

²⁶ Two French *metres*. Descr. de l'Egypte, VIII. 114 sq.

²⁷ Reisebeschr. I. p. 252.

ing. "The Egyptians pursued and went in after them" and, "in the morning watch" the Lord "troubled the host of the Egyptians;" "and Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and the sea returned to his strength when then morning appeared, and the Egyptians fled against it,—and the waters returned and covered all the host of Pharaoh, etc." xiv. 23—28.

The first remark which here obviously presents itself is, that the miracle wrought by Jehovah in this case, was of that class which may be termed *mediate*; it was not a direct suspension of, or interference with, the laws of nature; but an extraordinary, a miraculous adaption of those laws, to produce a given result. The object was, to divide the waters of the Red sea; and this, for aught we can know, God might as well have done here by a word, or without the intervention of any natural cause, as afterwards the Jordan, Josh. iii. 16. But the Lord chose here to employ the intervention of a natural cause; and therefore sent a strong east wind (רֵיחַ קָדִים עֲזָה); under which (קָדִים) the Hebrew *usus loquendi* permits us to understand any wind blowing from the eastern quarter, and therefore a *north east* wind. Jehovah's agent in this case being therefore a natural one, (only miraculously sent,) we are entitled to look for natural effects; and one needs only to inspect Niebuhr's large chart of this point,²⁸ in order to perceive, that a strong north east wind, acting here upon the ebb tide, even when the level of the sea was much higher than at present, would necessarily have had the effect to drive the waters out of the small arm of the sea by Suez, and leave the shallower portions in this narrow part dry; while the more northern part, where the water was deeper, would still remain covered. Thus the waters would be *divided*, and be as a wall to the Israelites on the right hand and on the left.

Another obvious remark is, that after the northeast wind had thus operated with the ebb tide, to drive out the waters from the arm of the sea, and also from the whole western head of the gulf, to a far greater extent than usual, when this wind came to be lulled, and the waters to return, they would return not only with the usual power of the flood tide, but also with a force of reaction proportional to the degree in which they had been driven out by the strong wind. Even at the present day, as has been stated above, the tides rise at this point about six feet, and sometimes eight feet; and are not without great danger to persons who attempt to cross at any other than the proper time. In

²⁸ No. XXIV in his Description of Arabia.

1799, Bonaparte, in returning from an excursion to the wells of Ayoun Mousa, attempted the ford ; it was already late and grew dark ; the tide rose, and flowed with greater rapidity than had been expected ; so that the General and his suite were exposed to the greatest danger, although they had guides well acquainted with the ground.²⁹ Since then it is even now the fact, that the return of the ordinary flood tide is so dangerous to those who are exposed to it ; much more may we draw the conclusion, that when the level of the sea was higher, and the return of the flood was accompanied and augmented by the reflux of the waters as driven out by the strong east wind, there was a power and magnitude of the returning sea sufficient to overwhelm and destroy the host of the Egyptians. We suppose that there is here a sufficient cause, by which to account for the destruction of the Egyptians, in one sense, on natural grounds, i. e. the result of natural means miraculously applied. Still, however, it is apparent, that the Lord interfered to disquiet the host of the Egyptians, and bring them into such a state that the reflux of the waters would more powerfully affect them. In Ex. xiv. 24, 25, it is said, that the Lord "troubled the host of the Egyptians, and took off their chariot wheels etc." so that the Egyptians cried, "Let us fly from the face of Israel ; for the Lord fighteth for them against the Egyptians." It was probably in the confusion and dismay of disappointment and incipient flight, that the waters thus returned upon them and overwhelmed them.

In thus stating the grounds on which the opinion rests, that the Israelites must have passed through the Red sea at or near Suez, we have at the same time adduced the arguments which go to shew, that they could not well have crossed it at any other point. Niebuhr, who also places the passage at Suez, supposes Rameses, whence the Israelites set off, to have been near Heliopolis, or Cairo. This we have seen above to be inadmissible, because of the distance, which it would have been impossible for such a multitude to traverse in three days. The same remark applies also to the hypothesis, that they took a more southern route, and crossed the Red sea at a more southern point, viz. Bedea, as it is called by Niebuhr, or Touarek, according to the French geographers, a little north of the Wady Goabe and Buhs, as marked on our map. This hypothesis is

²⁹ Note of Du Bois Aymé, *Descript. de l'Égypte* VIII. 114 seq. Rosenm. *Bibl. Geog.* III. p. 265, 266.

founded on the supposition, that the Israelites set off from the vicinity of the Nile at or near Bassetîn, a little above Cairo ; and passed to the southward of the Mokattam mountain, through a wady, or series of wadys, called Wady Tia, which terminates at the Red sea in the Wady Bedea or Touarek. But there are insuperable objections to this hypothesis, growing out of what has been already adduced. First, the distance from the Nile, as above hinted, which cannot be less than from eighty to one hundred miles. Secondly, the breadth of the sea, which is here from fifteen to twenty miles across,³⁰ and which therefore such a multitude could not have traversed in a small part of a night, as we have seen was probably the case with the Israelites. Thirdly, as the Lord effected the division of the waters by means of a strong east or northeast wind, acting probably with the ebb of the tide, the passage could have taken place at no point, where such a wind would not naturally have produced this effect. At Suez, we have seen, this would have been the case. But at Bedea, or the point in question, no such effect could have been produced by it.

It is singular, that previous to the time of Niebuhr, almost all commentators, both ancient and modern, had united in fixing upon Bedea, or some point still lower down, as the place of passage ; chiefly, it would seem, on the ground, that the broader the sea, the greater the miracle. Niebuhr supposed for a time, that he was the first to regard Suez as the point of passage ; until he found that Le Clerc had in general terms made the supposition ;³¹ and that Eusebius also had affirmed that the Israelites passed through the sea at *Clysmâ*. It is no less singular, that since the time of Niebuhr, all travellers and scientific men who have visited the spot, have united in general in the same opinion as to the place of passage. So much do ocular inspection and scientific investigation, outweigh all the theories and hypotheses of learned speculation and *à priori* reasoning.

We have thus completed our remarks upon the *exodus* of the children of Israel out of Egypt, including the passage of the Red sea. They are indeed only preliminary to our main

³⁰ Niebuhr's Reisebeschr. I. p. 230.

³¹ In his Essay *de Maris Idumæi Trajectione*, annexed to the first volume of his Commentary ; see also his map in the same volume. Niebuhr's Beschr. von Arabien, p. 413.

object ; and many points are left untouched, for which we must refer to the work of Prof. Stuart so often mentioned ; although the discussion has already extended itself to an unexpected length.

IV. *From the Red Sea to Mount Sinai.*

We are now prepared to present the view which we have taken, of the journeyings of the Israelites through the deserts, after having passed through the Red sea near Suez.

It will be recollected, that we have two mostly parallel accounts of these journeyings of the Israelites. The first is the regular historical account, until their arrival at Sinai, in Ex. xv. 22.—xix. 2, and again after their departure from Sinai, in Num. x. 11, 12, and the following chapters. Some supplementary accounts are also given in the two first chapters of Deuteronomy, and in Deut. x. 6, 7. The second account is in Num. xxxiii; and is apparently intended as a regular recapitulation, or one general view, of all the different stations of the Israelites during their wanderings, from their breaking up at Rameses, until their arrival on the confines of the promised land. It is only by a careful comparison of all these accounts, that we can hope to arrive at any accurate results.

From the passage of the Red sea to mount Sinai, the stations of the Israelites mentioned, are, (1.) Marah, after a march of three days through the wilderness of Shur. Here the water was bitter, and the Lord showed Moses a tree, which when he had cast into the waters, they were made sweet, Ex. xv. 22 sq.—(2.) Elim, with twelve wells of water, and seventy palm trees, Ex. xv. 27.—(3.) Encampment by the sea-shore, Num. xxxiii. 10.—(4.) The wilderness of Sin, between Elim and Sinai, where manna was first given, Ex. xvi. 1.—(5.) Dophkah.—(6.) Alush.—(7.) Rephidim, called also Massah and Meribah, Ex. xvii. 1—7.—(8.) Sinai. Among these, of Rephidim it can only be said, that it was near Sinai, probably on the west or north-west of that mountain ; in which direction the Israelites must have approached Sinai. Dophkah and Alush are not mentioned in Exodus, and nothing more can be known about them. The other stations it will be less difficult to trace. We cannot do better than to take Burckhardt as our chief guide, who travelled over the same route in the year 1816 ; subjoining, how-

ever, explanatory extracts from other travellers. As the whole subject is interesting, our extracts will be copious.³²

On the 25th of April, 1816, Burckhardt left Suez. "The tide was then at flood, and we were obliged to make the tour of the whole creek north of the town, which at low water can be forded. [Hereabouts we suppose the Israelites to have crossed.] In winter time, and immediately after the rainy season, this circuit is rendered still greater; because the low grounds to the northward of the creek are then inundated, and become so swampy, that the camels cannot pass them. We rode one hour and three quarters in a straight line northwards, after passing, close by the town, several mounds of rubbish, which afford no object of curiosity except a few large stones, supposed to be the ruins of *Clysm* or *Arsinoë*. We then turned eastwards, just at the point where the remains of the ancient canal are very distinctly visible; two swellings of the ground, of which the eastern is about eight or ten feet high, and the western somewhat less, run in a straight line northwards, parallel with each other, at the distance of about twenty three feet. They begin at a few hundred paces to the north-west of high-water mark, from whence northwards the ground is covered with a saline crust.³³ We turned the point of this inlet, and halted for a short time at the

³² See Burckhardt's Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 470 sq. passim. In the following extracts, the reader may perceive a similarity to those in the Modern Traveller in Arabia, Amer. edit. p. 113 sq. The present article, however, was written before the Editor had seen that work; and the reason of the resemblance is simply the fact, that extracts have been made by two writers from the same author, and for the same object. The resemblance, however, extends no farther than the approach to mount Sinai.

³³ At a later period, 1822, Rüppell traversed the same ground, in order to gain the great Hadj route to Akaba. The following is his account, which, as well as that of Burckhardt, is here inserted, as elucidating the nature of the ground in this region, and tending to shew that the sea had anciently a higher level. "My small caravan," he says, "left Suez April, 21, 1822, under the protection of five chiefs. Our way lay along the conical mounds of rubbish, about three quarters of a mile north of the city, supposed to be the ruins of Kolsum. Northeastwardly from these ruins, we travelled for half an hour [a mile and a half] along the bed of the ancient canal, which once connected the Red sea with the Nile. This bed seems to have been about one hundred feet wide, and there is no trace of the banks having been walled up." Rüppell's Reisen, Franckf. 1829, p. 241.

wells of Ayoun Mousa, the fountains of Moses, under the date-trees. We rested [for the night] at two hours and three quarters from the wells, in the plain called El Kordhye." These fountains, according to Niebuhr, lie about eight miles south of the point opposite Suez, (which bears from them N. W. 30° W.) and about a mile and a half from the shore of the gulf, which is here not far from six miles broad. This traveller remarks that "water is found here in different places on digging holes a foot deep in the ground; and the so called wells of Moses, of which I counted five, were not deeper than this. They were not stoned at all, and become immediately full of sand and dirt, so soon as one undertakes to draw water from them. Very little water flows from them, which soon loses itself in the sand."³⁴

Here, not improbably, the Hebrews rested, after the passage through the sea; when Moses and the people sang their triumphal song. Hence "they went out into the wilderness of Shur, and went three days in the wilderness, and found no water," Ex. xv. 22. With this corresponds the account of Burckhardt.

"*April 26th.* We proceeded over a barren, sandy, and gravelly plain, called El Abtha, direction south by east. For about an hour the plain was uneven; we then entered upon a widely extended flat, in which we continued south-south-east. Low mountains, the commencement of the chain of Tyh, run parallel with the road, to the left, about eight miles distant. At the end of four hours and a half, we halted for a few hours in Wady Seder, which takes its name of Wady only from being overflowed with water when the rains are very copious. Its natural formation by no means entitles it to be called a valley, its level being only a few feet lower than that of the desert on both sides. Some thorny trees grow in it, but no herbs for pasture. We continued our way south by east over the plain, which was alternately gravelly, sandy, and stony. At the end of seven hours and a half we reached Wady Wardan, a valley or bed of a torrent, similar in its nature to the former, but broader. Near its extremity, at the sea side, it is several miles in breadth. A low chain of sand-hills begins here to the west, near the sea; and the eastern mountains approach the road. At nine hours and a half, south-south-east, the eastern mountains form a junction with the western hills. At ten hours we entered a hilly country; at ten hours and three quarters we rested for the

³³ Niebuhr's *Reisebeschr.* I. p. 225.

night in a barren valley among the hills, called Wady Amara. We met with nobody in this route except a party of Yembo merchants, who had landed at Tor, and were travelling to Cairo.

"*April 27th.* We travelled over uneven, hilly ground, gravelly and flinty. At one hour and three quarters, we passed the well of Howara, around which a few date-trees grow. Niebuhr travelled the same route, but his guides probably did not lead him to this well, which lies among hills about two hundred paces out of the road. The water of the well of Howara is so bitter, that men cannot drink it; and even camels, if not very thirsty, refuse to taste it." This well Burckhardt justly supposes to be the Marah of the Israelites; and in this opinion Mr Leake, Gesenius, and Rosenmüller, concur.

"From Ayoun Mousa to the well of Howara we had travelled fifteen hours and a quarter [or not far from forty-eight miles.] Referring to this distance, it appears probable that this is the desert of three days, mentioned in the Scriptures to have been crossed by the Israelites immediately after their passing the Red sea; and at the end of which they arrived at Marah. In moving with a whole nation, the march may well be supposed to have occupied three days; and the bitter well at Marah, which was sweetened by Moses, corresponds exactly to that at Howara. This is the usual route to mount Sinai, and was probably, therefore, that which the Israelites took on their escape from Egypt; provided it be admitted that they crossed the sea at Suez, as Niebuhr, *with good reason*, conjectures. There is no other road of three days' march in the way from Suez towards Sinai, nor is there any other well absolutely bitter on the whole of this coast. The complaints of the bitterness of the water by the children of Israel, who had been accustomed to the sweet water of the Nile, are such as may be daily heard from the Egyptian servants and peasants who travel in Arabia. Accustomed from their youth to the excellent water of the Nile, there is nothing which they so much regret in countries distant from Egypt; nor is there any eastern people who feel so keenly the want of good water, as the present natives of Egypt. With respect to the means employed by Moses to render the waters of the well sweet, I have frequently inquired among the Bedouins in different parts of Arabia, whether they possessed any means of effecting such a change, by throwing wood into it, or by any other process; but I never could learn that such an art was known.

"At the end of three hours we reached Wady Ghirondel,³⁵ which extends to the north-east, and is almost a mile in breadth, and full of trees. The Arabs told me that it may be traced through the whole desert, and that it begins at no great distance from El Arysh, on the Mediterranean; but I had no means of ascertaining the truth of this statement. About half an hour from the place where we halted, in a southern direction, is a copious spring, with a small rivulet, which renders the valley the principal station on this route. The water is disagreeable, and if kept for a night in the water skins, it turns bitter and spoils, as I have myself experienced, having passed this way three times. If, now, we admit Bir Howara to be the Marah of Exodus, (xv. 23,) then Wady Ghirondel is probably *Elim*, with its well and date-trees; an opinion entertained by Niebuhr, who, however, did not see the bitter well of Howara. The non-existence, at present, of twelve wells at Ghirondel, must not be considered as evidence against the just-stated conjecture; for Niebuhr says, that his companions obtained water here by digging to a very small depth, and there was great plenty of it when I passed. Water, in fact, is readily found by digging, in every fertile valley in Arabia; and wells are thus easily formed, which are filled up again by the sands.

"The Wady Ghirondel contains date-trees, tamarisks, acacias of different species, and the thorny shrub *Gharkad*, the *Peganum retusum* of Forskaal, which is extremely common in this peninsula, and is also met with in the sands of the Delta on the coast of the Mediterranean. Its small red berry, of the size of a grain of the pomegranate, is very juicy and refreshing, much resembling a ripe gooseberry in taste, but not so sweet. The Arabs are very fond of it. The shrub *Gharkad* delights in a sandy soil, and reaches its maturity in the height of summer, when the ground is parched up, exciting an agreeable surprise in the traveller, at finding so juicy a berry produced in the driest soil and season. Might not the berry of this shrub have been used by Moses to sweeten the waters of Marah? [The Hebrew in Ex. xv. 25, reads: "And the Lord showed him a tree, and he cast into the waters, and they became sweet." The Arabic

³⁵ Burekhardt writes this name *Gharendel*, but I have here ventured to adopt the orthography of Niebuhr, in order the better to distinguish this from another Wady Gharendel, which occurs afterwards, situated in the mountains of Seir.

translates, "and he cast of it into the waters," etc.] As this conjecture did not occur to me when I was on the spot, I did not inquire of the Bedouins, whether they ever sweetened the water with the juice of berries; which would probably effect this change, in the same manner as the juice of pomegranate grains expressed into it."

From Elim the children of Israel "removed and encamped by the Red sea," Num. xxxiii. 10; and then "came into the wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai," Ex. xvi. 1. From Elim, Burckhardt says, "We continued in a south-east half east direction, passing over hills; and at the end of four hours from our starting in the morning, we came to an open, though hilly country, still slightly ascending, south-south-east, and then reached, by a similar descent, in five hours and a half, Wady Oszaita, enclosed by chalk hills. From here we rode over a wide plain south-east by east, and at the end of seven hours and three quarters came to Wady Thale. To our right was a chain of mountains, which extend towards Ghirondel. Proceeding from hence south, we turned the point of the mountain and entered the valley called Wady Taybe, which descends rapidly to the sea. At the end of eight hours and a half, we turned out of Wady Taybe into a branch of it, called Wady Shebeyke, in which we continued east-south-east, and halted for the night, after a day's march of nine hours and a quarter." Is this Wady Taybe, which "descends rapidly to the sea," the place of encampment by the sea? It would be about eight hours, or twenty-four miles, from Elim, a somewhat long journey for a multitude of this kind; but there does not seem to be a nearer place of encampment "by the sea," inasmuch as a "chain of mountains" runs along the coast to this point.

From this spot Burckhardt was still four days in reaching the convent at the foot of Sinai. The way leads through several wadys or valleys, and the traveller passes from one to another of these valleys, sometimes over elevated plains, and sometimes over mountains of sand. At the end of the first day, (April 28th,) they "ascended with difficulty a steep mountain, composed, to the very top, of moving sands, with a very few rocks appearing above the surface. We reached the summit after a day's march of nine hours and three quarters, and rested upon a high plain, called Raml el Morah." On the third day, (April 30th,) after a steep ascent and descent, which occupied two hours, they continued to "descend into the great valley called Wady

el Sheikh, one of the principal valleys of the peninsula. It is broad, and has a very slight acclivity; it is much frequented by the Bedouins for its pasturage. Whenever rain falls in the mountains, a stream of water flows through this wady, and from thence through Wady Feiran into the sea." May we not regard the country between Wady Taybe and this great valley, which the Israelites could hardly have failed to visit, as the desert of Sin? Rüppell speaks, in general, of the route from Wady Sheikh to Suez through the wadys and desert plains of Ramle, Hemar, Tie, and Ghirondel, as being very uninteresting, although described by many travellers. "In one word," he says, "it is a most frightful desert, almost wholly without vegetation."³⁶

If we regard this, then, as the wilderness of Sin, the stations Dophkah and Alush may be supposed to have been in the great valleys El Sheikh and Feiran. The latter of these is a continuation of the former, which commences in the vicinity of Sinai, on its north-western side, and is prolonged in a north-westerly direction to the gulf of Suez. Burckhardt fell into it on his return, a little lower down, i. e. farther west. "I found it here," he says, "of the same noble breadth as it is above, and in many parts it was thickly overgrown with the tamarisk or Tarfa; it is the only valley in the peninsula where this tree grows at present, in any great quantity; though small bushes of it are here and there met with in other parts. It is from the Tarfa that the manna is obtained."³⁷ "We descended this valley north-west by west, and at the end of four hours we entered the plantations of Wady Feiran through a wood of tamarisks. This is a continuation of Wady el Sheikh, and is considered the finest valley of the whole peninsula. From the upper extremity, an uninterrupted row of gardens and date plantations extends downwards for four miles. In almost every garden is a well, by means of which the grounds are irrigated the whole year round."³⁸ This is the valley described by Niebuhr under the name of *Faran*, through which the Israelites, doubtless, passed on their way to Sinai after leaving the desert of Sin; but which they probably did *not* pass through on their way from Sinai to Kadesh, as some have ventured to suppose.³⁹ Here they could not want for wa-

³⁶ Reisen, p. 269.

³⁷ Page 599.

³⁸ Page 602.

³⁹ The following is Niebuhr's account of the same valley; Reisebeschr. I. p. 240. "The famous valley of Faran, in which we now were, has retained its name unchanged since the days of Moses, being

ter; nor did they murmur on this account until they came to Rephidim, which was most probably higher up among the mountains, and near the western base of Sinai itself. Indeed, monkish tradition pretends to assign the site of Rephidim, and to show the rock from which the waters gushed, in the narrow valley El Ledja, mentioned in the sequel; but the nature of the ground hardly admits the possibility of its being the true site.

The upper region of Sinai forms an irregular circle of thirty or forty miles in diameter, possessing numerous sources of water, a temperate climate, and a soil capable of supporting animal and vegetable nature. This, therefore, was the part of the peninsula best adapted to the residence of nearly a year, during which the Israelites were numbered, and received their laws from the Most High. This tract is thus described by Burckhardt. "The upper nucleus of Sinai, composed almost entirely of granite, forms a rocky wilderness of an irregular circular shape, intersected by many narrow valleys, and from thirty to forty miles in diameter. It contains the highest mountains of the peninsula, whose shaggy and pointed peaks, and steep and shattered sides, render it clearly distinguishable from all the rest of the country in view. It is upon this highest region of the peninsula, that the fertile valleys are found, which produce fruit-trees; they are principally to the west and south-west of the convent, at three or four hours' distance. Water, too, is always found in plenty in this district; on which account it is the place of refuge of all the Bedouins, when the low country is parched up. I think it probable, that this upper country or wilderness is, exclusively, the *desert of Sinai* so often mentioned in the account of the wanderings of the Israelites."* In approaching this elevated region from the north-west, Burckhardt writes, May 1st,

still called Wady Faran, the valley of Faran. Its length is equal to a journey of a day and a half, extending from the foot of mount Sinai to the Arabic gulf. In the rainy season it is filled with water; and the inhabitants are then obliged to retire up the hills; it was dry, however, when we passed through it. That part of it which we saw, was far from being fertile; but served as a pasture to goats, camels, and asses. The other part is said to be very fertile; and the Arabs told us, that in the districts to which our Ghafirs had gone, were many orchards of date-trees, which produced fruit enough to sustain some thousands of people. Fruit must, indeed, be very plenteous there; for the Arabs of the valley bring every year to Cairo an astonishing quantity of dates, raisins, pears, apples, and other fruits, all of excellent quality."

* Page 573.

“We now approached the central summits of mount Sinai, which we had had in view for several days. Abrupt cliffs of granite from six to eight hundred feet in height, whose surface is blackened by the sun, surround the avenues leading to the elevated region, to which the name of Sinai is specifically applied. These cliffs enclose the holy mountain on three sides, leaving the east and north-east sides only, towards the gulf of Akaba, more open to the view. At the end of three hours we entered these cliffs by a narrow defile about forty feet in breadth, with perpendicular granite rocks on both sides. The ground is covered with sand and pebbles, brought down by the torrent which rushes from the upper region in the winter time.”⁴⁰

The general approach to Sinai from the same quarter, is thus described by Mr Carne.⁴¹ “A few hours more, and we got sight of the mountains round Sinai. Their appearance was magnificent. When we drew near and emerged out of a deep pass, the scenery was infinitely striking; and on the right extended a vast range of mountains, as far as the eye could reach, from the vicinity of Sinai down to Tor [on the gulf of Suez.] They were perfectly bare, but of grand and singular form. We had hoped to reach the convent by daylight, but the moon had risen some time, when we entered the mouth of a narrow pass, where our conductors advised us to dismount. A gentle yet perpetual ascent led on, mile after mile, up this mournful valley, whose aspect was terrific, yet ever varying. It was not above two hundred yards in width, and the mountains rose to an immense height on each side. The road wound at their feet along the edge of a precipice, and amidst masses of rock that had fallen from above. It was a toilesome path, generally over stones placed like steps, probably by the Arabs; and the moonlight was of little service to us in this deep valley, as it only rested on the frowning summits above. Where is mount Sinai? was the inquiry of every one. The Arabs pointed before to Djebel Mousa, the mount of Moses, as it is called; but we could not distinguish it. Again and again, point after point was turned, and we saw but the same stern scenery. But what had the beauty and softness of nature to do here? Mount Sinai required an approach like this, where all seemed to proclaim the land of miracles, and to have been visited by the terrors of the Lord.

⁴⁰ Page 488. Compare also the account of Niebuhr, *Descr. of Arabia*, p. 401.

⁴¹ *Letters from the East*, I. p. 208.

The scenes, as you gazed around, had an unearthly character, suited to the sound of the fearful trumpet, that was once heard there. We entered at last on the more open valley, about half a mile wide, and drew near this famous mountain. Sinai is not so lofty as some of the mountains around it; and in its form there is nothing graceful or peculiar, to distinguish it from others. Near midnight we reached the convent."

Rüppell, in travelling from Akaba to the convent, approached Sinai from the north-north-east, through the Wadys Safran and Salaka. "The nakedness of the landscape is frightfully mournful. In the distance lay before us a lofty chain of mountains; and three summits lift their heads above the whole chain. That in the middle, directly before us south, is Djebel Mousa or Sinai; the south-western is St. Catherine, the Horeb of some. We penetrated into this chain from the north; very soon we turned towards the east; all is here of perpendicular and ragged granite formation. After some hours we reached the walls of the convent of St. Catharine, situated in a very narrow valley or chasm of the mountains, which extends from north-west to south-east. One chief object of my visit here, was to determine the geographical position of the convent by means of lunar observations; but the mountains around the convent, especially to the south and west, are so lofty and perpendicular, that the moon was visible only for a very short time; and never at the same time with the sun or planets."⁴² In another place, this traveller estimates the altitude of the chain of Sinai and St. Catharine at from 5500 to 6000 French feet.⁴³ Dr Ehrenberg has stated the elevation, on his map, at 8400 Berlin feet.

"The convent is situated," according to Burckhardt, "in a valley so narrow, that one side of the building stands on the side of the [south] western mountain, [Djebel Mousa,] while a space of twenty paces only is left between its walls and the eastern mountain. The valley is open to the north, from whence approaches the road from Cairo; to the south, close beyond the convent, it is shut up by a third mountain, less steep than the others, over which passes the road to Sherm. The convent is an irregular quadrangle of about one hundred and thirty paces, enclosed by high and solid walls, built with blocks of granite, and fortified by several small towers. The convent contains eight or ten small court yards, some of which are neatly laid out

⁴² Reisen, p. 257.⁴³ Page 180.

in beds of flowers and vegetables; a few date-trees and cypresses also grow there, and great numbers of vines."⁴⁴ "In the convent are two deep and copious wells of spring water. A pleasant garden adjoins the building, into which there is a subterranean passage; the soil is stony; but in this climate, wherever water is plenty, the very rocks will produce vegetation. The fruit is of the finest quality."⁴⁵ According to tradition, the convent dates from the fourth century, when the empress Helena is said to have built a church here; but the present building was erected by the emperor Justinian, in the sixth century.

Directly behind the convent, towards the south-west,⁴⁶ rises Djebel Mousa, or the proper Sinai; the path to the summit of which begins to ascend immediately behind the walls of the convent. At the end of three quarters of an hour's steep ascent is a small plain, on which is a large building called the convent of St. Elias, formerly inhabited, but now abandoned. "According to the Koran and the Moslem traditions, it was in this part of the mountain, which is now called Djebel Oreb, or Horeb, that Moses communicated with the Lord."⁴⁷ Is not this, perhaps, the real Horeb, which indeed seems in the Scriptures to be synonymous with Sinai? From hence a still steeper ascent of half an hour leads to the summit of Djebel Mousa. The view from this summit is very grand. Mr Carne says, "Sinai has four summits; and that of Moses stands almost in the middle of the others, and is not visible from below."⁴⁸ Burckhardt also speaks of a mosque on a lower peak, about thirty paces distant from the church on the proper summit, which is a plain of about sixty paces in circumference. To the west-south-west of Sinai lies mount St. Catharine, separated from the former by a narrow valley, in which is situated a deserted convent, called El Erbayin, or the convent of the Forty. The eastern side of mount St. Catharine is noted for its excellent pasturage; herbs sprout up every where between the rocks; and, as many of them are odoriferous, the scent early in the morning, when the dew falls, is delicious. A slow ascent of two hours brought Burckhardt to the top of the mountain; "which,

⁴⁴ Page 541.

⁴⁵ Pages 544, 549.

⁴⁶ Niebulr's *Reisbeschr.* I. p. 247. Rüppell also remarks, p. 180, that "Sinai lies south-south-west of the convent, at the distance of three quarters of an hour; St. Catharine lies south-west from the convent, at the distance of two hours and a half."

⁴⁷ Burckhardt, p. 566.

⁴⁸ *Letters from the East*, I. p. 221.

like the Djebel Mousa, terminates in a sharp point. Its highest part consists of a single immense block of granite, whose surface is so smooth, that it is very difficult to ascend it. Luxuriant vegetation reaches up to this rock."⁴⁹ This mountain is higher than that of Moses; the view from its summit is of the same kind, only much more extensive, than from the top of Sinai; it commands a view of some parts of the two gulfs of Akaba and Suez. It is in the valley between the two mountains, where the convent El Erbayin stands, that the site of Rephidim has been fixed by tradition; about twenty minutes' walk northwards from this convent, is shown the rock out of which water is said to have issued. The valley is now called El Ledja, is very narrow, and extremely stony; and at forty minutes' walk north-eastward from El Erbayin, it opens into the broader valley which leads south-eastward to the convent. At this point, i. e. on the northern side of Sinai, the valley has considerable width, and constitutes, according to Mr. Carne,⁵⁰ a plain capable of containing a large number of people. He remarks,⁵¹ "From the summit of Sinai you see only innumerable ranges of rocky mountains. One generally places, in imagination, around Sinai, extensive plains or sandy deserts, where the camp of the hosts was placed, where the families of Israel stood at the doors of their tents, and the line was drawn round the mountain, which no one might break through on pain of death. But it is not thus. Save the valley by which we approached Sinai, about half a mile wide and a few miles in length, and a small plain we afterwards passed through, [just above mentioned,] there appear to be few open places around the mount." He says farther on,⁵² "We had not the opportunity of making the tour of the whole of the region of Sinai; yet we traversed three sides of the mountain, [the east, west, and north,] and found it every where shut in by narrow ravines, except on the north, in which direction we had first approached it. Here there is, as before observed, a valley of some extent, and a small plain, in the midst of which is a rocky hill. These appear to have been the only places in which the Israelites could have stood before the mount; because on the fourth [or south] side, though unvisited, we could observe from the summit, were only glens or small rocky valleys, as on the east and west."

Such is the most graphic account which the writer has been

⁴⁹ Page 572.⁵⁰ Vol. I. p. 227.⁵¹ Page 222.⁵² Page 258.

able to compile, from the accounts of travellers, of that celebrated region of which the summit Djebel Mousa is the centre ; and which has now for centuries been supposed to be the Sinai of the Scriptures, and the scene of the awful communications between God and his covenant people of old, in the giving of the law. It must not, however, be denied, that the identity of this mountain rests upon tradition, strengthened indeed by its geographical position and several other circumstances ; while some other circumstances seem to indicate a tradition of a still earlier date, in favour of another mountain, Mount Serbal, situated some distance to the west-north-west of Djebel Mousa. According to Burckhardt, "Mount Serbal is separated from the upper [region of] Sinai by some valleys, especially Wady Hebran ; and it forms, with several neighbouring mountains, a separate cluster, terminating in peaks, the highest of which appears to be as high as mount St. Catharine. It borders on Wady Feiran."⁵³ He afterwards ascended this mountain, and writes of it as follows : "The fact of so many inscriptions being found upon the rocks near the summit of this mountain, together with the existence of the road [steps] leading up to the peak, afford strong reasons for presuming that the Serbal was an ancient place of devotion. It will be recollected, that no inscriptions are found either on the mountain of Moses, or on mount St. Catharine. From these circumstances, I am persuaded that mount Serbal was at one period the chief place of pilgrimage in the peninsula ; and that it was then considered the mountain where Moses received the tables of the law ; *though I am equally convinced, from a perusal of the Scriptures, that the Israelites encamped in the upper Sinai, and that either Djebel Mousa or the mount St. Catharine is the real Horeb.* At present neither the monks of Mount Sinai, nor those of Cairo, consider mount Serbal as the scene of any events of sacred history ; nor have the Bedouins any tradition among them respecting it."⁵⁴ To the opinion of this very intelligent and judicious traveller, formed from personal observation on the spot, we may well yield our assent ; especially as the foundation of the present convent dates back to the fourth century.

The children of Israel left Egypt on the fifteenth day of the first month of the sacred year, on the morning after the passover, Num. xxxiii. 3 ; that is to say, about the middle of April.

⁵³ Page 575.

⁵⁴ Page 608, 609.

They reached Sinai in the third month, Ex. xix. 1 ; and the expression, " the same day came they to Sinai," would seem to imply that they reached the mountain on the fifteenth of the third month, or June, having been just two months on the way. At any rate, it is manifest that they did not travel every day ; and indeed in most of the places mentioned, they probably remained several days. In Rephidim, at least, several important transactions took place, which imply a delay of some time ; water was miraculously brought from the rock ; the Amalekites were discomfited ; Jethro visited Moses, and in consequence of his advice, a new arrangement of judges was introduced, Ex. xvii, xviii. At Sinai the Israelites remained during all the transactions recorded in the remainder of the book of Exodus, in Leviticus, and in the first nine chapters of Numbers. In Num. x. 11, it is recorded, that " on the twentieth day of the second month, in the second year, the cloud was taken up, and the children of Israel took their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai." Their sojourn at Sinai may, therefore, be counted from the fifteenth day of June to the twentieth of May ; a period of eleven months and five days, according to our mode of reckoning ; but as they reckoned by lunar months, the whole interval was in fact something less than eleven of our months.

V. *From Sinai to the confines of Moab. Wanderings in the Desert.*

We have now a more difficult task, viz. to determine the course and stations of the Israelites after leaving Sinai, during all the years of wandering in the desert, until their arrival on the borders of the promised land. Until they reached mount Sinai, the Scripture accounts in Exodus and Numbers xxxiii, harmonize with each other ; and the country has been explored and described by intelligent travellers. But from this time onward, the accounts of Scripture are apparently at variance with each other, or at least do not *obviously* harmonize ; and the country through which they passed is still, in a degree, a *terra incognita* ; not having been visited by modern travellers, except more slightly. Burckhardt crossed the southern part of this desert, from near Wady Mousa to Suez, in 1812 ; and Seetzen travelled directly from Hebron to Akaba ; but of his journey no account has reached the public. In order to arrive at a better understanding of the subject, it will be proper here to give a

general description of this whole region of country,—a region of which very little has hitherto been known, although the travels of Burckhardt and others have shed much light on some parts of it. Our information will be drawn principally from this intelligent traveller.

Of the two gulfs of the Red sea which enclose the peninsula of mount Sinai, the western, or gulf of Suez, runs in a general direction from south-south-east to north-north-west, and terminates at Suez, in lat. 30° north, and long. $30^{\circ} 12'$ east from Paris. The eastern, or gulf of Akaba, runs nearly from south by west, to north by east, and ends at Akaba, in lat. $29^{\circ} 30'$ north, and long. $32^{\circ} 35'$ east from Paris. The distance between these two extremities, therefore, is about 143 degrees of longitude in lat. 30° , or about 125 miles in a straight line, tending from west-north-west to east-south-east. The above positions are given from the chart of Rüppell, which was constructed from astronomical admeasurement. The peninsula included within these limits is filled up with mountains, and narrow valleys, and desolate plains. Of the mountains, the chain or elevated circle of Sinai, as described above, is the chief. West of this is the Serbal. “To the northward of this central region, and divided from it by the broad valley called Wady El Sheikh, and by several minor wadys, begins a lower range of mountains called Zebeir, which extends eastwards; having at one extremity the two peaks called El Djoze above the plantations of Wady Feiran, and losing itself to the east in the more open country towards Wady Sal. Beyond the Zebeir northwards are sandy plains and valleys. This part is the most barren and destitute of water of the whole country. It borders on the north on the chain of El Tyh, which stretches in a regular line eastwards, parallel with the Zebeir, beginning at Sarbout el Djemel.”⁵⁵ According to the map of Burckhardt, which is also subjoined to this article, this chain begins near the coast of the western gulf, between Wady Ghirondel and Wady Taybe, and extends eastward; towards the middle of the peninsula it divides into two chains, which continue to run parallel with each other, and terminate near the coast of the eastern gulf, at some distance south of Akaba. But low mountains, strictly the commencement of this chain, appear on the left of the road opposite Suez, about eight miles distant, and there run parallel with that road.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, etc. p. 574.

⁵⁶ Page 471.

North of El Tyh, the great Egyptian Hadj, or pilgrim road, passes from Suez to Akaba over the desert.

The country around the eastern, or Elanitic gulf of the Red sea, has been, until within a few years, almost unknown. One of the most important of Burckhardt's discoveries, is said by his editor, Mr Leake, himself a traveller and man of science, to be the ascertaining of "the extent and form of the Elanitic gulf, hitherto so imperfectly known, as either to be omitted in the maps, or marked with a bifurcation at the extremity, which is now found not to exist."⁵⁷ It is to the same traveller, also that we are first indebted for a knowledge of the existence of the long valley, known by the names of El Ghor and El Araba, extending from the Dead sea to the Elanitic gulf.

It was in the spring of 1816, that Burckhardt, while visiting the peninsula of mount Sinai, examined the western coast of the Elanitic gulf, with the intention of proceeding to Akaba, situated at its northern extremity. Having arrived, however, within sight of that place, he found it impossible to proceed, because of the hostile and perfidious character of the tribes of Bedouins in that vicinity, to whom his guides were strangers; and he therefore had no alternative but to return.⁵⁸

"Akaba was not far distant from the spot whence we returned. Before sunset, I could distinguish a black line in the plain, where my sharp-sighted guides clearly saw the date-trees surrounding the castle, which bore N. E. by E; it could not be more than five or six hours distant. Before us was a promontory; and behind this, as I was told, another, which begins the plain of Akaba. The castle is situated at an hour and a half or two hours from the western chain of hills, down which the Hadj route leads; and about the same distance from the eastern chain, a lower continuation of Tor Hesma, a mountain which I have mentioned in my journey through the northern parts of Arabia Petræa.⁵⁹ The descent of the western mountains is very steep, and has probably given to the place its name of Akaba, which

⁵⁷ Preface to Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, etc. p. v. The bifurcation here spoken of, is found on all the maps previous to the time of Burckhardt. If any one wishes to become fully aware of the darkness which rested on these regions no longer than a century ago, let him examine Le Clerc's map of the wanderings of the Israelites, appended to his Commentary, vol. I. On this map is found no trace of the Elanitic gulf.

⁵⁸ Page 508 sq.

⁵⁹ See on p. 777, 178, below.

in Arabic means a cliff or steep declivity ; it is probably the Akabet Alai of the Arabian geographers. Into the plain, which surrounds the castle on every side except the sea, issues the Wady el Araba, the broad sandy valley which leads towards the Dead sea, and which I crossed, in 1812, at a day and a half, or two days' journey from Akaba. At about two hours to the south of the castle, the eastern range of mountains approaches the sea.—I inquired particularly whether the gulf did not form two branches at this extremity, as it has always been laid down in the maps ; but I was assured that it had only a single ending, at which the castle is situated."

With better success, Ruppell, in 1822, visited this region, and came to Akaba itself. His personal observation goes to show the great general accuracy of the information collected by Burckhardt from the testimony of others. He approached the plain from the west, on the route of the Hadj, or great annual caravan, from Egypt to Mecca, alluded to above. The following is a translation of his remarks upon this region.⁶⁰ "On this high [western] table-land, we remarked, as we descended by a steep path among the rocks, that we were elevated at least fifteen hundred feet above the level of the sea. The view from the terrace of this plateau was very picturesque ; but probably produced the greater effect on me, because we had behind us a most hideous desert. From this point one beholds, in the distance, the steep blue granite mountains on the other [eastern] side of Akaba ; on the right, a section of the deep-green sea. In the foreground, are wild and ragged masses of dark primitive rocks ; on which are reclined, in different parts, layers of yellowish shell-limestone. On the left is the valley of Wady Araba, through which the dry bed of a stream, shaded with bushes, winds among luxuriant meadow grounds.

"We occupied more than five hours in descending from this high table-land to the sea-shore, on account of the many windings of the road among wild masses of porphyry rocks. In the more dangerous places, the way is hewn out of the rock, thirty feet wide. Here, also, an inscription records the founder of this toilsome work ; who is doubtless annually remembered with gratitude by the pilgrims upon their way to Mecca. This declivity is called *Djebel Mahemar* ; that on the other [eastern] side of the valley is named *Djebel Araba*.

⁶⁰ Reisen, etc. Frankf. 1829, p. 247 sq.

“Our way now followed, for an hour, in an easterly direction, the sea-shore ; which here forms a salt marsh. We then reached the site of an ancient town, distinguished by many large mounds of rubbish, and probably the remains of the ancient Ailat [Elath] ; on this point I afterwards received express confirmation. The dry channel of the Wady Araba separates these ruins from the remains of a far more modern settlement, which lie scattered among date-trees. These consist of low walls of rough stones laid in clay. Some of these serve periodically as dwellings for the Bedouins. In the immediate vicinity, towards the east, lies the castle of Akaba, among plantations of date-trees. In form it is a square fortress, with walls in good preservation, and octagonal towers at the corners. It lies some hundred paces from the sea-shore. The pasha of Egypt keeps here a garrison of forty soldiers. The gateway is still further defended by two bulwarks in the form of towers.

“It has been a general opinion, that the sea of Akaba forms here two bays. This, however, is incorrect ; no one here knows any thing of such a bifurcation. This information, however, was not enough to satisfy me ; I wished myself to visit in person the eastern coast of the gulf. A good half hour south-east of Akaba, I found, on an excursion along the coast, the ruins of a castle called *Kasser Bedowi* ; it is an Arabian building, probably erected before the fortress of Akaba, to protect the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca. From this point I could see a great part of the eastern coast of the gulf ; I afterwards visited very particularly its western coast ; but I could no where perceive any bays like those which have been conjectured to exist here. In the region of Akaba there is not a single boat or water-craft of any kind ; the Arabs in fishing use only rafts made of the trunks of palm-trees tied together. It was, therefore, impossible for me to make any investigation respecting the depth of the sea, or the nature of its bottom.

“On inquiring the name of the spot where the above mentioned mounds of rubbish are situated, I was told that it was called *Djelena* ; probably the ancient site of Ailat. I often wandered among these ruins in various directions, but never met with any thing of importance.”

The northern end of the gulf of Akaba is connected with the southern extremity of the Dead sea by the great valley, called towards the north El Ghor, and towards the south El Araba, and forming a prolongation of the valley of the Jordan ; through which, in all probability, in very ancient times, before

the overthrow of the cities of the plain, that river poured its waters into the Red sea. The course of this valley is between south and south-south-west. Its length from the Dead sea in about lat. $31^{\circ} 5'$, to Akaba in lat. $29^{\circ} 30'$, is not far from 95 degrees of latitude, or about 110 miles in a direct line. From the extremity of the Dead sea, (according to Mr. Bankes and his companions,) a sandy plain or flat extends southward between hills, and on a level with the sea, for the distance of eight or ten miles, where it is interrupted by a sandy cliff, from sixty to eighty feet high, which traverses the valley like a wall, forming a barrier to the waters of the lake when at their greatest height. Beyond this cliff the valley is prolonged without interruption to Akaba. It is skirted on each side by a chain of mountains; but the streams which descend from these, are in summer lost in their gravelly beds before they reach the valley below; so that the lower plain, or bottom of the great valley, is in summer entirely without water, which alone can produce verdure in the Arabian deserts, and render them habitable. Burckhardt crossed it opposite the Wady Gharendel, which opens into it from the east, about 40 or 50 miles north of Akaba. Here the whole plain presented to the view an expanse of shifting sands, whose surface was broken by innumerable undulations and low hills. The sand appears to have been brought from the shores of the Red sea by the southerly winds; and the Arabs informed him, that the valley continued to present the same appearance towards the north. Numerous Bedouin tribes encamp here in the winter, when the torrents produce a copious supply of water, and a few shrubs spring up upon their banks, affording pasturage to the sheep and goats. Our traveller was one hour and a half in crossing the Wady Araba, which would make it about five miles broad; about the same as the valley of the Jordan. In some places the sand is very deep; but it is firm, and the camels walk over it without sinking. The heat was suffocating, and it was increased by a hot wind from the south-east. There is not the slightest appearance of a road, or of any other work of human art, in this part of the valley.⁶¹ At the southern extremity of the valley, where it opens upon the plain of Akaba, Rüppell describes it, as above, towards the end of April 1822, as shaded by bushes and covered with luxuriant pasturage.⁶²

⁶¹ Page 444.

⁶² In a letter from Burckhardt to the society which employed him, published in the Introduction to his *Travels in Nubia*, the following

The chain of mountains on the *east* of the great valley, forming the continuation of those which surround the eastern side of the Dead Sea, is known in different portions of it by the

general account is given of this great valley. The whole letter may also be seen in the American edition of Calmet, 1832, p. 237 sq. "The valley of the Ghor is continued to the south of the Dead sea; at about sixteen hours' distance from the extremity of the Dead sea, its name is changed into that of Araba, and it runs in almost a straight line, declining somewhat to the west, as far as Akaba, at the extremity of the eastern branch of the Red sea. The existence of this valley appears to have been unknown to ancient as well as modern geographers, although it is a very remarkable feature in the geography of Syria, and Arabia Petræa, and is still more interesting for its productions. It is inhabited near the Dead sea in summer time by a few Bedouin peasants only, but during the winter months it becomes the meeting place of upwards of a dozen powerful Arab tribes. It is probable that the trade between Jerusalem and the Red sea was carried on through this valley. The caravan, loaded at Ezion-gaber with the treasures of Ophir, might, after a march of six or seven days, deposit its loads in the warehouses of Solomon. This valley deserves to be thoroughly known; its examination will lead to many interesting discoveries, and would be one of the most important objects of a Palestine traveller."

It has been remarked above, that in very ancient times, before the overthrow of the cities of the plain, the Jordan not improbably continued its course through this valley, and poured its waters into the Red sea. The following very remarkable fact stated by Rüppell, may perhaps have some bearing on this hypothesis.

"In the court of the castle of Akaba is a walled-up well, with excellent water; indeed, throughout this whole region, there is everywhere good water. I took some pains to assure myself, that, at the time of ebb, on digging a foot deep in the sand which the sea has just covered, the hole is instantly filled with most excellent water for drinking. I often quenched, in this way, my thirst during long walks; and it was so much the more refreshing, because, during the time of my stay in this place, the temperature of the air was sometimes above thirty degrees of Reaumur, [or one hundred of Fahrenheit.] The existence of this water can be explained in no other way, than by supposing a very copious filtration of the water which collects in the Wady Araba, through the layer of sand which covers the granite formation beneath." p. 251.

Is it perhaps admissible here, to suppose that it is in part the waters of the Dead sea, which continue thus to filter through beneath the sands that have filled up the ancient channel, in which the Jordan would seem once to have flowed?

names of Djebal or *Mountains*, Djebel Shera, and Djebel Hesma. The first, or Djebal, extends from the Dead sea, or the region about Kerek, to the wide valley El Ghoeyr, which descends towards the west into the Ghor; this part is manifestly the ancient *Gebal* of the Hebrews,⁶³ and the *Gebalene* of the Romans. Djebel Shera follows and extends to the south of the Wady Gharendel above mentioned; this name is the *Mount Seir* of Scripture, (which, however, probably comprised in general the whole chain,) and in this part are situated the ruins of Petra, the ancient capital of Edom, first discovered by Burckhardt. Farther south, Djebel Hesma forms the continuation of the chain to the waters of the Elanitic gulf. The whole of this tract seems to have constituted the ancient land of Edom, or Mount Seir. The mountains do not cover a broad extent; and beyond them, on the east, lies the vast plain of the Arabian desert, which the great Syrian caravan of pilgrims crosses on its way from Damascus to Mecca. It is covered with stones, especially flints, and may properly be called a stony desert. The road of the caravan lies along the western edge of the plain, near the mountains. Burckhardt remarks of the mountains of Shera in particular, that "they are considerably elevated above the level of the Ghor, but they appear only as low hills, when seen from the *eastern* plain, which is upon a much higher level than the Ghor. This great valley [El Ghor] seems to have a rapid slope towards the south; for the mountains on the east of it appear to increase in height the farther we proceed southward, while the upper [eastern] plain apparently continues upon the same level."⁶⁴ Thus the mountains of Hesma are apparently higher than any of the others farther north. Rüppell estimates them near Akaba, at three thousand French feet above the sea.* The whole of this chain is intersected by many wadys or valleys, descending from the upper or eastern plain to the Ghor or El Araba. Not far from Beszeyra in the Djebal, in passing over the summit of a hill, Burckhardt remarks: "Here a fine view opened upon us; to our right we had the deep valley of Wady Dhana, with the village of the same name on its south side; farther west, about four hours from Dhana, we saw the great valley of the Ghor; and towards the east and south extended the great Arabian desert."⁶⁵ The valley of Ghoeyr, mentioned above, which divides Djebal from Shera, "is a large, rocky and

⁶³ Ps. lxxxiii. 7 or 8.⁶⁴ Page 435.

* Reisen, p. 180.

⁶⁵ Page 409.

uneven basin, considerably lower than the eastern plain, upwards of twelve miles across at its eastern extremity, but narrowing towards the west. It is intersected by numerous wadys of winter torrents, and by three or four valleys watered by rivulets, which unite below and flow into the great valley of the Ghor. The Ghoeyr is famous for the excellent pasturage produced by its numerous springs; and it has, in consequence, become a favourite place of encampment for all the Bedouins of the Djebel and Shera."⁶⁶ The Wady Mousa, in which are the ruins of ancient Petra, is of the same description;⁶⁷ so also the Wady Gharendel, above spoken of, which empties itself into the valley El Araba, in whose sands its waters are lost, and into which it issues by a narrow passage, formed by the approaching rocks.⁶⁸

Respecting the chain of hills on the *western* side of the Ghor, we have much less information. Burckhardt remarks, that they contain no springs of water whatever.⁶⁹ From the place where

⁶⁶ Page 410.

⁶⁷ The following account of Wady Mousa is given by Burckhardt in the Letter referred to in a preceding note, p. 776. "At the distance of a two long days' journey north-east from Akaba, is a rivulet and valley in the Djebel Shera, on the east side of the Araba, called Wady Mousa. This place is very interesting for its antiquities and the remains of an ancient city, which I conjecture to be Petra, the capital of Arabia Petrea, a place which, as far as I know, no European traveller has ever visited. In the red sand-stone of which the valley is composed are upwards of two hundred and fifty sepulchres, entirely cut out of the rock, the greater part of them with Grecian ornaments. There is a mausoleum in the shape of a temple, of colossal dimensions, likewise cut out of the rock, with all its apartments, its vestibule, peristyle, etc. It is a most beautiful specimen of Grecian architecture, and in perfect preservation. There are other mausolea with obelisks apparently in the Egyptian style, a whole amphitheatre cut out of the rock, with the remains of a palace and of several temples. Upon the summit of the mountain which closes the narrow valley on its western side, is the tomb of Haroun or Aaron. It is held in great veneration by the Arabs. (If I recollect right, there is a passage in Eusebius, in which he says that the tomb of Aaron was situated near Petra.) The information of Pliny and Strabo on the site of Petra, agree with the position of Wady Mousa." See also his *Travels in Syria*, etc. p. 418 sq.—This valley was subsequently visited by Mr Legh, in company with Captains Irby and Mangles. Some of the results of their visit may be seen in Calmet's *Dict.* Boston 1832, p. 238.

⁶⁸ Page 441. ⁶⁹ Page 442.

he crossed the great valley, opposite the Wady Gharendel, he "ascended the western chain of mountains. The mountain directly opposite to [before] us appeared to be the highest point of the whole chain, as far as I could see north and south; it is called Djebel Beyane; the height of this chain, however, is not half that of the eastern mountains. It is intersected by numerous broad wadys, in which the Talh-tree grows; the rock is entirely silicious, of the same species as that of the desert which extends from here to Suez. I saw some large pieces of flint perfectly oval, three to four feet in length, and about a foot and a half in breadth. After an hour and a half of gentle ascent, we arrived at the summit of the hills, and then descended by a short and very gradual declivity into the western plain, the level of which, although higher than that of the valley El Araba, is perhaps one thousand feet lower than that of the eastern desert. We had now before us an immense expanse of dreary country, entirely covered with black flints, with here and there some hilly chains rising from the plain."⁷⁰ At Akaba, however, both the western mountain and plain are more elevated above the bottom of El Araba. Rüppell estimates the elevation there to be not less than fifteen hundred feet, as above stated.⁷¹

Thus it appears, that the country on each side of the Ghor, beyond the mountains which skirt the valley, is a vast and almost pathless desert. This western desert, lying north of the peninsula of Sinai, was crossed by Burckhardt, from the point where he entered it, as described in the preceding paragraph, to Suez. The time occupied in this journey was about five days. A few extracts from his journal will best point out the character of the country. He entered the desert, as above mentioned, on the 27th of August, 1812, towards evening. "*Aug. 28th*, [first day.] In the morning we passed two broad wadys full of tamarisks and of Talh-trees. At the end of four hours we reached Wady el Lahyane. In this desert the water collects in a number of low bottoms and wadys, where it produces verdure in winter time; and an abundance of trees with green leaves are found throughout the year. In the winter, some of the Arabs of Gaza, as well as those from the shores of the Red sea, encamp here. The Wady Lahyane is several hours in extent; its bottom is full of gravel. The road from Akaba to Gaza passes here; it is a journey of eight long days. At the end of five hours we issued from the head of Wady Lahyane again upon the plain. The

⁷⁰ Page 444.⁷¹ See p. 774, above.

hill on the top of this wady is called Ras el Kaa, and is the termination of a chain of hills, which stretch across this plain in a northern direction for six or eight hours; it projects like a promontory, and serves as a landmark to travellers. The plain which we now entered was a perfect flat, covered with black pebbles. The high insulated mountain, behind which Gaza is situated, bore from hence north by west, distant three long days' journey."⁷²—"Aug. 29th, [second day.] This day we passed several wadys of Talh and tamarisk-trees, intermixed with low shrubs. Direction west by south. The plain is, for the greater part, covered with flints; in some places it is chalky. Wherever the rain collects in winter, vegetation of trees and shrubs is produced. In the midst of this desert we met a poor Bedouin woman, who begged some water of us. She was going to Akaba, where the tents of her family were, but had neither provisions nor water with her, relying entirely on the hospitality of the Arabs she might meet with on the road. She seemed to be as unconcerned as if she were merely taking a walk for pleasure. After an uninterrupted march of nine hours and a half, we reached a mountain called Dharf el Rokob, which extends for about eight hours from north-west to south-east. At its foot we crossed the Egyptian Hadj [or pilgrim caravan] road; it passes along the mountain towards Akaba, which is distant from hence fifteen or eighteen hours. The level plain over which we had travelled from Ras el Kaa, terminates at Dharf el Rokob. Westward of it the ground is more intersected by hills and wadys, and here begins the desert *El Ty*, [or of wanderings,] in which, according to tradition, both Jewish and Mohammedan, the Israelites wandered for several years, and from which belief the desert takes its name."⁷³—"Aug. 30th, [third day.] We passed a chain of hills called Oджme, running almost parallel with the Dharf el Rokob. We had now reëntered the Hadj route, a broad, well-trodden road, strewed with the whitened bones of animals that have died by the way. The soil is chalky, and overspread with black pebbles. At the end of five hours and a half we reached Wady Rouak. Here the term *wady* is applied to a narrow strip of ground, the bed of a winter torrent, not more than one foot lower than the level of the plain, where the rain water, from the inequalities of the surface, collects, and produces a vegetation of low shrubs and a

⁷² Page 445 sq.⁷³ Page 447 sq.

few Talh-trees. The greater part of the wadys from hence to Egypt are of this description. The *coloquintida* grows in great abundance in all of them ; it is used by the Arabs to make tinder. In nine hours and a half we passed a low chain of chalky hills. On several parts of the road were holes, out of which rock salt had been dug. At the end of ten hours and a half we arrived in the vicinity of Nakhel, (i. e. *date tree*,) a fortified station of the Egyptian Hadj. Our direction was still west by north. Nakhel stands in a plain, which extends to an immense distance southward, but which terminates to the north at about one hour's distance from Nakhel, in a low chain of mountains. The fortress is a large square building, with stone walls, without any habitations round it. The pasha of Egypt keeps here a garrison of about fifty soldiers.⁷⁴—*Aug. 31st*, [fourth day.] We marched for four hours over uneven ground, and then reached a level plain, consisting of rich red earth, fit for culture, and similar to that of the northern Syrian desert. We crossed several wadys, in which we started a number of hares. At every twenty yards lay heaps of bones of camels, horses, and asses, by the side of the road. At the end of ten hours and a half we reached the mountainous country called El Theghar, or *the mouths*, which forms a boundary of the desert El Ty, and separates it from the peninsula of mount Sinai. We ascended for half an hour by a well-formed road, cut in several places in the rock, and then followed the windings of a valley, in the bed of a winter torrent, gradually descending. On both sides of the Hadj road we saw numerous heaps of stones, the tombs of pilgrims who had died of fatigue. At the end of fifteen hours we alighted in a valley of the Theghar, where we found an abundance of shrubs and trees.⁷⁵—*Sept. 1st*, or the fifth day, the route lay across the moving sands of the desert of Shur, which lies around the head of the western gulf of the Red sea, and our traveller encamped for the night about two hours short of Adjeroud.

The same general view of this journey is given in the letter of Burckhardt referred to in the note on p. 776 above. "We crossed the valley of Araba, ascended, on the other side of it, the barren mountains of Beyane, and entered the desert called El Ty, which is the most barren and horrid tract of country I had ever seen ; black flints cover the chalky or sandy ground,

⁷⁴ Page 449 sq. ⁷⁵ Page 452.

which in most places is without any vegetation. The tree which produces the gum Arabic grows in some spots, and the tamarisk is met with here and there ; but the scarcity of water forbids much extent of vegetation, and the hungry camels are obliged to go in the evening for whole hours out of the road, in order to find some withered shrubs upon which to feed. During ten days' forced marches [to Cairo,] we passed only four springs or wells, of which one only, at about eight hours east of Suez, was of sweet water. The others were brackish and sulphureous. We passed at a short distance to the north of Suez, and arrived at Cairo by the pilgrim road."

In 1822, Rüppell travelled from Suez to Akaba, by the Hadj route, leaving Suez April 21st, and arriving at Akaba on the 29th. To Nakhel or Negele, his route was of course the same as that of Burckhardt, in an opposite direction. Farther east, the country possesses the same character ; chalky hills alternating with rolling plains. This tiresome monotony is in one place interrupted by a steep chalky mountain, near Dabt el Baggele, over which pious Mussulmans have hewn a pass two hundred feet long in the rock. East of this is a green valley, and then the plain Darfureck, which is wholly without vegetation, at least in the vicinity of the route. This high desert region is bounded on the east by the mountains of reddish sandstone, which skirt the plain of Akaba and the valley El Araba ; and from which the Hadj route descends by a steep path, in many places hewn out of the rock. The general character of this wide tract is given by Rüppell in the words—"a frightful desert."⁷⁵

To this general description of the whole country between mount Sinai and Palestine, we have here devoted the more attention, because this information has no where else been brought together, and because it all tends to illustrate the journeyings of the Israelites after leaving Sinai. Their departure from Sinai was on the 20th day of the second month, in the second year from the departure out of Egypt, Numb. x. 11 ; i. e. as we have seen above, not far from the middle of May. The stations are thus marked :—(1.) Three days' march to the wilderness of Paran ; to Taberah, where part of the camp was burned, Num. x. 12, 33. xi. 3.—(2.) To Kibroth-hattaavah, the graves of lust, xi. 34. This is a different place from Taberah, although a de-

⁷⁵ Reisen, p. 241—247.

parture from the latter is not mentioned. Moses speaks of the two places as distinct, Deut. ix. 22.—(3.) Hazeroth, Num. xi. 35.—(4.) Desert of Paran, i. e. Kadesh, Num. xii. 16. xiii. 26. Here the spies returned; and hence the people were directed to turn and get them into the wilderness by the way of the Red sea, xiv. 25.—(5.) We next read, Num. xx. 1, that they came into the desert of Zin in the first month, to Kadesh, where they abode, and Miriam died. Hence they sent to ask a passage through Edom, xx. 14, which was refused.—(6.) Mount Hor, where Aaron died, xx. 22. After this they journeyed by the way of the Red sea, (Ezion-gaber,) to compass the land of Edom, xxi. 4.

With this representation agrees also that in Deut. i, where there are said to be eleven days' journey from Horeb by the way of mount Seir to Kadesh-barnea, vs. 2; and where it is said that the Israelites departed from Horeb and "went through all that great and terrible wilderness, and came to Kadesh-barnea," vs. 19; after which they were commanded to turn and take their journey into the wilderness by the way of the Red sea, vs. 40. They are then described as abiding many days in Kadesh, i. 46; and afterwards as turning and taking their journey into the wilderness by the way of the Red sea, and compassing mount Seir many days; and then as passing by Elath and Ezion-gaber, around Edom, as before, Deut. ii. 1, 8.

Thus far all harmonizes. But in the catalogue of stations contained in Num. xxxiii, and which accords with the preceding statements (except Taberah) as far as to Hazeroth, there are no less than *eighteen stations inserted* between Hazeroth and Kadesh; and among these is Ezion-gaber, which is not mentioned elsewhere until after the Israelites had left Kadesh, and were about to compass Edom, Deut. ii. 8. How is this account to be reconciled with the other statements of the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy, as above exhibited?

Let us first examine the various references to *time*, which are to be found in these accounts. The Israelites left Sinai about the middle of May, in the second year of their departure from Egypt, as we have seen above, and came by the way of the wilderness of Paran to Kadesh, according to Num. xiii. 26; apparently after eleven days (not necessarily successive days) of marching, and *by the way of mount Seir*, according to Deut. i. 2. From the wilderness of Paran spies were sent out to the land of Canaan, Num. xiii. 3; who returned after forty days to

Kadesh, (xiii. 25, 26,) bringing with them a sample of the grapes of the land ; it being “ the time of the first ripe grapes,” xiii. 20. But we know that grapes ripen in Palestine in July and August.⁷⁶ We may therefore conclude, that the Israelites were at Kadesh in August of the second year ; there they rebelled on the report of the spies, and received the sentence from Jehovah, that their carcasses should all fall in the wilderness, and their children wander in the desert forty years ; and there they were commanded to turn back into the wilderness, by the way of the Red sea. The next movement, recorded in Num. xx. 1, is, that “ the whole congregation came into the desert of Zin in the *first* month, and abode in Kadesh.” Does not this necessarily indicate a *return* to Kadesh, after having once left it ? Before, they left Sinai in the *second* month, or May, and were in Kadesh in August ; now, they arrive at Kadesh in the *first* month, or April. Here Miriam now dies ; the people murmur for water ; Moses and Aaron disobey God’s command in regard to the mode of performing the miracle in order to procure it, and are told in consequence that they shall not enter the promised land ; Moses begs a passage through Edom, which is refused ; they then journey from Kadesh to mount Hor, in the edge of Edom, where Aaron dies in the *fortieth* year of the departure from Egypt, on the first day of the fifth month, Num. xx. xxxiii. 37, 38. These last events all immediately succeed each other, and directly follow this last departure from Kadesh ; Aaron dies here in fulfilment of the sentence there given, and in all probability in the same year of this *return* to Kadesh. But between the time of the return of the spies to Kadesh, in August of the second year, and the death of Aaron on the first day of the fifth month (corresponding to August) of the fortieth year, there is an interval of *thirty-eight* years. Again, in Deut. ii. 14, it is said, that “ the space in which we came from Kadesh-barnea, until we were come over the brook Zered, was thirty-eight years.” Must not this refer to the *first* departure from Kadesh, when they were commanded to turn back and wander in the wilderness ; and not to the last departure from that place, just before the death of Aaron ? If so, then the coming to Kadesh in the *first* month, Num. xx. 1, and that mentioned in Num. xxxiii. 36, are the same, and refer to the subsequent *return* of the Israelites to that station. And as it is said in Deut. i. 46, that

⁷⁶ See Calmet’s Dict. Bost. 1832, p. 241, 242.

they abode in Kadesh (the first time) many days; and as Aaron's death took place in August, just thirty-eight years after,—and as they came to the brook Zered just thirty-eight years after leaving Kadesh the first time,—we may, perhaps, infer that their first residence in Kadesh continued for the same space of time, as their subsequent march from mount Hor to the brook Zered. This, however, is a point of little comparative importance.

If, now, the death of Aaron occurred in the fifth month of that same year, in the first month of which the Israelites returned to Kadesh, as there is every reason to suppose, i. e. the fortieth year of the departure from Egypt, then there is an interval of more than thirty-seven years, of which the history in Numbers and Deuteronomy gives no account whatever; unless it be in the catalogue of stations contained in Num. xxxiii. We have seen above that the arrival at Kadesh, mentioned in this catalogue, corresponds to the *second* sojourn at that place, as inferred above; and we may, therefore, without hesitation, assume the eighteen stations, there named between Hazeroth and Kadesh, as belonging to this interval of nearly eight and thirty years. These, of course, are not *all* the stations occupied during that period; only those probably are noted, where they abode for some time. From Ezion-gaber to Kadesh, for instance, Num. xxxiii. 36, could not be much less than the whole length of the great valley of the Ghor,—a distance of not less than one hundred miles, whatever might be the exact situation of Kadesh; and of course, in passing from one to the other, there must have been several intervening stations, although none are mentioned.

To this general hypothesis, which indeed is adopted by most interpreters, as Le Clerc, Lightfoot, Michaelis, Vater, Rosenmueller, and others, there seem to be but two objections. First, that in Num. xxxiii. 18, we ought then, instead of Rithmah, to read Paran or Kadesh, as in xii. 16. xiii. 26. Secondly, that Ezion-gaber, which, in Num. xxxiii. 36, is put before Kadesh, is not elsewhere mentioned until the Israelites came thither in order to compass the land of Edom, Deut. ii. 8.

To the first of these objections it may be replied, that Kadesh was the name not only of a city, but of the tract of desert country adjacent to it; as we shall show more at large hereafter. It is, therefore, to be taken as the *desert* of Kadesh, Ps. xxix. 8, in the account of the *first* coming to it; as indeed is sufficiently obvious from the language of the passage itself, Num.

xiii. 26. Rithmah is then to be regarded as a place or station in this desert. Or, if we adhere strictly to the statement in Deut. i. 2, that they came to Kadesh after eleven stations, then Makheloth in Num. xxxiii. 25, is the station corresponding to Kadesh. The solution is the same in either case.

To obviate the force of the second objection, it is necessary to bear in mind the character and circumstances of the Israelitish people, as well as the character of the country in which they were now placed. They were essentially a *nomadic* people; their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, had ever been so; they were emphatically *Bedouins*, removing with their flocks and herds from place to place, as occasion might require. In Egypt, they had ever been shepherds,—their province of Goshen was adapted to pasturage, and not to tillage; and now, when they had come out into the deserts, with their flocks and herds, they were still the nomadic race they had ever been,—a people resembling those by whom these desert plains, and valleys, and mountains, are possessed to this very day. Hence, according to the command of God, they wandered in the desert; and their wanderings would be determined, like those of the Arabs at present, by the opportunities of water and pasturage. When the scanty “pastures of the desert” failed in one place, they removed to another; and they would naturally resort to those tracts, where water, and consequently vegetation, were most abundant. In the long period of eight and thirty years, therefore, while thus removing from place to place in the vast deserts between Palestine and the peninsula of Sinai, although they might not improbably at times take up their residence in the desert El Ty, according to tradition, as above mentioned, yet it is hardly to be supposed, that they would not also sometimes visit the Ghor, which even now is a favourite resort of the Bedouins in winter. Nor can we well suppose, that they would not visit the same place more than once; since in these deserts the wells and springs of water are places of general resort, and the pasturage, which had been devoured in one year, would be renewed in other years. If, then, they did thus visit the Ghor, it would be natural for them, in this long interval, to visit also the southern part of it, where it opens to a plain, and affords luxuriant pasturage. Indeed, the list in Num. xxxiii, seems to imply, that they did thus sojourn at times in the Ghor or El Araba, and along its eastern skirts; for, in verse 31, *Moseroth* is mentioned, to which they came *before* coming to

Ezion-gaber. But, in Deut. x. 6, Aaron is said to have died at *Mosera*, the same as Moseroth, which of course must have been the station adjacent to mount Hor. But mount Hor lies, as we know, on the east of the Ghor, nearly half way from Akaba to the Dead Sea. Hence we may infer, that this list of stations indicates in general the movements of the Israelites from *north to south*, and probably along the valley El Araba. Arriving at its southern extremity, they returned to Kadesh, advancing, probably, from station to station, in the same occasional and leisure manner; although no intervening station whatever is mentioned in the catalogue. This return was a part of their thirty-eight years of wandering; but afterwards, when they had made an unsuccessful attempt from Kadesh to pass through the territory of Edom, and found it necessary to march back to Ezion-gaber, in order to pass around mount Seir, we may suppose that their march was more rapid, and not so much regulated merely by a regard to an abundant supply of water and pasturage.

In this manner we may not only remove the objection suggested above, but also another difficulty which has troubled commentators. In Num. xxxiii. 31 sq. the Israelites are said to have occupied the stations Moseroth, Bene-jaakan, Hor-hagidgad, and Jotbathah; while in Deut. x. 6, 7, these same stations are named in a different order,—Beeroth of the children of Jaakan, Mosera where Aaron died, Gudgodah, and Jotbath. That these names are at bottom the same, there can be no doubt. But in Numbers they are probably mentioned in reference to the *first* visit of the Hebrews, during the long wandering southwards, before their return to Kadesh the second time; while in Deuteronomy, they have reference to the *second* passage of the Israelites, when again marching south in order to compass the land of Edom. It is easy to conceive, how Moseroth and the wells of Jaakan might lie in such a direction from each other, that a nomadic tribe, wandering in different years southward along the great valley, might at one time take the former first in its way, and at another time, the latter.

We have thus given a general view of the manner in which we suppose the list of stations in Num. xxxiii, is to be harmonized with the other accounts of the journeyings of the children of Israel; and in so doing have been led to give also an exhibition of the general course of these journeyings and wanderings themselves. It now remains to ascertain more particularly, if possible, the situations of some of the principal stations, in order

to obtain a more definite idea of the route in general. Of the position of Taberah, Num. xi. 3; Kibroth-hattaavah, xi. 34; and Hazeroth, xi. 35. xxxiii. 17; we know nothing further, than that they were stations between mount Sinai and the wilderness of Paran, Num. x. 12. xii. 16.

The wilderness of Paran, some have chosen to find in the Wady Feiran or Faran, which extends north-west from mount Sinai, and is described on p. 764 above. But this hypothesis is hardly tenable. From Paran the spies were sent out to survey the land of Canaan, Num. xiii. 3; and they returned again "to the congregation of the children of Israel, unto the wilderness of Paran to *Kadesh*;" which evidently implies that the desert of Paran was adjacent to Kadesh-barnea. Burckhardt therefore justly remarks,⁷⁷ that "Paran must be looked for in the desert west of Wady Mousa, and the tomb of Aaron, which is shown there;" i. e. adjacent to Palestine on the south. Besides, in removing from Sinai, the Israelites went first *three* days' journey, and then removed again twice, before they pitched in the wilderness of Paran, Num. x. 33. xii. 16; which does not at all accord with the above hypothesis respecting Wady Feiran.

This desert is several times mentioned in Scripture, besides in these chapters. It is said of Hagar, when Abraham sent her away, that she wandered first in the wilderness of Beer-sheba, and afterwards dwelt with Ishmael in the wilderness of Paran, and took for him a wife out of the land of Egypt, Gen. xxi. 14, 21. Beer-sheba, as is well known, was at the southern extremity of Palestine. David, also, after the death of Samuel, retired into the wilderness of Paran, where also the flocks of Nabal, who dwelt in the southern Carmel, west of the Dead sea, are represented as feeding, 1 Sam. xxv. 1, 14 sq. Both these notices go to show that the wilderness of Paran lay on the south of Palestine; the latter one would indicate, that its borders were *near* Palestine; while the former would imply, that it also stretched far to the south and west, including the present desert El Ty above described, p. 781. Moses, in his farewell song, Deut. xxxiii. 2, says, "The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them; he shined forth from mount Paran;" and Habakkuk also says, iii. 3, "God came from Teman, and the Holy One from mount Paran." In these descriptions of a *the-*

⁷⁷ Page 618.

ophania, God is represented as coming from the south, and the allusion is in general to the thunders and lightnings of Sinai; but other mountains in the same direction are mentioned with it,—Seir and Paran. The location of Seir, we know, was on the east of the Ghor; that of Paran was, of course, in or adjacent to, the desert of that name. Was mount Paran, then, perhaps, the chain on the west of the Ghor, bordering the desert of Paran on the east? or was it rather the mountains on the southern border of the desert, towards the peninsula? At any rate, it seems a necessary conclusion from the above notices, coupled with Num. x. 12, 33, where the Israelites are said to have entered it in three days from Sinai, that the name Wilderness of Paran was applied, probably as a general designation, to the whole of the desert region lying between Palestine and the peninsula of Sinai on the south, and between the Ghor on the east and the desert of Egypt on the west. Josephus also mentions a valley in this region with many caves, called Pharan.⁷⁸ Eusebius, too, speaks of a Pharan through which the Israelites passed; but places it, according to the translation of Jerome, three days' journey *east* of Aila or Akaba. The Greek of Eusebius, however, may just as well be read so as to mean, that Aila was three days' journey east of Pharan; which would correspond entirely with the view above given;⁷⁹ and would correspond also with the *Phara* marked on our map, as lying west of Akaba on the ancient Roman military road.⁸⁰

That Paran was a name given to this desert in a very wide and general sense, is also apparent from the fact, that in Num. xiii. 26, Kadesh is said to be situated in it; while in xx. 1, and other passages, Kadesh is spoken of as being in the desert of Zin. The conclusion, therefore, is, that the desert of Zin was a portion of the great desert of Paran. The wilderness of Zin lay around the south-western shore of the Dead sea, and extended southward along the Ghor, as we know from Num. xxxiv. 4. Josh. xv. 1. It constituted, therefore, the north-east part of the great desert of Paran; how far south it extended, we have no means of ascertaining. There seems also to have

⁷⁸ Bell. Jud. IV. 9. 4.

⁷⁹ Euseb. Onomast. ed. Cleric. p. 74.

⁸⁰ The Roman roads on our map are taken from the celebrated *Tabula Theodosiana* or *Peutingeriana*. See Rees's Cyclopaed. Art. PEUTINGER.

been in it a station called Zin, Josh. xv. 3; though the principal place mentioned is Kadesh.

Kadesh, or, more fully, Kadesh-barnea, (Barnea signifies *field* or *plain of wandering*, like the Arabic *El Ty*,) is described in Num. xx. 16, as a city in the "uttermost border of Edom." It is mentioned as one of the south-eastern limits of the territory of Israel, Num. xxxiv. 4. Josh. xv. 3. In Josh. x. 41, it is said, that Joshua smote the Canaanites from Kadesh-barnea even unto Gaza; where Kadesh stands for the eastern border of the children of Israel, as Gaza for the western. It is also said to be eleven days' journey from Horeb, by the way of mount Seir, Deut. i. 2. All these notices constrain us to place Kadesh quite on the eastern side of the great desert of Paran; and especially the first, which says that it lay in the "uttermost border of Edom." So mount Hor is said to be "by the coast of the land of Edom," Num. xx. 23; and "in the edge of the land of Edom," xxxiii. 37. But we know that mount Hor is situated on the eastern side of the Ghor, at some distance up the Wady Mousa, and therefore *in* mount Seir. Is, now, the "uttermost border of Edom" equivalent to the "coast" or "edge" of the land of Edom? and if so, are we warranted in assigning a position to Kadesh also, on the east side of the Ghor, in the skirts of the mountains of Edom? Or was it, perhaps, situated on the *western* side of the Ghor, in some wady of that region which no modern traveller has yet explored? But wherever the city itself was situated, it was of sufficient importance to give its name to the tract of desert country which lay around it; and which is therefore spoken of by the Psalmist as the desert of Kadesh; probably as synonymous with the desert of Zin, Ps. xxix. 8. It is doubtless the *desert* of Kadesh, which is meant in Num. xiii. 26. Deut. i. 19, since in the corresponding passage in Num. xxxiii. 18, we read Rithmah, probably a station in the desert near to Kadesh. Burckhardt suggests, that the great valley of the Ghor was possibly the Kadesh-barnea of the Scriptures; in which suggestion Rosenmüller coincides. This is not very improbable; particularly if we may place the *city* Kadesh on the eastern, or even on the western, border of this valley.⁸¹ That Rithmah, or the desert of Kadesh, whither the spies returned, was in this valley, or possibly in some wady extending from it westward, seems probable from the facts mentioned in Num. xiv. 40 sq. where the Israelites are said to have

⁸¹ Burckhardt's Travels in Syr. p. 443.

“got them up into the top of the mountain,” “unto the hill-top,” not far from the camp; and the “Amalekites and Canaanites which dwelt in that hill, came down and smote them, and discomfited them unto Hormah.”

Of all the other stations mentioned in the wanderings of the children of Israel, until they came to the brook Zered, the border of Moab, we can determine the situation of only two. Moseroth in Num. xxxiii. 31, is again mentioned as Mosera in Deut. x. 6, and is there said to be the place where Aaron died; it was therefore adjacent to mount Hor, and in or near Wady Mousa, the site of the ancient Petra. Ezion-gaber, mentioned Num. xxxiii. 36. Deut. ii. 8, was at the northern extremity of the Elanitic gulf, near Akaba. The country around it has been fully described above on p. 773 sq.

After these ample illustrations, it only remains to collect into a summary view the several facts which we have endeavoured to establish, in respect to the wanderings of Israel from Sinai, till they arrived at the brook Zered, and entered the territory of Moab. Farther than this, it is not necessary to accompany them; as their subsequent route is attended with no special difficulties.

About the middle of May, in the fourteenth month from their departure out of Egypt, the Israelites left Sinai, and marched by a direct course to the vicinity of Kadesh, by the way of mount Seir, Deut. i. 2. Their route lay probably from Sinai through the Wady Safran and similar valleys, until they issued upon the great plain or desert of Paran, and passed along its eastern part, and perhaps for some portion of the way in the valley of the Ghor, skirting mount Seir, until they arrived in the district of Kadesh. Here the spies were sent out; and on their return, in August, the people murmured, and were commanded to turn back and wander in the wilderness. After remaining for some time in the vicinity of Kadesh, and making some unsuccessful attacks upon the Canaanites, Deut. i. 41 sq. they removed and commenced that wandering nomadic life which continued for the space of more than thirty-seven years; during which time they sojourned in different parts of the great desert west of the Ghor, (El Ty,) and in the great valley of the Ghor and Araba itself, extending their removals in the latter to its southern extremity, from mount Hor (Mosera) to Ezion-gaber, and afterwards removing again northward, being governed at all times in the choice of their stations by a regard to water and pasturage, until, at last, in the first month (April) of the fortieth year from

their departure out of Egypt, they found themselves again at Kadesh. Moses having given up all hope of penetrating into Palestine from the south, on the west of the Dead sea, and being probably unwilling to expose the people to a temptation which might cause them to murmur a second time against the Lord, endeavoured to negotiate a passage through the territory of Edom, which comprised mount Seir, the chain which stretches along the eastern side of the Ghor from the Dead sea to Akaba, now known under the names of Djebal, Shera, and Hesma. Among the narrow valleys which traverse this abrupt chain from west to east, that of the Ghoeyr, described on p. 778 above, furnishes the only passage that would not be difficult. This was, perhaps, the "king's way," by which Moses, aware of the difficulty of forcing a passage, requested permission of the Edomites to pass, on condition of leaving the fields and vineyards untouched, and of purchasing provisions and water from the inhabitants. But Edom refused, and "came out against him with much people and a strong hand." Num. xx. 14 sq. About this time, also, the Canaanites made hostile demonstrations; and soon after king Arad attacked the Israelites, but was defeated, Num. xxi. 1. But the situation of the latter, nevertheless, was now critical. Unable to force their way in either direction, and surrounded in a measure with enemies, the Edomites in front towards the east, and the Canaanites and Amalekites on the north, and also on the west, if they chose to make an attack from that quarter,—no alternative remained for the Israelites but to follow again the great valley El Araba southwards, towards the Red sea. In this journey Aaron died at mount Hor, and they rested again at several stations which they had visited in their former nomadic wanderings. Arrived at the Red sea, they turned to the left and crossed the ridge of mountains to the eastward of Ezion-gaber, where Burckhardt remarked, from the opposite coast, that the mountains were lower than elsewhere.⁸² It was in this part of their route that the Israelites were discouraged on account of the way, and suffered from serpents, Num. xxi. 5, 6; of which Burckhardt observed traces of great numbers on the opposite side of the gulf, and some apparently very large.⁸³ He was informed, "that the fishermen are much afraid of them, and extinguished their fires in the evening before they went to sleep, because the light was

⁸² Page 500.⁸³ Page 499. Comp. Deut. viii. 15.

known to attract them." The Israelites then issued into the great and elevated plains, which are still traversed by the Syrian pilgrims in their way to Mecca; and appear to have followed northward nearly the same route which is now taken by the Syrian Hadj, along the western skirts of this great desert, near the mountains of Edom.⁸⁴ On entering these plains, Moses received the command, "Ye have compassed this mountain long enough; turn ye northward; ye are to pass through the coast of the children of Esau, and they shall be afraid of you," Deut. ii. 3 sq. The same people who had successfully repelled the approach of the Israelites from their strong western frontier, was alarmed now that they had come round upon the weak side of the country. But Israel was ordered "not to meddle" with the children of Esau, but merely "to pass through their coast," and to "buy meat and water of them for money," Deut. ii. 6, in the same manner as the Syrian caravan of Mecca is now supplied by the people of the same mountains, who meet the pilgrims on the Hadj route. After traversing the wilderness on the eastern side of Moab, the Israelites at length entered that country, crossing the brook Zered thirty-eight years after their first departure from Kadesh, and about forty years from the time of their departure out of Egypt.

In accordance with the views above exhibited, the several historical accounts given of the stations of the Israelites in the books of Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, from Egypt to the Jordan, may be synoptically arranged with the list in Num. xxxiii, in the following manner.

FROM EGYPT TO SINAI.

A.	B.
EXODUS xii.—xix.	NUMBERS xxxiii.
From Rameses, xii. 37.	From Rameses, verse 3.
1. Succoth, xii. 37.	1. Succoth, vs. 5.
2. Etham, xiii. 20.	2. Etham, vs. 6.
3. Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, xiv. 2.	3. Pi-hahiroth, before Migdol, vs. 7.
4. Passage through the Red sea, Ex. xiv. 22, and three days' march into the desert of Shur, Ex. xv. 22.	4. Passage through the sea, and three days' march in the desert of Etham; verse 8.

⁸⁴ See p. 778 above.

A.

B.

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| 5. Marah, Ex. xv. 23. | 5. Marah, vs. 8. |
| 6. Elim, Ex. xv. 27. | 6. Elim, vs. 9. |
| | 7. Encampment by the Red sea, vs. 10. |
| 8. Desert of Sin, between Elim and mount Sinai, Ex. xvi. 1. | 8. Desert of Sin, vs. 11. |
| | 9. Dophka, vs. 12. |
| | 10. Alush, vs. 13. |
| 11. Rephidim, no water, Ex. xvii. 1. | 11. Rephidim, no water, verse 14. |
| 12. Desert of Sinai, Ex. xix. 1. | 12. Desert of Sinai, vs. 15. |

FROM SINAI TO THE JORDAN.

A.

B.

NUMBERS x, etc. DEUT.

NUMBERS xxxiii.

To the wilderness of Paran.

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| 13. Taberah, Num. xi. 3. | |
| 14. Kibroth-hattaavah, Num. xi. 34. | 14. Kibroth-hattaavah, verse 16. |
| 15. Hazeroth, Num. xi. 35. | 15. Hazeroth, vs. 17. |
| 16. Region of Kadesh, in the wilderness of Paran, after eleven days of marching, Num. xii. 16. xiii. 26. Deut. i. 2, 19. | 16. Rithmah, by Kadesh, verse 18. |
| 17. They turn back from Kadesh, and wander in the desert, Num. xiv. 25 sq. | 17. Rimmon-parez, vs. 19. |
| | 18. Libnah, vs. 20. |
| | 19. Rissah, vs. 21. |
| | 20. Kehelathah, vs. 22. |
| | 21. Mount Shapher, vs. 23. |
| | 22. Haradah, vs. 24. |
| | 23. Makheloth, vs. 25. |
| | 24. Tahath, vs. 26. |
| | 25. Tarah, vs. 27. |
| | 26. Mithcah, vs. 28. |
| | 27. Hashmonah, vs. 29. |
| | 28. Moseroth, vs. 30. |
| | 29. Bene-jaakan, vs. 31. |
| | 30. Hor-hagidgad, vs. 32. |

A.

34. Return to Kadesh, Num.
xx. 1.

35. Beeroth Bene Jaakan, Deut.
x. 6.

36. Mount Hor, Num. xx. 22,
or Mosera, Deut. x. 6,
where Aaron died.

37. Gudgodah, Deut. x. 7.

38. Jotbath, Deut. x. 7.

39. The way of the Red sea,
Num. xxi. 4; by Elath,
and Ezion-gaber, Deut.
ii. 8.

42. Oboth, Num. xxi. 10.

43. Ije-abarim, in the wilder-
ness east of Moab, Num.
xxi. 11.

44. The valley of Zered, Num.
xxi. 12; or the brook Ze-
red, after 38 years from
the first departure from
Kadesh, Deut. ii. 13, 14.

45. The brook Arnon, between
Moab and the Amorites,
Num. xxi. 13. Deut. ii. 24.

48. Beer, i. e. well, in the des-
ert, Num. xxi. 16, 18.

49. Mattanah, verse 18.

50. Nahaliel, vs. 19.

51. Bamoth, in the valley, vs. 19.

52. Summit of Pisgah, put here
for the range of Abarim,
of which Pisgah was part,
Num. xxi. 20.

B.

31. Jotbathah, vs. 33.

32. Ebronah, vs. 34.

33. Ezion-gaber, vs. 35.

34. Kadesh, the city, vs. 36.

36. Mount Hor, vs. 37.

40. Zalmonah, vs. 41.

41. Punon, vs. 42.

42. Oboth, vs. 43.

43. Ije-abarim, or Iim, in the
border of Moab, vs. 44.

46. Dibon-gad, verse 45. Now
Diban; see map.

47. Almon-Diblathaim, vs. 46.

52. Mountains of Abarim, near
mount Nebo, vs. 47.

A.

B.

53. By the way of Bashan, to the plains of Moab near the Jordan, over against Jericho, Num. xxi. 33. xxii. i.

53. Plains of Moab by Jordan over against Jericho, vs. 48.

Postscript. Since the preceding article has been in press, the Publishers have concluded to insert the plan of Niebuhr referred to on p. 755 above, as illustrating the passage of the Israelites through the Red sea. It could not, however, be got ready in season for this Number, but will be given with the next.

NOTE.

ANSELMI OPERA.—*Correction.* In the article on the supposed Letter of P. Lentulus, in the April number of this volume, page 369, the earliest edition of the works of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, is mentioned in the following terms: "The book is in quarto, without date, and without the name of the place where it was printed; but judging from the form and appearance of the type, it would seem to have been executed at Paris, about the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century." It is also said that the volume contains two books *de Imagine Mundi*, by Honorius of Autun; to which are *subjoined* two short tracts, one inscribed *Invocatio matris virginis Mariæ simul et filii ejus*, and the other *Ex gestis Anselmi colliguntur forma et mores beatæ Mariæ et ejus unici filii Jesu*.

When that article was written, this book, which is exceedingly rare in Europe, had not been seen by the writer; and he was therefore obliged to rest on the authority of Prof. Gabler. Since that time a copy of the book in question has been unexpectedly obtained for the library of the Theological Seminary in this place; and the Editor is thereby enabled to make a correction in respect to a part of the statement quoted above. In this copy, the tract of Honorius above-mentioned follows the work of Anselm, and makes the end of the volume. At the foot of the last page stands the usual notice in the earlier printed books, indicating that this book was printed at Nüremberg, by Caspar Hochfe-

der, and finished March 27, 1491. The other short tracts mentioned above, are printed on a single leaf, which, instead of being inserted at the *end* of the volume, as in the copy referred to by Gabler, is here inserted immediately after the title-page, forming as it were a sort of dedication of the work,—being a general invocation to the virgin and her son, followed by a description of their personal character and appearance, as stated on pp. 369, 373, above. That this is the proper place for the leaf, and that it was *mis*-placed in Gabler's copy, is evident from the circumstance of the printer's date and place of abode being put at the end of the tract of Honorius. We may thus also easily account for Gabler's oversight, in affirming that the book is without date, etc. He sought the notice on the last leaf of his copy, of course without finding it; and his eye did not light upon it on the preceding leaf.

The only influence which these circumstances can have upon the views and reasonings of that article, is, that if this invocation and description were really thus prefixed by Anselm's editor as a sort of dedication and introduction, the description, which is said to be *ex gestis Anselmi*, may be supposed to have been traditionally circulated as coming from Anselm; though not perhaps existing as his in writing, and therefore not inserted in the body of his works.

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